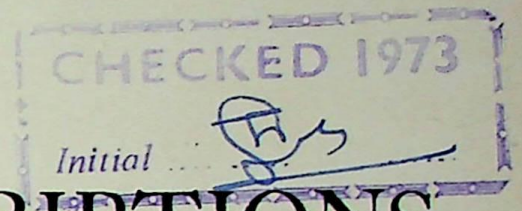
CORPVS INSCRIPTIONVM INDICARVM

VOL. II, PART I

KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE OF AŚOKA

EDITED BY

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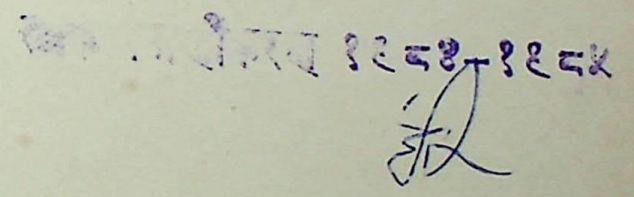
PROFESSOR IN THE OSLO UNIVERSITY

WITH ONE MAP AND 36 PLATES

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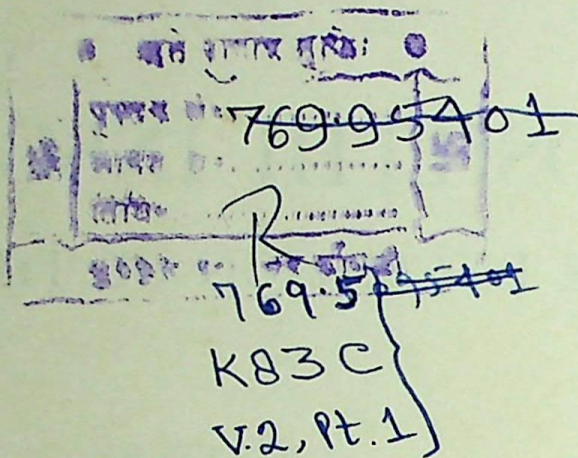
IN MEMORIAM

CHRISTIANI LASSENII NORVAGI

QVI ANTE CENTVM ANNOS

COMMENTATIONEM GEOGRAPHICAM

ATQVE HISTORICAM

DE PENTAPOTAMIA INDICA

SCRIPSIT

PREFACE

MORE than ten years ago arrangements were concluded for the preparation of a volume of Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions, to be edited jointly by Professors Lüders and Rapson and to be issued as vol. ii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

In 1922 Professor Rapson intimated that his other engagements precluded him from undertaking the work, and, at the suggestion of the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India in Council decided to offer the vacant post to me, and this was done in a letter of the 17th November 1922.

Having already devoted much time to the study of Kharoshṭhī and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions I gladly accepted the offer, though I much regretted that Professor Rapson, with his unrivalled knowledge of Kharoshṭhī, had not been able to undertake the task.

During the six years which have passed since then I have given most of my time to the work.

Through the courtesy of the Indian Government I was able to visit the chief Indian Museums and examine the originals of most Kharoshṭhī inscriptions in the first months of 1925, and through the kind services of Sir John Marshall I have been provided with estampages and photographs of all the inscriptions preserved in India. The authorities of the British Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society have sent me photographs of the inscriptions in their possession, and the India Office has been good enough to prepare for my use an excellent plaster-of-Paris cast of the Mathurā Lion Capital. Finally, the French authorities have, at the request of the Foreign Office, graciously placed at my disposal reproductions of the Kharoshṭhī records preserved in the French capital. For all the assistance given me in this way I beg to offer my sincere thanks.

My friends Professors Karlgren, Lüders, and Thomas have laid me under heavy obligation in connexion with my work. Professor Karlgren has gone through the proofs of the introduction and saved me from several mistakes. Professor Thomas has kindly read the proofs of the whole volume, and both he and Professor Lüders have on several occasions discussed many difficult points with me and helped me in many ways. I have tried to acknowledge the assistance I have received in

this way, but I am afraid that I have done so unsatisfactorily, and in this place I should like to give expression to the cordial gratitude which I feel towards them.

Finally, I wish to add that it is largely due to the Oxford University Press if the outer appearance of the book will be found satisfactory. To people who have often had to fight some printing-office in order to produce fairly acceptable work it is a rare experience to co-operate with the Clarendon Press and to feel that there is no fight, but only a competition in order to make the results as excellent as it is possible at the present day.

STEN KONOW.

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

ASI = Archaeological Survey of India. Cunningham's Reports.
ASIAR = Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report.
ASIFC = Archaeological Survey of India. Frontier Circle.
ASIUPP = Archaeological Survey of India. United Provinces and Panjab Circle.
ASWI = Archaeological Survey of Western India.
BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'Extrême-Orient.
Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.
Festgabe Jacobi = Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens. Festgabe Hermann Jacobi zum 75. Geburtstag dargebracht. Bonn, 1926.
Festschrift für Ernst Windisch = Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht. Leipzig, 1914.
Franke, Beiträge = Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Centralasiens. Von O. Franke. Berlin, 1904. Aus dem Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1904.
Gardner = The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum. By Percy Gardner. London, 1886.
Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.
JA = Journal Asiatique.
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBoBrRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J&PASB = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Karlgren = Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese. By Bernhard Karlgren. Paris, 1923.
Khar. Inscr. = Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart. Parts I and II. Oxford, 1920–27.
Lüders, List = A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to about A. D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka. By H. Lüders. Appendix to Epigraphia Indica. Vol. X. Calcutta, 1912.
Majumdar, List = A List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. By N. G. Majumdar. J&PASB xx, 1924, pp. 1 ff.
Marquart, Ērānšahr = Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaći. Von J. Marquart. Abhandlungen der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Neue Folge III, Nro. 2. Berlin, 1901.
MASI = Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Rapson, WK = Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty. By Edward James Rapson. London, 1908.
SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.
Smith, Cat. = Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. I. By Vincent A. Smith. Oxford, 1906.
SWAW = Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.
Whitehead = Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore. Vol. I. By R. B. Whitehead. Oxford, 1914.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Kharoshṭhī cannot, like Brāhmī, be characterized as the national alphabet of India. It has, it is true, been developed on Indian soil and for noting down the sounds of an Indian language,[1] but its use was restricted to a comparatively limited territory, and even there we have occasional indications of Brāhmī having been employed, e.g. in ancient seal legends from Taxila.

Origin of Kharoshṭhī.

Bühler has shown that the Kharoshṭhī characters are derived from Aramaic, which was in common use for official purposes all over the Achaemenian empire during the period when it comprised north-western India. Some features, such as the vowel system and the compound consonants, point to the conclusion that the alphabet was elaborated with the help of Brāhmī, which must accordingly have been in existence for some time previously.

From the purely Indian point of view there was not, therefore, any necessity for framing a new script. And Bühler is evidently right in assuming that Kharoshṭhī is 'the result of the intercourse between the offices of the Satraps and of the native authorities, the Indian chiefs and the heads of towns and villages, whom, as the accounts of the state of the Panjāb at the time of Alexander's invasion show, the Persians left in possession in consideration of the payment of their tribute. The Hindus probably used at first the pure Aramaic characters, just as in much later times they adopted the Arabic writing for a number of their dialects, and they introduced in the course of time the modifications observable in the Kharoshṭhī alphabet'.

Period of Kharoshṭhī.

This development may have taken some time. It was an accomplished fact in the middle of the third century B.C., when the alphabet was used in the Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions of Aśoka's edicts, though Aramaic was then still in use, as shown by the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila, in which Professor Andreas has recognized Aśoka's usual designation Priyadarśin. The alphabet then remained in use for more than half a millennium, the last known Kharoshṭhī inscriptions dating from the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Kharoshṭhī a clerk's alphabet.

Bühler has pointed out that Kharoshṭhī is evidently a clerk's and not a Paṇḍit's alphabet. Outside of India we find it used also in books, in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript containing a version of the Dhammapada in a north-western Prākrit, which has been found near Khotan.[2] It is possible that the same may sometimes have been the case in India,[3] and it is even possible that the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript was written in India. The only old manuscript actually found in India within the territory and the period covered by Kharoshṭhī inscriptions is, however, written in Brāhmī.

Kharoshṭhī area.

The area within which we can prove Kharoshṭhī to have been regularly used belongs to the north-west. The easternmost limit is, in the Panjāb, at Māṇikiāla. There are two inscriptions from Kāngrā, where Kharoshṭhī is used in addition to Brāhmī, and there is another record from Karnāl, which shows that the alphabet was known further to the east, and foreign conquerors from the north-west used it in a well-

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[1] Cf. Bühler, 'On the origin of the Indian Brāhma alphabet', 2nd edition of *Indian Studies*, no. iii, Strassburg, 1898, pp. 48 ff., 92 ff.

[2] Ed. Senart, JA, IX, xii, 1898, pp. 193 ff.

[3] Cf. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, § 7.

known inscription in Mathurā on the Jamnā, where Brāhmī was the common alphabet, also in inscriptions and on coins. We even possess a Kharoshṭhī record from Patna. But the plaque on which it is written has evidently been left there by a person who came from the north-west. We do not know exactly how far the use of Kharoshṭhī extended towards the west. Coins with Kharoshṭhī legends have been found in Seistān and Kandahār, but the westernmost Kharoshṭhī inscriptions which have been found are from Khawat in Afghanistan and, side by side with Brāhmī records, from the Thal valley in Baluchistan. And even here we have every reason for assuming that the alphabet was brought and used by immigrants from the east. For it is little suited for the requirements of Iranian languages, and we have nothing to show that the dialect in which most Kharoshṭhī records are written was ever spoken as a vernacular much further east than Jālalābād.

The northernmost Kharoshṭhī records come from Tīrath in Swāt and Khalatse in Ladakh, and in the south we have some fragments from Mohenjo Daro in the Lārkāna district and Kharoshṭhī legends on the coins of some of the oldest of the Western Kshatrapas. But such stray instances do not prove anything more for the proper Kharoshṭhī area than the Kharoshṭhī word *lipikareṇa* in the Siddāpur edicts of Aśoka. The Kharoshṭhī area proper may be defined as extending from about 69° to 73° 30′ E. and from the Hindu Kush to about 33° N., and there can be little doubt that its place of origin was Gandhāra, perhaps more especially Taxila.

Professor Lévi's theory.

Professor Sylvain Lévi has given a different account of the origin of Kharoshṭhī.[1] From a notice in Chinese Buddhist literature, according to which the correct form of the name *Shu-le*, i. e. Kāshgar, is *K'ia-lu-shu-ta(n)-lê*, which, according to M. Lévi, corresponds to Sanskrit *Kharoshṭra*, he draws the conclusion that the correct name of the alphabet was *Kharoshṭrī*, and that this name means 'the script of Kharoshṭra', i. e. Kāshgar.

Messrs. O. Franke and R. Pischel protested against this explanation,[2] and M. Lévi [3] modified his theory and maintained that *Kharoshṭrī* was the script of *Kharoshṭra*, and this again an old Indian designation of the country between India and China. Franke objected [4] that we have no such Sanskrit word as *Kharoshṭra*, that the Chinese *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-lê* can hardly be a rendering of such a form, and that the Indian name of the alphabet is given as *Kharoshṭī*, *Kharoṭṭhī* in Indian sources.

So far as I can see, M. Lévi's theory is hardly reconcilable with what we know about the history of the alphabet.

It is true that numerous Kharoshṭhī documents have been found in Chinese Turkestan, notably in the eastern oases to the south of the desert, and that the only known Kharoshṭhī manuscript comes from the Khotan country. The alphabet is, however, everywhere used for writing an Indian language, and we should *a priori* be inclined to think that it was brought to Turkestan by Indian immigrants. Moreover, the manuscript and the documents belong to a comparatively late date, none of them being apparently older than the second century A. D.

In India, on the other hand, the use of Kharoshṭhī can be traced back to the third century B. C. Moreover, Bühler seems to me to have proved definitely that it has been evolved from Aramaic to suit the exigencies of an Indian language, and we know that Aramaic was used in the Achaemenian offices and also that it was used in north-western India. At the time when Kharoshṭhī came into existence there does not seem to have

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[1] BEFEO, ii, 1902, pp. 246 ff.
[2] SBAW, 1903, pp. 184 ff., 735 ff.
[3] BEFEO, iv, 1904, pp. 543 ff.
[4] SBAW, 1905, pp. 238 ff.

been any Indian settlement in Turkestan, which was then peopled by various nomadic tribes, who do not seem to have been in possession of any developed civilization.

Name of the alphabet.

It therefore seems to me that we must accept Bühler's view about the origin of Kharoshṭhī. I also think that he was right in assuming that the name was in India considered to mean 'the script invented by Kharoshṭha', though it is quite possible that it is due to a popular etymology of an Aramaic word meaning 'writing', which sounded like *kharoṭṭha* and was Sanskritized as *kharoshṭha*, ass-lip.[1]

I am not, however, in this place concerned with the origin and the older history of Kharoshṭhī. The inscriptions published in this volume do not belong to the period when the script first began to be used, and none of them can be brought into connexion with the Achaemenians or with the Mauryans, who succeeded them as rulers over north-western India.

Most of them belong to the period when new conquerors had made themselves masters of the country, after the downfall of the Mauryan empire, and the oldest of them can be directly connected with these foreign invaders.

Three such peoples are often mentioned together in Indian sources: the Yavanas, the Śakas, and the Pahlavas, and they are all represented in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

The Yavanas.

The Yavanas or Yonas, i. e. the Greeks, had already made their appearance on Indian soil before the Mauryan dynasty came into being. It was, however, only at a somewhat later date that they began to penetrate the north-western provinces in earnest. In the first half of the second century B.C. Greek rulers crossed the Hindukush and made themselves masters of the Kābul country and north-western India: the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides. And Greek princes held their own in these districts down to the first century B.C.

Demetrius, who seems to have made himself master of parts of India about 175 B.C., began to use Kharoshṭhī in his coin legends, and this practice was continued down to the last Greek ruler in the Kābul valley, Hermaeus, in the first century A.D.

Most of these rulers are only known from their coins, and our information about them is rather scanty. We can, however, see that their conquest led to the result that Greek notions came to exercise a certain influence in the Indian borderland, notably in the framing of the calendar and in the development of Buddhist art.

None of the Greek rulers known from coins or other sources is mentioned in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, and there are only faint traces of the Greeks in them. A meridarkha Theüdora, i. e. μεριδάρχης Theodorus, is mentioned in an inscription which has been found in Swāt, but on a portable object, so that we do not know exactly its place of origin. Another inscription, which has been dug out at Taxila, also contains the same title, but the name of the meridarkh has been lost. Finally the name Theüdama occurs on a seal stone found in Bajaur.

These records do not teach us anything new. The two meridarkhs are mentioned as establishing Buddhist relics and sanctuaries, but we knew beforehand that the Greeks in India often assimilated themselves to the religion and civilization of their subjects.

The successors of the Greeks, the Śakas and Pahlavas, play a much more prominent role in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Some of their chief rulers and leaders are mentioned by name, and their history forms the basis of the chronological questions connected with these records. The inscriptions themselves are one of the principal sources for our knowledge of an important period of Indian history. But they cannot be used as such

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[1] Cf. Ludwig, *Gurupūjākaumudī*, pp. 68 ff.

without a certain familiarity with the chief features of the history of the Śakas and Pahlavas.

The Śakas.

The Śakas are frequently mentioned in Indian literature, especially in the epics, but very little information can be gathered from such sources, if we abstract from some Jaina accounts which will be utilized below. They are spoken of as belonging to the barbarous peoples who will rule in the Kaliyuga, or as degraded Kshatriyas. They are mentioned together with other north-western peoples, such as Kāmbojas and Yavanas, but also in other connexions. We hear about their being uprooted by Vikramāditya, the reputed founder of the Vikrama era, and another well-known Indian reckoning is designated as the Śaka era. The Purāṇas speak about eighteen (or sixteen) Śaka rulers following after the Gardabhillas and remaining in power for 380 years, &c.

The last-mentioned notice evidently refers us to the Western Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Mālava, who are not represented in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, though they were evidently of the same stock as the Śakas of the north-west. The others are rather vague and leave the impression that the term Śaka was used in a lax way.

It has always been recognized that the word Śaka is the same name which is handed down in Iranian and classical sources as *saka*, and most scholars agree in identifying it with the *Sai*, old pronunciation *Sək*,[1] of Chinese annals. There is also a general consensus of opinion to the effect that the Śakas were foreigners and Iranians. The genuine form of the name is accordingly *Saka*, with a dental *s*, and the Indian *Śaka* looks like a popular etymology, connecting the name with the base *śak*, to be strong, powerful, able.

These identifications make it possible to utilize classical, Iranian, and Chinese sources for the reconstruction of the history of the Sakas.

Classical authors about Sakas.

The earliest Greek author who wrote about the Sakai seems to have been Hecataeus from Miletus (about 500 B.C.), whose writings have not, however, been preserved. Then comes Herodotus (about 490–420 B.C.), who mentions them in several places.

From him we learn that the Persians used the designation Saka in a loose way, to denote all Scythian peoples, e.g. the Amyrgians,[2] who, according to Hellanicus (about 450), lived in some plain,[3] perhaps the plains east of the Caspian or north of the Jaxartes, though Professor Thomas[4] is inclined to think of the Gedrosian desert or part of the Persian desert.

Also Pliny[5] and other classical authors are in agreement with this statement of Herodotus.

Location of Sakai.

The stray references found in classical literature give us some idea of the locality where classical authors placed the Sakai. Herodotus mentions them together with the Bactrians (i. 153; vii. 64; ix. 113), and with India (vii. 9), and (iii. 93) as forming the fifteenth nomos of the Persian empire together with the Kaspioi. Arrian (*Anabasis*, iii. 8, 3; vii. 10, 5) speaks of them in connexion with Bactrians and Sogdians; Curtius Rufus (v. 9, 5; vi. 3, 9; vii. 4, 6) with Indians; Strabo (xi. 8, 2) and Pliny (l. c.) locate them beyond the Jaxartes, and the former states (xi. 6, 2) that the ancient historiographers of the Hellenes called the tribes beyond the Caspian Sea partly Sakai, partly Massagetai, without having accurate knowledge about them, and, in another place

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[1] Karlgren, no. 773.

[2] Cf. vii. 64: *τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας.*

[3] *Ἀμύργιον πεδίον Σάκων.*

[4] JRAS, 1906, p. 199.

[5] *Naturalis historia*, vi. 50: '*ultra* (*sc. Jaxartem*) *sunt Scytharum populi. Persae illos Sagas in* [*uni*]*versum appellavere a proxima gente.*'

(xi. 8, 2), that, beginning from the Caspian Sea, most of the Scythians were called Daai, farther to the east, however, preferably Massagetai and Sakai. He also (xi. 8, 2) gives the information that they were mostly nomads, and had spread over a large territory: they had occupied Bactria and the best district of Armenia, which was thence called Sakasene, and they had even advanced to the Cappadocians, where, however, the Persian strategoi had annihilated them.[1]

According to Megasthenes,[2] the Hemodon mountain separates India in the north from that part of Scythia which is inhabited by those Scythians who are called Sakai. Ptolemy (vi. 13) locates the country of the Sakai between 35° and 49° N. and between 125° and 143° E. Its frontiers are, according to him: to the north and north-east, Scythia on this side of Imaon oros; to the east, Scythia on the other side of that mountain; to the south, Imaon oros; and to the west, Sogdiana, the upper Jaxartes being here partly the borderline. According to his map, the way from Bactria to the Sakai passes through the country of the Sogdians between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and we are furnished with the names of several Saka tribes: Karatai, Komaroi, Komedai, Massagetai, Grynaioi, Skythai, Toornai, and Byltai.

Ktesias[3] mentions Roxanake as their royal city, and that name is still preserved in the present Roshan.

It is evident that the old home of the Sakai was considered to be in the Pamir country, to the north of the Hindukush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana, and that Saka tribes were further considered to exist to the east of the Caspian Sea and beyond the Jaxartes.[4]

Later on Sakas are also mentioned in the present Seistān, the oldest source being here Isidor of Charax, who lived under the emperor Augustus.[5] It is possible that these Sakas are referred to by Orosius under the name of Sacaraucae, in the description of 'Caucasus', where he speaks of Mount Oscobares, situated between the Dahae, the Sacaraucae, and the Parthyenae.[6] If his source were Agrippa, who died in the year 12 B.C., this statement would take us a little further back, and it is perhaps probable that the Sakas came to Seistān about the end of the second century B.C., as we shall see later on.

Persian inscriptions on the Sakas.

Another source from which knowledge about the Sakas can be derived are the Persian inscriptions of Darius.[7]

In the Behistun inscription i. 6, Darius mentions the countries which he inherited, and Saka here comes between Bactria, Sogdiana, and Gandhāra on one side, and Thatagush, Arachosia, and the Makas on the other. In ii. 2 Saka is mentioned last among the provinces which revolted while Darius was in Babylon, after Parthia, Margiana, and the

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[1] xi. 8, 4: *καὶ γὰρ τὴν Βακτριανὴν κατέσχον καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας κατεκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρίστην γῆν, ἣν καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτῶν κατέλιπον τὴν Σακασηνήν· καὶ μέχρι Καππαδόκων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πρὸς Εὐξείνῳ οὓς Ποντικοὺς νῦν καλοῦσι προῆλθον. Ἐπιθέμενοι δ' αὐτοῖς πανηγυρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων οἱ τότε ταύτῃ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοὶ νύκτωρ ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἠφάνισαν.*

[2] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, ii. 35, 1: *τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους τὸ Ἡμωδὸν ὄρος διείγρει τῆς Σκυθίας ἣν κατοικοῦσι τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι Σάκαι.*

[3] Nicolaus Damascenus, 6: *Ῥωξανάκη ἡ πόλις ἔνθα Σάκαις τὸ βασίλειον ἦν.*

[4] Cf. A. Herrmann, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, Stuttgart, 1920, *sub voce* Sakai.

[5] Cf. Stathmoi Parthikoi, 18: *ἐντεῦθεν Σακαστανὴ Σάκων Σκύθων ἡ καὶ Παραιτακηνή*; cf. Ptolemy, iv. 19, 3, where the last name is given as *Τατακηνή*.

[6] i. 2, 16: '*inter Dahas, Sacaraucas et Parthyenas mons Oscobares ubi Ganges fluvius oritur et laser nascitur*'.

[7] I quote from H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions*, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, 1908.

Thatagush. In the Persepolis inscription *e* 2 the Sakas are mentioned among the eastern countries, after Arachosia, India, and Gandhāra, and before the Makas. In the Naksh-i-Rustam inscription *a* 3 we have another enumeration: Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Khorasmia, Zranka, Arachosia, the Thatagush, Gandhāra, India, Sakā Haumavarkā, Sakā Tigrakhaudā, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Cappadocia, Sparda, Ionia, Sakā tyaiy taradraya (or paradraya [1]), Skudra, the Takabarā Ionians, Puntians, Kushians, Maxyes, and Karkians.

From these enumerations we can hardly draw any other inference than that there were several Saka tribes, and that they all belonged to the eastern parts of the empire. The Naksh-i-Rustam inscription, which mentions Zranka, i. e. Drangiana, without any reference to Sakas, might be taken as an indication that they were not, in those days, settled in Seistān. But such an inference is not necessary.

A more precise localization can be derived from the gold tablet of Darius,[2] where his empire is defined as extending from the Sakas beyond Sogdiana (*hacā Sakaibiš tyaiy para Sugdam*) to Ethiopia (*ā Kūšā*); from India (*hacā Hidauv*) to Sardis (*ā Spardā*). Here we have a clear indication that Sakas were settled to the east of Sogdiana, i. e. where classical authors locate the old Saka country.

It will be seen that the Naksh-i-Rustam inscription mentions some individual Saka tribes: the Tigrakhauda, the Haumavarka, and those 'beyond the sea' (*taradraya* or *paradraya*).

The *Sakā Haumavarkā* have been identified with the Amyrgioi, who have been mentioned above and who cannot be located with certainty.

The *Sakā Tigrakhaudā* are evidently referred to in the Behistun inscription v. 4, where we read: 'with my army I went to the Saka country, towards the Saka country (*hadā kārā Sakām adam ashiyavam abiy Sakām*)'. Then follows a mutilated passage, *. . . m tigrām b. r. t. y.*, where some scholars have found a reference to the Tigris, while others, apparently with more justification, supply *khaudām tigrām barantiy*, 'who wear a pointed cap', and see a reference to the *Sakā Tigrakhaudā*. After a new lacuna follows a mutilated passage: 'towards that sea (*. . . iya abiy draya avā*), . . ., I crossed in rafts (?) . . . the Sakas I smote (*. . . āh . . . ā pisā viyatarayam . . . Sakā avājanam*)'.

If the restoration *khaudām tigrām barantiy* is right, we learn that the *Sakā Tigrakhaudā* lived beyond a sea, and this may help us to locate them.

The designation *Tigrakhaudā*, 'of pointed caps', has been explained by what Herodotus says about the Amyrgioi, that they used pointed headgear.[3] It has usually been assumed that Herodotus has confounded the Amyrgioi with the 'wearers of pointed caps'. It seems, however, that such headgear was common with all those tribes, though only one of them is named in these inscriptions after this apparel. Also Herodotus knows a similar name, viz. *Orthokorybantioi*, which looks like a translation of *Tigrakhaudā*,[4] and states that they formed the tenth nomos of the empire of Darius, together with the Parikanioi, i. e. the inhabitants of modern Ferghāna. Professor A. Herrmann is therefore probably right in assuming that the Orthokorybantioi, i. e. some Sakā Tigrakhaudā,

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[1] Cf. L. H. Gray, JRAS, 1927, p. 99.

[2] Cf. Sidney Smith, JRAS, 1926, pp. 433 ff.; L. H. Gray, JRAS, 1927, pp. 97 ff.; E. Herzfeld, MASI, 34, 1928.

[3] Cf. vii. 64: *Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας.*

[4] Cf. iii. 92 and Kiessling, *Zur Geschichte der ersten Regierungsjahre des Darius Hystaspes*, Dissertation, Leipzig, 1900, p. 17.

lived to the east of the Caspian Sea, and that the mutilated passage in the Behistun inscription refers to an expedition against them: Darius proceeded towards the Saka country, towards the Caspian Sea, and then crossed not the sea, but the mouth of the Oxus. This explanation seems to me to be preferable to that of Professor Thomas,[1] which has been accepted by Professor Rapson,[2] according to which the sea (*draya*) was the Hāmūn lake, and the Sakas those of Seistān. We have not, so far as I can see, sufficient reason for assuming that Sakas had settled in Seistān in the days of Darius.

If we compare the statements of Herodotus with the inscriptions, we thus become inclined to assume that the Orthokorybantioi were the Sakas beyond the sea, who, according to the Behistun inscription wore pointed caps and could therefore be named after this headgear, but that there may also have been another Saka tribe, in the neighbourhood of the Amyrgians, to whom the designation Tigrakhauda was more especially applied by the Persians.

The indications in the Persian inscriptions thus lead us to the same localization as the classical sources: to the east of Sogdiana, and to the east of the Caspian Sea and the country on the Jaxartes.

Chinese annals about the Sakas.

Also the Chinese annals contain some information about the Sakas and their old home. As mentioned above, the Sakas are there called *Sai* or, in the pronunciation of the T'ang period, *Sək*. In the oldest sources they are frequently spoken of as the *Sai-wang*, a designation which will be dealt with later on.

We hear that the Sai-wang were, some time before 160 B.C., driven out from their old home by another tribe, the Yüe-chï, with which we shall have to occupy ourselves later on.[3] The Yüe-chï were, in their turn,[4] driven out by the Wu-sun, whose settlements have been defined by Professor Franke as extending from Urumchi to the west of Issik-kul, from the Dzungarian desert and down towards the Tarim.

Here accordingly Saka tribes must have been settled in the beginning of the second century B.C., near the Issik-kul.

We further read in the Ts'ien Han-shu the Annals of the Earlier Han Dynasty:[5] 'the Sai race split up and formed a series of states. From Shu-le (Kāshgar) on towards the north-west, what belongs to the states of Hiu-sün and Yüan-tu are all originally tribes of the old Sai.'

According to Professor Franke Hiu-sün and Yüan-tu should be located to the north-west of Kāshgar, below the south-western spurs of the Tien-shan and on the southern affluents of the Narin, Hiu-sün more towards Ferghāna, Yüan-tu to the east of Hiu-sün and extending towards the country of Wu-sun. Professor A. Herrmann (l. c.) locates Yüan-tu about the Russian fort Irkeshlan and Hiu-sün in the Alai valley.

We thus arrive at about the same localization as from the classical and Iranian sources, and learn that the old Saka territory extended as far east as the Issik-kul.

Wanderings of the Sakas.

The Ts'ien Han-shu speak of the Sakas as having had a large distribution and of their having founded many states, and we have seen that also Strabo has some remarks to the same effect. From Chinese sources we learn that the Sakas were seriously affected by the great movement which began in Central Asia in the second century B.C.

We read in the Ts'ien Han-shu:[6] 'the Yüe-chï had been conquered by the Hiung-nu and had, in the west, attacked the Sai-wang. The Sai-wang had fled southwards

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[1] JRAS, 1906, pp. 181 ff.
[2] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 564.
[3] Cf. e.g. Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 46 ff.
[4] Ibidem, pp. 15 f.
[5] Chap. 96 a, fol. 10 v°; Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 47 ff.
[6] Chap. 61, fol. 4 v°; cf. Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 46 ff.

and settled in a distant country': We shall see later on, in connexion with the Yüe-chï, that their defeat at the hands of the Hiung-nu had been effected in 176 B.C., and that they were themselves driven out of the old Saka country about 160 B.C. The Saka exodus alluded to in the Ts'ien Han-shu must accordingly fall between these two dates.

Sai-wang. The designation Sai-wang has given rise to much discussion. It consists of two words, *sai*, old *sək*, which has been identified with *saka*, and *wang*, a well-known Chinese word, which means 'king, prince, sovereign'. *Sai-wang* accordingly seems to mean 'Saka-king', or 'Saka-kings', and this is *a priori* not a likely designation of an individual tribe.

Professor Franke therefore proposed to explain *wang* in this name not as the usual Chinese word meaning 'king', but as part of the name itself. Professor Herrmann [1] wanted to correct *Sai-wang* to *Sai-yü*, older pronunciation *Sak-giok*, and to explain this as corresponding to an Iranian *Sakā rawakā*, which does not, it is true, exist, but which he found again in the designations *Sakarauloi*, *Saraucae*, of classical authors, with which we shall have to deal below.

We have not, however, any right to correct the Chinese text, and Professor Franke's explanation only creates a new difficulty, because we have no information about any tribe being called *Sakawang* or some similar name. Moreover, the designation 'Saka-king' for some tribe or dynasty is known from other sources.

In the Allahābād posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta [2] we read in l. 23 of certain successes achieved by the Gupta emperor in connexion with *Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi-Śaka-muruṇḍaiḥ Saiṁhaḷakādibhiś cha*, where *Śaka-muruṇḍa* is evidently a designation of a similar kind as *Daivaputrashāhi* and *Shāhānushāhi*. Now *muruṇḍa* is almost certainly a Saka word meaning 'master', 'lord'. It seems to occur in the form *muroḍa*, i.e. *muroṇḍa*, as a title of King Kanishka in the Zeda inscription; it is found in the compound *hora-murṇḍaga* in certain Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā,[3] and Professor Lüders [4] has further compared the word *horamurta* of the Māṇikiāla inscription, explaining *hora* as the well-known Saka word for 'gift, donation', and *hora-murṇḍaga* as corresponding to Sanskrit *dānapati*, so that *muruṇḍa* must mean 'master, lord'. Professor Lévi has further shown [5] that *muruṇḍa* is well known from Indian literature and occurs, in the form *mao-lun*, as a title of Indian rulers in Chinese sources. I have therefore [6] identified *Śakamuruṇḍa* with the Chinese *Sai-wang*, Saka-lord, where *wang* is simply a Chinese translation of the Saka word *muruṇḍa*, just as this same word was translated into Indian as *svāmin* in the titulature of the Indian Śaka dynasty known as that of the Western Kshatrapas.

There was accordingly a Saka tribe known as the Saka-muruṇḍas, evidently because their chiefs were styled *muruṇḍa*, while other Saka tribes used other titles, a state of affairs which is well attested. In the Saka texts from the Khotan country we find royal titles such as *rre* and *shshau*; in the Jaina text Kālakāchāryakathānaka the chiefs are *sāhis* and their overlord *sāhāṇu sāhi*, a title which recurs in the *shāhānu shāhi* of the Allahābād praśasti; and the Kushāṇa dynasty of Kanishka uses in coin legends the title *shaonano shao*, i.e. *shaunānu shau*.

A designation such as *Saka-muruṇḍa*, *Sai-wang* is therefore quite natural.

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[1] l. c., *sub voce* Sacaraucae.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, iii, pp. 1 ff.

[3] Ed. R. D. Bandyopadhyaya, J&PASB, v, 1909, pp. 242 ff.

[4] SBAW, 1913, pp. 420 ff.

[5] *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyde, 1896, pp. 176 ff.

[6] SBAW, 1916, pp. 790 ff.

Classical authors about Saka exodus.

We have already seen that Strabo mentions a Saka conquest of Bactria,[1] where the Greek kings were ousted by Scythian nomads, and some of these nomadic tribes are enumerated by him, notably, the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tocharoi, and Sakarauloi.[2]

Sakas thus were instrumental in overthrowing the Greek empire in Bactria, and some of these Sakas seem to be called Sakarauloi.

Sakarauloi.

This name occurs in various forms. One of the manuscripts of Strabo has *Sarakauloi*; Lucianus (Macrob. 15) speaks of Sakaurakoi (*Σακαύρακοι Σκύθαι*); Ptolemy (vi. 14, 14) of Sagaraukai (*Σαγαραῦκαι*); Orosius (i. 2, 16) of Sacaraucae, and Trogus Pompeius (Prolog. xli f.) of Sarancae, i. e. evidently Saraucae.

I have already mentioned that Professor Herrmann identifies the Sakarauloi or Sakaraukoi with the Sai-wang, and it seems to me that he must be right, though I cannot accept his correction of the Chinese word. It is tempting to see in *rauloi*, *raukoi*, *urakoi*, or how the correct form may be, a word formed from the same base as Khotanī Saka *rre*, king, *rrvīya*, royal, and consider *Sakarauloi*, *Sakaraukoi* as a rendering of *Saka-muruṇḍa* into another dialect, just as we find different forms of the old *χshāyathiya* such as *shāhi*, *shau*, *χshēvanē* in different Iranian languages.[3]

Home of Sakarauloi.

We do not know whence the Sakarauloi came on their march towards Bactria. Strabo's account is not quite clear. If the *καί* after *Σακάραυλοι* has come in by mistake, as is often held to be the case, they seem to have come from the old Saka country to the east of Sogdiana and the Jaxartes, and we should become inclined to connect their inroad with the events narrated in the Ts'ien Han-shu. On the whole it seems to me that such was probably the case, though it is hardly possible to prove that Professor Thomas was wrong in thinking[4] that the Saraucae or Sacaraucae started from the country north of Parthia and between the Caspian and the Aral Sea.

Trogus on the conquest of Bactria.

Some remarks about these events are contained in the extracts of Trogus. In the 41st book he had dealt with the establishment of an empire in Bactria by Diodotus, which event took place about the middle of the third century B.C. In that connexion he gave an account of how Scythian tribes, the Saraucae and the Asiani, took possession of Bactria and Sogdiana.[5] Trogus' text has usually been constructed to mean that the Scythian invasion took place during the reign of Diodotus. There is, however, no indication to show that the Greek power in Bactria was weakened in his days. He and his successors remained firm in the possession of the country down to the time of Eucratides and Demetrius in the second century A.D. But then evil times set in, and we learn from Justin that the Bactrians lost both their empire and their freedom, being

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[1] xi. 8, 4: *καὶ γὰρ τὴν Βακτριανὴν κατέσχον.*

[2] Cf. xi. 8, 2: *μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν Ἄσιοι καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι καὶ ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας του Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανοὺς ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι καὶ τῶν Δαῶν οἱ μὲν προσαγορεύονται Ἄπαρνοι οἱ δὲ Ξάνθιοι οἱ δὲ Πίσσουροι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἄπαρνοι πλησιαίτατα τῇ Ὑρκανίᾳ παράκεινται καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν θαλάττῃ. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαμένουσι καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀντιπαρηκούσης τῇ Ἀρίᾳ.*

[3] Charpentier, ZDMG, 71, pp. 368 f., follows up a suggestion of Professor Jacobi that there may be some connexion between Sakarauloi, &c., and *Sagakūla*, the country of the Sakas on the Indus, according to the Kālakāchāryakathānaka. He thinks that the second part of the word may be contained in *Ku-lang-na*, mentioned as a kingdom by Hüan-tsang and corresponding to the modern Kurān in the upper part of the valley of the Kokcha. Both the Greek and the Indian traditions may have been wrong in seeing the word *Saka* in the name, which may ultimately be connected withthe modern Sarikol.

[4] JRAS, 1906, p. 186.

[5] '*in Bactrianis autem rebus ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est. Deinde quo repugnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactram occupaverunt et Sogdianos.*'

harassed by the Sogdians, the Arachoti, the Drangae, and the Arei, and finally oppressed by the Parthians.[1]

I therefore think that we must either assume that some words have been lost or else interpret Trogus in a different way, taking the *quo* of *quo repugnante* to be the interrogative and not the relative pronoun. He had narrated how Diodotus established his empire in Bactria and incidentally added some remarks about a later ruler, during whose reign the Saraucae and Asiani entered upon the stage and involved him in war.

Marquart[2] explains Trogus' statement to mean that the Saraucae occupied Bactria and the Asiani Sogdiana, and though it is not necessary to interpret the text in this way, he is probably right, since we know from Strabo that Saka tribes occupied Bactria. I further accept the identification of the Saraucae with the Sakarauloi.

In the Prologus of the 42nd book of Trogus there is a further notice about the Saraucae: 'added are the Scythian matters: the Asiani (becoming) kings of the Tocharians and the annihilation of the Saraucae'.[3] It seems necessary to infer that the Saraucae had been living in the Tocharian country, and that, at a later date, they were ousted by the Asiani, who had in the meantime become the rulers of the Tocharians.

Now we shall see later on that the Asiani are probably identical with the Yüe-chï of the Chinese annals, and that the Tocharians were settled in and to the east of Bactria, when the Yüe-chï became their masters. We therefore seem to have good reason for combining the classical and the Chinese accounts in order to reconstruct the course of events.

I have already drawn attention to the Chinese accounts about the encounter between the Yüe-chï and the Sai-wang, and I shall have to return to them later on in connexion with the Yüe-chï. We have seen that the latter had been conquered by the Hiung-nu in 176 B.C. and had subsequently entered the country of the Sai-wang in the neighbourhood of Issik-kul, the Sai-wang having gone southwards and settled in a distant country. We shall see below that the Chinese had something more to say about this distant country, but it may be surmised that the Sai-wang exodus was the beginning of the Scythian pressure on the Greek empire in Bactria, and it is a curious fact that it seems to coincide with the Indian conquests of Demetrius, which may, or may not, be due to a desire for strengthening his position in another direction.

About 160 B.C. the Yüe-chï were then driven out of the old Sai-wang country by the Wu-sun, assisted by the Hiung-nu.[4] This then seems to have been the time referred to by Trogus, when the Asiani, i. e. the Yüe-chï, took Sogdiana and the Saraucae Bactria.

After Chang K'ien had returned from his visit to the Western Countries in 126 B.C., he submitted a report of the state of things as he had found it. The Yüe-chï were then masters of the Ta-hia, i. e. the Tocharians, but their capital was still to the north of the Oxus.

At this time, therefore, the position of the Saraucae must have become a different one, but we cannot draw the inference that they had been entirely annihilated.

In the Hou Han-shu, the annals of the Later Han, the situation is, as we shall see, quite different. The Yüe-chï have transferred their capital to the south of the Oxus, and there is evidently no room for the Saraucae. The Hou Han-shu deals with the

[1] Cf. xli. 6: '*Bactriani autem per varia bella iactati non regnum tantum verum etiam libertatem amiserunt, siquidem Sogdianorum et Arachotorum et Drangarum et Areorum bellis fatigati ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis velut exsangues oppressi sunt.*'

[2] Ērānšahr, p. 204

[3] *Additae his res Scythicae. Reges Thocarorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum.*

[4] Cf. Franke, *Beiträge*, p. 15.

events of the period A.D. 25–220, but we have no means for inferring when the new state of things in Bactria was established.

We may only surmise that the Yüe-chï began to exercise pressure on the Saraucae shortly after 160 B.C., and they had succeeded in materially weakening their position when Chang K'ien visited the country about 130 B.C. It is probable, but cannot be proved, that these events gave rise to a new movement of the Sakas in Bactria, and it is possible that their eyes were now turned towards Seistān, where we find them about the times of Christ, as we have already seen.

Sakas in Ki-pin

The Chinese annals, however, also give information about further Saka wanderings. The Ts'ien Han-shu, chap. 96 b, fol. 10 v°, runs: 'the Great Yüe-chï went towards the west and made themselves masters of Ta-hia, but the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Ki-pin'. We also hear something about the route they followed:[1] 'the Sai-wang went towards the south and passed the *hien-tu* (the hanging passage)'.

The hanging passage.

The *hien-tu* is also mentioned in other places. In the Weï-lio, the history of the Weï Dynasty (A.D. 220–264), we read that the southern route from China westwards went via Ts'ung-ling (the Pamirs) and *hien-tu* to the country of the Ta Yüe-chï, whose empire at that time extended over a large part of India. According to Chavannes,[2] this is the Bolor route through the Yasin valley, by which travellers went from Wakhān to the Indus and further to Kashmir and Udyana. It is practically the same route which the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien followed.

In his *Serindia*[3] Sir Aurel Stein shows how the pilgrim went from Kie-ch'a (Kāshgar) over the Pamirs to the country of T'o-li, the modern Darēl on the right bank of the Indus, opposite Chilas. Thence he followed the Indus towards the west. 'The way was difficult and rugged (running along) a bank exceedingly precipitous, which rose up there, a hill-like wall of rock, 10,000 cubits from the base. When one approached the edge of it, his eyes became unsteady, and if he wished to go forward in the same direction, there was no place on which he could place his foot, and beneath were the waters of the river called Indus. In former times men had chiselled paths along the rocks, and distributed ladders on the face of them to the number altogether of 700, at the bottom of which was a suspension bridge of ropes, by which the river was crossed, its banks being there eighty paces apart.'

This was the hanging passage, and, according to Sir Aurel, the map shows 'that even at the present day the main track along the Indus crosses below Darēl to the left bank and does not regain the right bank until Mirabat, some eight miles above the side valley of Kānda belonging to the Swāt'.

Ki-pin.

After having passed the *hien-tu*, the Sai-wang, as we have seen, made themselves masters of Ki-pin. According to Chavannes[4] Ki-pin means Kashmir from the period of the Han and down to that of the northern Wei, and was only in the T'ang period identified with the country about the northern affluents of the Kābul river, the present Kafiristān. It seems to me, however, that Professor Franke must be right when he says[5] that the Chinese do not seem to have had any clear idea about the position and limits of the country. We read in the Ts'ien Han-shu:[6] 'The capital of the kingdom of Ki-pin

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[1] Ts'ien Han-shu, chap. 96 b, fol. 1 v°.

[2] T'oung Pao, II, vi, p. 529[5].

[3] pp. 5 ff.

[4] l. c., p. 538[4].

[5] l. c., pp. 59 f.

[6] Chap. 96 a, fol. 10 v°; cf. A. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 1881, pp. 33 ff.; Franke, l. c., pp. 63 ff.

is the city of Sün-sien,[1] distant from Ch'ang-an 12,200 li. The country is not under the control of the Governor-General. The numbers of families, persons, and picked troops are very large, as it is a great country. The seat of the Governor-General lies north-east, at a distance of 6,840 li. The kingdom of Wu-ch'a[2] lies 2,250 li to the east. The kingdom of Nan-tou[3] is nine days' journey to the north-east. The country joins the Ta Yüe-chï on the north-west, Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia) on the south-west.... The land of Ki-pin is flat, and the climate mild and agreeable. The country produces medicago sativa, various herbs, strange trees, sandal wood, sophora japonica, rottlera japonica, bamboo, and the varnish tree. They cultivate the five grains (i.e. hemp, millet, rice, wheat, and pulse), grapes, and various fruits. They manure their gardens and fields. In the low and damp ground they grow rice. In winter they eat raw vegetables. The people are ingenious in carving, ornamenting, engraving, and inlaying; in building palaces and mansions, weaving mats, ornamental perforation, and embroidery; and excel at cooking. They have gold, silver, copper, and tin, of which they make vessels, and expose them for sale. They have a gold and a silver currency. On the obverse of their money is a man on horseback, and on the reverse a man's face. The country produces the Indian ox, the buffalo, the elephant, great dogs, large apes, and the pea-fowl; also pearls of different kinds, coral, amber, rock crystal, vitreous ware, camels, and domestic animals the same as other nations.

(China's) communications with Ki-pin began in the days of Wu-ti (140–85 B.C.). As it was distant and far away, Chinese troops could not come there. The king of the country, Wu-t'ou-lao,[4] on several occasions put the Chinese envoys to death. When Wu-t'ou-lao died, his son succeeded him on the throne. He sent envoys to bring tribute. The captain at the barrier, Wên-chung, was sent to escort them home. The king again wished to do violence to Wên-chung. But Wên-chung became aware of this and, together with the son of the king of Yung-k'ü,[5] Yin-mo-fu,[6] he attacked Ki-pin and killed the king, whereafter Yin-mo-fu was installed as king of Ki-pin and received the seal and ribbon (of investiture).

Afterwards the sub-general, Chao-tê, went as envoy to Ki-pin. He got on bad terms with Yin-mo-fu. Yin-mo-fu put him in chains and killed his attendants, more than seventy persons in all. He then sent envoys, who were to submit a written apology. The emperor, Yüan-ti (48–33 B.C.), did not, however, take any notice of the distant countries. The envoys were therefore sent back to *hien-tu*; the relations were severed and no further communications were kept up.

In the time of the emperor, Ch'êng-ti (32–7 B.C.), envoys were again sent with presents and an apology. There was an intention to dispatch envoys to escort them back. But Tu-k'in addressed the Generalissimo, Wang-fêng, to the following effect.'

Then follows a long speech, in which Tu-k'in warns against entering into further communications. 'Those who bring offerings,' he says, 'are not dignitaries of the king's surroundings, but traders, low-caste people, who want to sell and to buy, and the offerings are a mere pretence.'

According to the Hou Han-shu, Ki-pin is reached from Tashkurgan via the hanging

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[1] Old pronunciation *zi̯uĕn-si̯än*, Karlgren, nos. 1142 and 799.
[2] To the east of *hien-tu*; cf. Franke, p. 58.
[3] South of Yüan-tu and east of the Ta Yüe-chï; cf. Franke, p. 59.
[4] Old pronunciation *uo-d'əu-lâu*, Karlgren, nos. 1288, 1015, 516.
[5] Old pronunciation *i̯wong-k'i̯uət*, Karlgren, nos. 950, 493.
[6] Old pronunciation *i̯əm-muât-p'i̯u*, Karlgren, nos. 274, 636, 757.

passage, and lies on the way to Wu-i-shan-li. The Weï-shu[1] gives as its capital Shên-kien, south-west of Po-lu, states that the country is situated in the midst of four mountains, is 800 li from west to east and 300 from north to south, and then goes on to describe the country much in the same way as the Ts'ien Han-shu.

It will be seen that the Chinese notices are not quite clear. If we limit ourself to the Ts'ien Han-shu, which narrates the events connected with the wanderings of the Sakas in greatest detail, we shall, however, find that Ki-pin was to the south-east of the then country of the Yüe-chï, i. e. evidently south of the Hindukush; to the north-east of Arachosia and to the west of the Indus.

We cannot, therefore, well identify it with Kashmir, but it may have comprised the Swāt valley, and it certainly extended westwards towards Arachosia. Whether it comprised Kao-fu (Kābul) or not, we cannot say. The Hou Han-shu, chap. 118, fol. 11 v°, states that that country never long belonged to any big state. Of the empires of T'ien-chu (India), Ki-pin, and An-si (Parthia), whichever was powerful, conquered it, and lost it again, when it became weak.

In favour of such a localization of Ki-pin, the country occupied by the Sai-wang, to the west of the Indus and below the Hindukush also speaks a notice in Hüan-tsang's description of Shang-mi, the present Mastūj, according to which the king of that country was of the Śākya race, for Śākya is, in this connexion, evidently a misunderstanding instead of Śaka.[2] We may also compare the statement in Hemachandra's Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, v. 960, *Lampākās tu muraṇḍāḥ syuḥ*, the Lampākas would be *muraṇḍas*, which seems to show that the country of Lampāka, the present Laghmān, had at a comparatively late date preserved the memory of the rule of the *muraṇḍas*, i. e. evidently the Śaka-muruṇḍas, the Sai-wang.

Who the rulers mentioned in the passage of the Ts'ien Han-shu translated above were, and whether they had anything to do with the Sai-wang conquest, we cannot say. Professor A. Herrmann[3] thinks that Yin-mo-fu is a rendering of the same designation which Herodotus gives in the form Amyrgios, and that he was the Sai-wang who conquered Ki-pin, and also that he is identical with the Indian Saka ruler, Maues, Moga. But it is hardly possible to see an old *amurga* (Amyrgios) in the name Yin-mo-fu, and Moga does not, as we shall see, seem to be the first Saka conqueror of India. Moreover, the account of the Ts'ien Han-shu connects Yin-mo-fu with the emperor Yuan-ti (48–33 B.C.), while the Sai-wang conquest of Ki-pin apparently belongs to an earlier period. It therefore seems more probable that Yin-mo-fu was not a Saka, but belonged to another people and was instrumental in making an end to the Saka dominion in Ki-pin.

We have thus seen that Sakas had, at a comparatively early date, occupied Bactria, where they seem to have been ousted by the Yüe-chï. We have found them in Seistān about the times of Christ, when the country had already received its name from them, so that we may reasonably assume that they had been settled there for some time. It is therefore, as suggested above, probable that they settled in Seistān as a consequence of the pressure which the Yüe-chï began to exercise shortly after 160 B.C. Finally we hear about a Saka dominion in Ki-pin.

Sakas in India.

In the first century B.C. we now find Sakas, or as the Indians call them Śakas, established in Sind and in the Panjāb, and the history of these Indian Sakas is of the utmost interest for our appreciation of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Several of them

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[1] Chap. 102, fol. 9 r°; cf. Specht, JA, VIII, ii, 1883, p. 333.

[2] Cf. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 44.

[3] l. c. *sub voce* Sakai.

bear direct witness to the rule of Saka kings and chiefs, and they are themselves among the sources for our knowledge of the history of India in the Saka period.

This history is little known. We cannot say for certain when the Sakas first made their appearance in India or whence they came. There are no indications to show that they made important independent contributions to Indian civilization. But we get the impression that their rule gave rise to a certain fermentation, which became of importance. The influx of Greek notions and Greek art continued, and even if Indian civilization continues to bear an Indian stamp, there can hardly be much doubt that the crossing and intercrossing of ideas and ideals acted as a powerful ferment. It is scarcely a mere accident that Indian literature and civilization had a rich development during and after the Scythian period, and every student knows how important it was in the history of Indian Buddhism. The Sakas introduced new royal titles in India, and it seems probable that the political ideas underlying them were likewise partly assimilated. In civilization, however, the Sakas seem to have received more than they gave. On the other hand, they became the great intermediators through whom Indian civilization and Indian ideals spread to Central Asia and the far east.

Sources.

It is an important period, and we should like to know more about it. Our sources are, however, rather limited. In addition to the Kharoshṭhī and some Brāhmī inscriptions we have a series of coins and some references in literature. What is written in Sanskrit does not help us much, but some information can be gleaned from classical authors, from Jaina tradition, and from what we know about the general history of the period.

The Scythian period is a long one, extending from the first century B.C. down to the time of the imperial Guptas and even longer. More than one foreign people entered on the stage, and it is not always easy to keep them separated from each other. In the present place we shall, however, limit ourselves to the beginning of Scythian rule in India.

Classical authors.

Classical authors speak of the Indo-Scythians and their country Indo-Scythia. According to Ptolemy (vii. i, 55, 62) it extended on both sides of the Indus, from the Kābul river to the Arabic Sea. The delta was called Patalene, the country to the north and north-east Abiria, and the south-eastern province Syrastrene, i. e. Surāshṭra, the modern Kāṭhiāwār. Also Dionysius Periegeta[1] speaks about the 'Southern Scythians' as settled on the Indus, and his commentator, Eustathius, states that the Indo-Scythians are meant. In the Periplus Scythia, i. e. Indo-Scythia, is spoken of as being under Parthian rule. At the time of that work, i. e. in the second half of the first century A.D., Indo-Scythia accordingly seems to have come under the rule of the Parthians.

The inference which we can draw from these sources is, accordingly, to the effect that the stronghold of the Scythians, i. e. in this connexion the Sakas, was in the Indus country, and that the Saka conquest had been effected long before the second half of the first century A.D.

Jaina tradition.

A similar result must be derived from the traditional accounts preserved by the Jainas. The most important one is contained in a work of unknown date, the Kālakāchāryakathānaka.[2]

We there read about the Jaina teacher, Kālaka, whose sister was abducted by

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[1] v. 1088: *Ἴνδον πὰρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκύθαι ἐνναίουσι.*

[2] Ed. by H. Jacobi, ZDMG, 34, 1880, pp. 247 ff.

Gardabhilla, king of Ujjayinī. He then proceeded to the *kūla* called *Sagakūla*,[1] the *kūla* of the Sakas. There the feudatories (*sāmanta*) were called *sāhi* and their overlord (*sāmantāhivaï*) *sāhāṇu sāhi*, i. e. King of Kings. Kālaka stayed with one of the sāhis, and as this chief together with ninety-five other sāhis fell into disgrace with the 'King of Kings', Kālaka induced them to accompany him to Hindukadeśa (*Hindugadesa*). They crossed the Indus (*uttariūṇa Sindhuṁ*), embarked in ships (*samāruhiūṇa jāṇavattesu*), proceeded to Kāṭhiāwār (*samāgayā Suraṭṭhavisae*) and divided that country among themselves. When the autumn came, the āchārya led them on to Ujjayinī, where Gardabhilla was made a prisoner. A sāhi was established as overking (*rāyāhirāya*), and in this way this dynasty of the Saka kings came into being (*evaṁ Sagarāīṇaṁ eso vaṁso samuppanno*).

After some time (*kālantareṇa keṇaï*) Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, ousted this Saka dynasty (*uppāḍittā Sagāṇa taṁ vaṁsaṁ*) and established his own era (*payaḍāvio niyao saṁvachchharo*).

But also his dynasty was uprooted (*tassa vi vaṁsaṁ uppāḍiūṇa*), by another Saka king (*Sagarāyā*), who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (*paṇatīse vāsasae Vikkamasaṁvachchharassa volīṇe parivaṭṭiūṇa ṭhavio jeṇaṁ saṁvachcharo niyao*).

It is then added that this incident has been narrated (*eyaṁ pāsaṁgiyaṁ samakkhāyaṁ*) in order to give information about the (origin of the) Śaka era (*Sagakālajāṇaṇatthaṁ*).

I cannot see the slightest reason for discrediting this account, as is usually done, because most scholars are *a priori* disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore. Almost every detail can be verified from other sources. A Saka empire in the Indus country is, as we have seen, known from classical sources. Ptolemy speaks of the extension of Saka power to Kāṭhiāwār, and the use of the imperial title 'King of Kings' among the Sakas is, as we shall see later on, attested by coins. And the Purāṇas[2] speak of Śaka kings as the successors of the Gardabhilla dynasty.

I have therefore no hesitation in drawing the inference that a Saka empire, with emperors using the title 'King of Kings' (*sāhāṇu sāhi*), existed in the Indus country some time before the establishment of the Vikrama era. Its centre of gravity seems to have been on the western shore of the Indus, and it is of interest that the recent excavations at Mohenjo Daro in the Lārkāna district have brought to light traces of the successors of the Sakas, the Kushāṇas. We are further told that these ancient Sakas made themselves masters of Kāṭhiāwār and, for some time, of Ujjayinī; that their overthrow in the latter place by Vikramāditya was the occasion for the establishment of the Vikrama era; and that 135 years later another Saka established the well-known Śaka era. We are not told that the sāhi who ousted Gardabhilla introduced an era of his own, and we are left to guess whether his dynasty brought an era from Sagakūla, which era must then have been established some time before the expedition to Ujjayinī and probably by the first *sāhāṇu sāhi*, or stuck to the old reckoning of Mālava. The former alternative seems to be the most probable one, since Vikramāditya thought it advisable to introduce an era of his own. We have no certain traces of Indian secular eras before Vikramāditya,

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[1] We do not know whether *kūla* is the well-known *kūla*, bank, shore, or a misunderstood foreign word.

[2] Cf. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford University Press, 1913, pp. 45 ff.

and it seems *a priori* likely that he established an era of his own in imitation of the Saka conquerors whom he replaced.

About the duration of this Saka dynasty in Ujjayinī some information seems to be deducible from some memorial verses preserved in Jaina literature, which I think contain a genuine tradition.[1] They give a short account of the kings and dynasties of Mālava intervening between Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa and the beginning of the Vikrama era, and are to the following effect: 'In the night when the Arhat, the Tīrthaṁkara Mahāvīra died, in that night the Avanti lord Pālaka was anointed. Sixty (are the years) of king Pālaka and one hundred and fifty-five (those) of the Nandas, one hundred and eight (those) of the Mauryas, thirty (those) of Pushyamitra. Balamitra and Bhānumitra (ruled) sixty years, Nahavahana forty, and the reign of Gardabhilla (lasted) thirteen years, that of the Saka four.'[2]

In the present connexion we are only concerned with the last pada, according to which the Saka rule in Ujjayinī lasted four years, i. e. from 60 or 61 B.C., and I see no reason for doubting this statement.

We must accordingly assume that the Saka dominion in the Indus country had been established some time before that date, how long we cannot say. Some indications can, however, be deduced from the use of the imperial title 'King of Kings' used by the Sakas on the Indus.

The title King of Kings.

The title is, as is well known, deducible from the Achaemenian *χshāyathiya χshāyathiyānām*, and is not used by ancient Indian rulers such as Aśoka and Khāravela. The Greeks did not employ it but used designations such as βασιλεύς, 'king' (Diodotus, Euthydemus, Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agathocles, Eucratides); βασιλεὺς μέγας, 'great king' (Eucratides); *maharaja mahata*, 'great great-king' (Hermaeus); βασιλεὺς σωτήρ, *maharaja tratara*, 'king saviour', 'great-king saviour' (Diodotus, Diomedes, Apollodotus, Strato, Menander, Dionysius, Apollophanes, Zoilus, Nicias, Hippostratus, Hermaeus); βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, *maharaja dhramika*, 'righteous king' (Agathocles, Heliocles, Menander, Zoilus, Theophilus); βασιλεὺς νικηφόρος, or, νικάτωρ, *maharaja jayadhara*, 'victorious king' (Antialcides, Epander, Antimachus, Amyntas); βασιλεὺς ἀνίκητος, 'unconquered king' (Demetrius, Lysias, Philoxenus, Artemidorus); βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανής, 'illustrious king' (Plato, Strato); βασιλεὺς εὐεργέτης, *maharaja kalanakrama*, 'beneficent king' (Telephus), &c.

Such titles may be combined. Thus we find βασιλεὺς μέγας σωτήρ, 'great king saviour' (Apollodotus and Hippostratus, of whom the latter also uses the Indian translation *maharaja tratara mahata jayata*, 'great-king, saviour, great, victorious'); βασιλεὺς σωτὴρ δίκαιος, *maharaja tratara dhramika*, 'righteous king saviour' (Strato); βασιλεὺς δίκαιος καὶ σωτήρ, *maharaja dhramika tratara* (Peucelaus); βασιλεὺς δίκαιος νικηφόρος, *maharaja dhramika jayadhara*, 'righteous victorious king' (Archebius); βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανὴς σωτήρ, *maharaja prachaksha tratara*, 'illustrious king saviour' (Strato, Polyxenus). If we add βασιλεὺς θεός, 'divine king' (Antimachus); βασίλισσα θεότροπος, 'god-like queen' (Agathocleia); βασιλεὺς μέγας σωτὴρ καὶ φιλοπάτωρ, 'great king saviour and father-loving' (Appolodotus) and βασιλεὺς στήρ συ, 'king saviour su' (Hermaeus), we have exhausted the titulature used by Greek rulers in India, and it is only in some of the Kharoshṭhī

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[1] Cf. my remarks *Acta Orientalia*, i, pp. 33 ff.

[2] '*jaṁ rayaṇiṁ kālagao arihā titthaṁkaro Mahāvīr[o]*
taṁ rayaṇiṁ Avantivaī ahisitto Pālago rāyā.
Saṭṭhī Pālagaraṇṇo paṇavaṇṇasayaṁ tu hoī Nandāṇa
aṭṭhasayaṁ Muriyāṇaṁ tīsaṁ cia Pūsamittassa.
Balamitta-Bhāṇumittā saṭṭhī varisāṇi chatta Nahavahaṇe
taha Gaddabhillarajjaṁ terasa varisā Sagassa chaü.'

legends corresponding to *βασιλέως στηρος συ Ἑρμαίου* that we find the imperial title *rajaraja*, and these coins are certainly later than the period referred to in the Jaina book.[1]

If we abstract from the Kālakāchāryakathānaka, the first time the title 'King of Kings' is met with on Indian soil is in the coin-legends of a ruler who is variously called Maues, Moa, or Moga, and who was certainly a Saka.[2]

Moga.

The form Moga occurs, coupled with the title *maharaya*, in a copper-plate inscription from Taxila, dated in the year 78 of an era which we shall have to deal with below. The forms Maues and Moa are taken from a series of coins, some with the Greek legend *βασιλέως* ΜΑΥΟΥ, others with the Greek legend *βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου* ΜΑΥΟΥ on the obverse and *rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa* on the reverse.

Dr. Fleet[3] wanted to separate the great king Moga of the copper-plate from Maues, Moa, chiefly because the coins have been assigned to a very early period, not later than 120 B.C., while the copper-plate was, in his opinion, dated in the Vikrama era and accordingly belonged to the first century A.D. He rightly thinks it impossible to overcome this difficulty by assuming that the copper-plate is dated not during the reign of the great king Moga, but in the year 78 of an era instituted by Moga, reminding us of the fact that when the name of a king is mentioned in connexion with the date in an early Indian record, this king is always characterized as ruling at the time when the record was issued.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr. Fleet was right in assuming that King Moga was actually ruling at the time of the copper-plate. On the other hand, it can be seriously doubted whether the Moa-Maues coins are really so old as has been assumed.

Professor Rapson points out[4] that such can hardly be the case, and thinks it extremely unlikely that Maues should be older than Mithradates II (123–88 B.C.), the first Parthian emperor to use the imperial title 'King of Kings'. And he is evidently right.

In his paper, 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasties',[5] Mr. Vincent Smith says about the coins of Maues: 'The pieces with types directly imitated from the coinages of Demetrios and Apollodotos bear the brief legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ, and may be presumed to belong to an early period of his reign. But most of his coins give the fuller royal style, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ, which is unquestionably a copy of the Parthian regal formula.'

If we accept this line of argument, as I think we must do, we must turn to Parthian history in order to find out the earliest possible date for Maues.

Parthia.

The Parthian empire was founded about the middle of the third century B.C. by Arsaces, whose successors are known as the Arsacidae, wherefore the old Chinese name for Parthia was *An-si* (old *ân-si̯ək*), which form can be deduced from an old *arsak*.

The Parthian ruler who was on the throne when Scythian tribes were making an end to the Greek dominion in Bactria was Mithradates I (*ca.* 171–138 B.C.), who succeeded in establishing a powerful empire. We learn from Strabo[6] that the Parthians 'grew so powerful, continually encroaching upon the neighbouring territory by reason of their

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[1] I abstract from the Eucratides coin Gardner, Pl. xxx, 12, with the legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Evukrati*[*dasa*], which seems to be quite unique.

[2] Cf. Thomas, JRAS, 1906, p. 208.

[3] JRAS, 1914, pp. 994 ff. and other papers.

[4] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 570.

[5] ZDMG, 60, 1906, p. 54.

[6] xi. 9, 2: ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἴσχυσαν ἀφαιρούμενοι τὴν πλησίον ἀεὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθώσεις, ὥστε τελευτῶντες ἁπάσης τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου κύριοι κατέστησαν. Ἀφείλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν

successes in war, that finally they established themselves as masters of all within the Euphrates. They further appropriated a portion of Bactria by bringing force to bear upon the Scythians and even before that upon those about Eucratides'.

Mithradates I and India.

It has been supposed that Mithradates I extended the Parthian empire beyond the Indus into the Panjāb, and that this event was commemorated through the introduction of the imperial title 'King of Kings' in India. For the historian Orosius states that he conquered all the peoples between the Hydaspes and the Indus. Professor Rapson is, however, probably right in thinking[1] that 'to an author writing from the standpoint of Parthia the expression "between the Hydaspes and the Indus" must surely connote an extension from west to east—from a Persian river to the great Indus which has so often in history been the boundary between Irān and India. Hydaspes is a Persian name, and the river mentioned in this passage is no doubt the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil (*Georgics*, iv. 211). The theory of a conquest of N.-W. India by Mithradates I would therefore seem to be founded on a misunderstanding of the historian's statement.'

Mithradates' successors.

Mithradates' successors were less powerful. Phraates II (138–128 B.C.) had to call in Scythian auxiliaries in his wars against Syria, and, when he tried to withhold their wages, they turned against him, and he was killed in battle.[2]

The next king, Artabanus I (128–123 B.C.), was no more successful. The Scythians are stated to have returned to their own country after having devastated Parthia, but Artabanus was afterwards killed in battle against the Tochari.

It may be surmised, though it cannot be proved, that it was during the reign of these two kings that Sakas settled in Seistān, and this surmise finds some support in the fact that the Arachoti, Drangae, and Arei are mentioned in the passage from Justin quoted above[3] as instrumental in weakening the Greek dominion.

Mithradates II.

The fortunes of Parthia were, however, reasserted by Artabanus' son and successor, Mithradates II, the Great (123–88 B.C.). He seems to have been the first Parthian ruler to assume the imperial title 'King of Kings',[4] and 'it was in his reign that the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Irān was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over the ruling powers of Seistān and Kandahār confirmed'.

'In eastern Irān the "King of Kings" and the prince of his family who was associated with him in the government issued coins bearing the names of both—the former in Greek on the *obverse*, and the latter in Kharoshṭhī on the *reverse*. Greek was the ordinary language of coins throughout the Parthian empire: it was not characteristic of any particular province. Kharoshṭhī, on the other hand, was, in eastern Irān, restricted to Arachosia (Kandahār). We may reasonably infer therefore from the coin-legends that the viceroy governed this province in the upper valley of the Helmand and its tributaries. The other province, Drangiāna (Seistān), was most probably under the direct rule of the suzerain.'

Title 'King of Kings' after Mithradates II.

The paramount position acquired by Mithradates II did not outlast his reign. Professor Rapson draws attention to the fact that the title 'King of Kings' was not used in Parthia 'during the interval from 88 to 57 B.C. which separates the reigns of Mithradates II and III; and in the meantime it was assumed not only by the Śaka king Maues in the East, but also, in the years 77–73, by Tigranes, king of Armenia, the great rival of Parthia in the West'.

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[1] l.c., p 568. [2] Justin, XLII, 1, 2 ff. [3] p. xxii.

[4] Cf. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, London, 1903, p. xxv[1]; Rapson, l.c., pp. 567 ff.

This line of argument seems to be unobjectionable. Maues cannot be placed earlier than 88 B.C. For there is no reason for assuming that he, or his predecessors, revived an ancient title which Iranian tradition had long connected with supreme imperial power. There is every probability that the imperial title was assumed in imitation of rulers with whom the Sakas had been connected, and then there can hardly be the question of anybody else than Mithradates II.

We must therefore accept the explanation given by Professor Rapson that 'the invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Irān; not to the reign of Mithradates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II, when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent.'

Route of Saka invasion.

It also seems to me that we must necessarily follow Professor Rapson in assuming[1] that the Saka invasion did not start from the Kābul valley. 'In the first place, if the Śakas came through the Kābul valley, all traces of their invasion must be supposed to have disappeared from that region; for, among the many thousands of coins which were collected on its sites at the time when the country was still open to archaeological investigation, the coins of the earliest Śaka kings are conspicuous by their absence; and, secondly, it is certain that the Kābul valley remained in the possession of the Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides after the Yavana dominions in N.-W. India on the eastern side of the Khyber Pass, that is to say, in Peshāwar and Rāwalpiṇḍī, had been conquered by the Śakas. Ingress from Bactria was therefore barred at this period.

'The alternative suggestion that the Śakas may have come into India from their northern home in the country of the Jaxartes through Kashmīr involves a physical impossibility. The geographical difficulties of this region are such that an invasion from this direction of tribal hordes or armies sufficiently powerful to overwhelm the Yavana kingdoms and to conquer the whole of the N.-W. Frontier Province and the Punjab is inconceivable.

'Any direct invasion from the north seems, in fact, to be out of the question. It is therefore far more probable, nay almost certain, that the Śakas reached India indirectly, and that, like the Pahlavas, they came through Ariāna (W. and S. Afghānistān and Baluchistān) by the great highway, associated in modern times with the Bolān Pass, which led from the Parthian provinces of Drangiāna (Seistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār) over the Brāhūi mountains into the country of the lower Indus (Sind).'

It will be seen that this theory is in thorough accord with the Jaina tradition about a Saka empire on the Indus in the first half of the first century B.C., and we may now state that this empire had been established some time between 88 and 60 B.C.

In this connexion it is also of interest to note that the name Sakastana, which is at the base of the modern Seistān, is used by the Indian Sakas in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions which will be mentioned below. For we there find, towards the end, the words: *sarvasa sak(r)astanasa puyae*, in honour of the whole Saka country, i.e. the Indian Sakas brought to India the name which they had formerly applied to their home in Seistān.

In such circumstances it is not necessary to assume that Maues, whose coins have only been found in the Panjāb, was the first Saka conqueror in India. It is more probable that he had predecessors in the Indus country, and, if we can trust the Kālakāchāryakathānaka, these predecessors used the imperial title 'King of Kings'. In other words, Maues was not the first to introduce the title in India, and his coin-legends may

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[1] l. c., pp. 563 ff.

be interpreted as indicating that he did not do so from the very beginning of his reign.

Date of Saka invasion.

It seems to me that the various indications which can be gathered from Parthian history and from Indian tradition can only be reconciled by assuming that a Saka empire was established in the Indus country some time after the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B.C., that this empire was extended to Kāṭhiāwār and Mālava about 60 B.C., and that it was subsequently materially weakened by Vikramāditya. It is natural to infer that its centre of gravity then became the Panjāb, and that Maues' date is subsequent to the introduction of the Vikrama era.

But then it becomes probable that the era used in the copper-plate inscription of the year 78, which mentions the *maharaya* Moga, was instituted in commemoration of the foundation of a Saka empire after the demise of Mithradates II, so that the year 78 could not fall earlier than about 10 B.C., and it is, in this connexion, of interest that Sir John Marshall has, from archaeological reasons, approximately dated the record in 17 B.C.[1]

Other Saka inscriptions.

The copper-plate of the year 78 is not the only inscription dated in this era, and not the oldest one. At Maira in the Salt Range, about 100 miles to the south of Taxila, a Kharoshṭhī inscription has been found in an ancient well, which is, it is true, too defaced to be utilized with confidence, but which seems to agree with the Taxila plate in palaeography. It seems to be dated in the year 58, and it is possible that it contains the word *Moasa*, i. e. the name of the same ruler who is mentioned in the Taxila plate.

Then there is an inscription from Fatehjang, ten miles south of Taxila, which is dated in the year 68, but which does not contain any royal name, and, further, we have three old inscriptions from the Hazāra district. One of them, which has been found at Mānsehrā, is certainly dated in the year 68, while the others, which are still *in situ* at Shahdaur in the Agror valley, cannot be dated with certainty. One of them perhaps belongs to the year 60 and mentions a rājan Damijada, whose name is followed by a word which seems to begin with *saka*, i. e. he or the era used by him seem to be referred to the Sakas. We may assume that Damijada was a local ruler in Hazāra under the suzerainty of the 'King of Kings'.

The other Shahdaur inscription is also dated, but the date cannot be made out. It seems to contain the name Aya and may be somewhat later than the Taxila plate.

Extent of Saka empire in the Panjāb.

From these records we can draw the inference that the Saka empire in Maues' time comprised the country about Taxila, including the Hazāra district in the north, and probably extending southwards along the Indus. Old Kharoshṭhī inscriptions have also been found at Pāṭhyār and Kanhiāra in Kāngra, at Karnāl and at Mathurā, and it is possible that Saka suzerainty was acknowledged in these districts as well, but it is hardly possible to draw the eastern frontier-line of the empire.

Saka kshatrapas.

We have seen that subordinate rulers, such as Damijada, held sway in the provinces of the empire, and such local governors are usually styled kshatrapas. We know the names of several such chiefs.

The Taxila copper-plate of the year 78 mentions Liaka Kusuluka, who is characterized as a *kshaharata* and as kshatrapa of Chukhsa, i. e. probably the present Chachh, immediately west of Taxila.

Kshaharāta.

The designation *kshaharāta* is well known from a different part of India. It is

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[1] JRAS, 1914, pp. 984 ff.

used about some members of another Saka dynasty, the so-called Western Kshatrapas of Kāṭhiāwār and Mālava. In a Nāsik inscription of the 19th year of Siri Puḷumāyi[1] a *Khakharātavasa*, i. e. evidently *Kshaharātavaṁśa*, is mentioned, and it is perhaps most probable that *kshaharāta* was the name of a family or clan.[2]

The term *kusuluka* is also known from other sources. Liaka Kusuluka is evidently the same person who has issued coins with the legend ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ. These coins are imitations of those of Eucratides,[3] but we are no more justified to draw chronological conclusions from this fact than in the case of Maues. **Kusuluka.**

The Greek spelling shows that the actual sound was *kuzūla*, and this *kuzūla* is possibly the name of a family, as suggested by Professor Lüders,[4] in which case the Kuzūlas must have belonged to the larger group of the Kshaharātas.

We shall see later on that the same designation κοζουλο is used about the oldest of the Kushāṇas, who came to India not via the Indus country, but from the north-west. It is therefore probable that Liaka was descended from the ancient Saka rulers of Ki-pin, and that his family had not come to India from Seistān.

There is another detail which seems to point in the same direction. Liaka had a son, Patika, who seems to be spoken of in the copper-plate as a *jaüva*, and this *jaüva* is most probably the same title which is used by the early Kushāṇa ruler designated Κοζουλο in the forms ζαοος, *yavuga*. We learn from Chinese sources that this title was used in a series of principalities extending from Wakhān and towards Kābul, i. e. in, and in the neighbourhood of, Ki-pin. **Jaüva.**

We shall see below that there is some reason for assuming that also Maues belonged to the old Sakas of the north-west.

The *jaüva* Patika is evidently the same person who occurs as the *mahakshatrava Kusulua Patika* in the most important record which we possess of the Sakas in India, the inscriptions engraved on a sandstone capital from Mathurā, the so-called Lion Capital. Dr. Fleet held this Patika to be another person,[5] but the use of the same designation *Kusulua*, by the mahākshatrapa Patika and by the father of the *jaüva* Patika is *a priori* in favour of identifying them, and we should only be justified in separating them if it could be shown that they cannot be identified, which is by no means the case. **Patīka.**

The Lion Capital contains the names of several Saka chiefs who are not known from other sources, such as the kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika,[6] the kshatrapa Khardaa, Takshila Kronina, and perhaps Khalaśamuśa. And it mentions the local dynasty of Mathurā and also a *yuvarāja*.

The local Saka ruler of Mathurā was the mahākshatrapa Rajula. He is certainly identical with the mahākshatrapa Rājūvula of the Brāhmī inscription on the Mora stone-slab in the Mathurā Museum,[7] and with the ruler whose coins are imitated from those of Strato II and bear the Greek legend ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠϹ ϹѠΤΗΡΟϹ ΡΑΖΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΙ, where Ραζυβασιλει may be a semi-Greek rendering of Rājūvula,[8] on the obverse, and the Kharoshṭhī text *apratihatachakrasa kshatrapasa Rajuvulasa* on the reverse. Other coins bear the Brāhmī legend *mahākhatapasa Rājubulasa*. **Rajula.**

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 60.

[2] It is, however, possible that *kshaharāta* stands for *kshahararāta*, where *kshahara* may be a dialect form of *kshatra*.

[3] Cf. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, ix, 1889, p. 308, Plate XIII, 9.

[4] SBAW, 1922, p. 261.

[5] JRAS, 1913, p. 1001.

[6] A coin bearing the name *Mevaku* has been traced by Professor Rapson, JRAS, 1894, p. 548.

[7] Lüders, List, no. 14.

[8] Cf. Andreas in Lüders, SBAW, 1913, pp. 424 ff.

Such features do not point to a high age, and, according to Sir John Marshall,[1] the stratification of finds at Taxila seems to show that this ruler belongs to the beginning of the Christian era.

Soḍāsa.

This dating, which is in thorough agreement with the results arrived at above, is also supported by other evidence. The inscription on the capital contains the name of Rajula's son, the kshatrapa Śuḍasa, and this Śuḍasa is certainly identical with a chief whose coins bear the Brāhmī legend *mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śoḍāsasa* and who is mentioned in two Brāhmī inscriptions,[2] one, from the Jail Mound, mentioning the treasurer (*gaṁjavara*) of the *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoṁḍāsa, the other, from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, being dated in the year 72[3] and during the reign of the *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa. The date must evidently be referred to the Vikrama era and consequently corresponds to A.D. 15, and this dating is supported by the style of the carving on the stone, which Sir John Marshall[4] assigns to the beginning of the Christian era.

Kshatrapa and mahākshatrapa.

It will be seen that we have two different titles, *kshatrapa* and *mahākshatrapa*, the latter being evidently the higher one, and we get the impression that a kshatrapa might, in the ordinary course of events, advance to the higher position after the demise of his predecessor. Such was certainly the case in the later Saka dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas,[5] where kshatrapas as well as mahākshatrapas seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of a 'King of Kings', as was certainly the case with the mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna, who is mentioned in a Brāhmī inscription of the third year of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka and in another undated record from Sārnāth.[6]

We have not, however, any indication to show that such was the state of things from the very beginning of the Saka empire. The title *mahākshatrapa* is met with for the first time on the Mathurā Lion Capital and the coins of Rajula. The kshatrapas Hagāna and Hagāmasha, who may have been his predecessors, only use the inferior title, and the same is the case with Liaka Kusuluka. It is therefore possible that the higher title was not introduced long before the time of the Lion Capital. In other words, we are perfectly justified in drawing the inference that a certain period, say five to ten years, must have intervened between the date of the Lion Capital, when Śoḍāsa was kshatrapa as subordinate to his father, the mahākshatrapa, and A.D. 15, when he had succeeded his father in the higher position as *mahākshatrapa*. But we have no *a priori* right to assert that a comparatively longer interval must separate the Lion Capital from the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, to make it possible for Liaka Kusuluka to rise from kshatrapa to mahākshatrapa, and for his son, Patika, to become first kshatrapa and then mahākshatrapa. It is just as probable, or even more probable, that at the time of the copper-plate there were no mahākshatrapas at all, but only kshatrapas, the lower position being that of the *jaüva*. And, as a matter of fact, there are some indications to show that the introduction of the title mahākshatrapa coincided with the abolition of the imperial title 'King of Kings', that at, or shortly before, the date of the Lion Capital the united Saka empire was replaced by a federation of Saka chiefs, the most important of whom assumed the title mahākshatrapa.

Decrease of Saka power.

The events narrated in the Kālakāchāryakathānaka seem to bear witness to a considerable decrease of the Saka power in consequence of Vikramāditya's success. From

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[1] ASIAR, 1914–15, p. 27.

[2] Lüders, List, nos. 59 and 82.

[3] Cf. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, ix, pp. 243 ff. Professor Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 575, reads the year as 42.

[4] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 633.

[5] Cf. Rapson, WK, p. c f.

[6] Lüders, List, nos. 925, 926.

the use of Brāhmī in coin legends and inscriptions and of the Vikrama era by the kshatrapas of Mathurā we may infer that the national reassertion which took place in Mālava also made itself felt in Mathurā. And danger was also threatening from another direction.

As we shall see later on, the Parthian empire, which suffered great losses after the demise of Mithradates II, soon began to recover, and one year before the date of the Taxila copper-plate an attempt was made to replace the reckoning of the Sakas by a new, Parthian, era. And some few years later we find Parthian rulers established in the Panjāb.

The Sakas seem to have been unable to resist the increasing pressure, and it may be surmised that an attempt was made to find recompensation in the east, by tightening the grip the Sakas held on Mathurā. The Lion Capital makes mention of military camps, and it is possible that it contains a reference to funeral solemnities after the death of King Moga. If the reading and interpretation of the difficult passage which seems to contain Moga's name is accepted, it seems necessary to infer that the Lion Capital was put up on the occasion of a military expedition, during which the 'King of Kings' was killed or died.

Yuvarāja Kharaosta.

The inscriptions on the Lion Capital twice mention a *yuvarāja*, i. e. heir-apparent, Kharaosta, who seems to have been a person of some consequence, because the principal donor mentioned in the record, the chief queen of the mahākshatrapa Rajula, takes care to define her relationship to him, and because it is expressly mentioned that he is giving his assent to the donations.

There can hardly be any doubt about the identity of this Kharaosta with the kshatrapa Kharahostes, whose coin legends have been dealt with by Professors Rapson[1] and Lüders.[2] The Greek legend is ΧΑΡΑΗΩϹΤΕΙ ϹΑΤΡΑΡΕΙ ΑΡΤΑ ΥΟΥ, and the Kharoshṭhī *Kshatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Arṭasa* (or once *Orṭasa*) *putrasa*. The meaning of the syllable *pra*, which Lüders explained as an abbreviation of *pratimā* but which may also be a reflex of *prachakshasa*, which is used in Strato's coin legends, does not interest us in the present connexion. The importance of the coin legends rests with the fact that they show that Kharaosta was not the son of Rajula, as has sometimes been assumed, but of *Arṭa*. The inscription on the Lion Capital has usually been interpreted to mean that he was the son of Rajula's chief queen, who must accordingly formerly have married Arṭa. This very queen mentions her mother and her father's mother as associated in the donation registered, in addition to Kharaosta, who further has at his side a younger prince (*kumara*) Khalamasa and a youngest brother (*kaniṭha*) Maja, and cannot have been quite young at the time of the record, being besides, as already indicated, a person of consequence. If he were about thirty years old, his mother could hardly be much less than fifty, and her mother again towards seventy, and even she had a mother-in-law alive. Moreover the general construction of the inscription seems to show that Rajula's queen was the daughter and not the mother of the *yuvarāja* Kharaosta. That such was the case seems also to follow from the fact that she as well as he are characterized as *Kamuïa*, for such designations are inherited from the father and not from the mother.

It will be seen that Kharaosta cannot be characterized as *yuvarāja* in his quality as the heir apparent of the mahākshatrapa Rajula. The latter's son and co-regent, who in due course succeeded him, was the kshatrapa Śoḍāsa. The title *yuvarāja* must bear reference to something different from the position as kshatrapa or mahākshatrapa, and so far as I can see, there can only be the question of the imperial throne. In other words, Kharaosta was the legal heir of Moga. And that was apparently the reason

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[1] JRAS, 1905, pp. 792 ff.

[2] SBAW, 1913, pp. 423 f.

why Rajula had married his daughter and made her his chief queen: he wanted to strengthen his position among the Saka leaders.

At the time of the Lion Capital the state of things was apparently as follows: Maues, the King of Kings, was no more, and the yuvarāja, Kharaosta, had not been installed as his successor. One of the Saka chiefs had married Kharaosta's daughter, and, if Kharaosta was to die without male issue, he might reasonably hope that the imperial title would, in due course, pass over to his family. It is conceivable that the other chiefs were little pleased at this prospect. And, at all events, there is nothing to show that the title 'King of Kings' was continued with the Sakas after the demise of Maues. Instead of installing the yuvarāja as 'King of Kings', the Saka chiefs seem to have established a federation, with the two most important ones, Patika and Rajula, as mahākshatrapas, and subordinate kshatrapas in other provinces. Patika probably held sway in the old province of his father, in Chukhsa, which included Taxila, and it seems probable that Mevaki Miyika, whose name is associated with his in the inscription, was his co-regent and perhaps his son, just as Rajula's son, Śoḍāsa, was associated with his father as kshatrapa in the Mathurā country. In Taxila the Sakas were soon afterwards replaced by Parthian rulers. In Mathurā Śoḍāsa was still mahākshatrapa in the year A.D. 15.

I therefore think that the title mahākshatrapa was not introduced before the death of Maues, and that its introduction bears witness to the first stages of a dismemberment of the Saka empire in the Panjāb, following about half a century after the defeat of the Sakas in Mālava at the hand of Vikramāditya.

Kharaosta and Maues. We still have to consider the question about Kharaosta's claim to the position as 'King of Kings'. He was not the son of Maues, but of another person, Arṭa or Orṭa, who is not known from other sources. Now we know from the history of the Western Kshatrapas that the succession among the Sakas sometimes passed from the ruling prince to his brother.[1] It is accordingly possible that Arṭa was a brother of Maues and was destined to succeed him, but died before him, wherefore the right of succession was transferred to his son Kharaosta. But then we may infer that Maues was, like Kharaosta, a *Kamuïa*. And if we bear in mind that *mb* becomes *m*, i. e. *mm*, in the dialect of the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada, and that *u* is used for the common *o* in Śuḍasa in the Lion Capital inscriptions, *Kamuïa* can very well represent a Skr. *kāmbojaka*, i. e. Kharaosta and Maues would belong to the north-western Sakas of Ki-pin and not to the branch which came to India from Seistān.

History of the Saka empire. The history of the first Saka empire in India can accordingly be reconstructed as follows: Shortly after the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. the Sakas of Seistān made themselves independent of Parthia and started on a career of conquest, which took them to the Indus country. One of these events was commemorated through the establishment of a Saka era beginning, as I shall try to show below, about 84 B.C. Later on, about 60 B.C., the Sakas had extended their dominion to what the Kālakāchāryakathānaka calls the Hindukadeśa, i. e. the lower Indus country, and thence to Kāṭhiāwār and Mālava, where they probably introduced their national era. In 57/56 B.C. they were here ousted by Vikramāditya, who celebrated his victory by establishing an era of his own, which we, about seventy years later, find used in Mathurā. The centre of gravity in the Saka empire was then transferred to the Panjāb and further to the east, and we find a Saka chief from the north-west, Maues, as bearer of the imperial title. He continued the

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[1] Cf. Bühler, JRAS, 1894, p. 532; Bhandarkar, *A Peep into the Early History of India*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 23 f.

use of the Saka era, which we find employed as far north as Hazāra. But soon the Parthians began to reassert themselves in the west, and the Sakas sought recompense in the east in an expedition towards Mathurā, their second stronghold in the north. During this expedition Maues died, and after him there was no more a Saka 'King of Kings', but only kshatrapas and mahākshatrapas. The Kālakāchāryakathānaka speaks of a Saka reconquest, 135 years after Vikramāditya, and we shall have to occupy ourselves with this reconquest later on. But for the time being the unity and strength of the Saka empire had been broken.

Nationality of the old Sakas.

With regard to the nationality of these old Sakas we have very little evidence, but such as there is, is to the effect that they were Iranians, speaking a language related to that of the Kushāṇas and the ancient Iranian inhabitants of the southern oases of Chinese Turkestan.

I have already mentioned the name *saka* and the designations *jaüva* and *kusuluka*, and if *kamuïa* corresponds to Skr. *kāmbojaka*, it is worth while remembering that we know from Yāska (Naig. ii. 2) and the Mahābhāshya [1] that the Kambojas said *śavati* for 'he goes', and this base is the same as in the modern Persian *shudan*.

The title *sāhāṇu sāhi* occurring in the Kālakāchāryakathānaka is Prākritized and the *shāhānu shāhi* of the Allahābād praśasti is certainly a more correct rendering of the Saka title. The word *shāhi* is clearly Iranian, and the terminations *i* of the nominative singular and *ānu* of the genitive plural are the same as in Khotanī Saka, where, however, the corresponding word is *shau* and not *shāhi*.

Also many of the names of individual Sakas are clearly Iranian, as shown by Professors Thomas [2] and Lüders.[3] And the name which they use about their country in the Lion Capital inscriptions, viz. *Sak(r)astana*, is just as unmistakably Iranian.

Parthians replace Sakas.

We have seen that the imperial Sakas cannot be traced after Maues, and I have already indicated that I look on this development as the result of a Parthian expansion towards the Panjāb. This is not in accordance with the view held by other scholars, who look on the Saka and Parthian rulers of India as closely connected with each other. Vincent Smith has proposed [4] to designate all those rulers as Parthians, and Professor Rapson holds a similar opinion.

After having explained how the struggle between the kings of Parthia and the Scythians was brought to an end by Mithradates II, who secured the suzerainty over the old Saka settlements in Seistān and Kandahār, the latter scholar goes on to say: [5] 'In these subordinate governments Parthians (Pahlavas) and Scythians (Śakas) were so closely associated that it is not always possible to distinguish between them: the same family includes both Parthian and Scythian names. It is therefore little more than a convenient nomenclature which labels the princes of the family of Maues, who invaded the lower Indus valley, as Śakas, and those of Vonones, who ruled over Drangiāna (Seistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār), as Pahlavas . . . In fact, all through the period of Śaka and Pahlava rule the countries to the west and east of the Indus were governed by members of the same royal house. There were normally three contemporary rulers of royal rank—a King of Kings associated with some junior member of his family in Irān, and a King of Kings in India, and the subordinate ruler in Irān usually became in due course King of Kings in India.'

So far as I can see, there is no clear evidence in support of this view, and it is not

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[1] Ed. Kielhorn, i, 9^{25}.
[2] JRAS, 1906, pp. 204 ff.
[3] SBAW, 1913, pp. 406 ff.
[4] ZDMG, 60, 1906, pp. 49 ff.
[5] l.c., p. 568.

a priori very likely that the Sakas and the Parthians should have dropped their old quarrels after the Sakas had made themselves independent of Parthia, as shown by their assumption of the imperial title, or after the Parthians had succeeded in re-establishing their suzerainty in the east. It is much more probable that the old contrast remained.

Parthia after Mithradates II.

We do not know much about the history of Parthia after Mithradates II.[1] Tigranes of Armenia is known to have annexed parts of the Parthian empire about the time when the Sakas asserted their independence. About the king Sinatruces, who seems to have been ruling between 77 and 70 B.C., we learn from Lucian (Macrob. 15) that he had been staying with the Sakaraukai before he was summoned back to Parthia.

Revival of imperial title.

His son Phraates III (70–57 B.C.) was able to some extent to retrieve the fortunes of Parthia, and under his sons, Mithradates III (57–54 B.C.) and Orodes I (57–37 B.C.), the imperial title King of Kings again makes its appearance on Parthian coins.

This increase of Arsacid power was evidently also felt in Seistān, and about the beginning of the Christian era we find that the Parthian empire comprised the whole country from Herat and eastwards, including Seistān, but nothing to the east of Arachosia. Vincent Smith gives the following eastern provinces after Isidor of Charax:[2] (1) Arīa, with its capital 'Alexandria among the Arīans', the modern Herat; (2) the country of the Anauoi, being a segment of Arīa, with its chief town Phra, the modern Farrah; (3) Zarangiana or Drangiana, lying farther south, E. long. 60°, N. lat. 31°–32°, to the east of the Hamun or Zareh Lake; (4) Sakastana, to the south-east of the last, including Sigal, the Śaka capital, a province to the north of the Helmund river; and, lastly, (5) Arachosia, which the Parthians called White India (Ἰνδικὴ λευκή), with its capital Alexandropolis, the modern Kandahār. So far extended, says Isidor, the realm of the Parthians.[3]

Eastern provinces of Parthia about the times of Christ.

We here get information about a state of things when the Gandhāra country was not subject to Parthian rule, while Seistān had been reduced. We do not know whether this expansion had already been effected during the reigns of Mithradates III and Orodes I, but we shall see presently that a further expansion eastwards seems to have taken place about the times of Christ. This latter expansion, however, was apparently more the consequence of internal troubles within the Parthian empire, as had been the case when the Sakas set up an independent king, than of the increased power of the Parthian emperor.

Orodes I was to all appearances a powerful ruler, who was able to assert his power against the Roman legions. Crassus was defeated at Carrhae in 53 B.C., and Syria was invaded in 40 B.C. But the Romans soon got the upper hand, and the Parthians had to give up Syria.

Orodes was put to death by his son Phraates IV (38–2 B.C.), who was engaged in war against Rome till peace was restored in 36 B.C. The relations between the two powers were then comparatively friendly for some time, and we hear that Phraates sent his four sons to Rome about 10 B.C.

Internal trouble in Parthia.

We hear, on the other hand, about internal troubles in Parthia. Justin (xlii. 5) says that Phraates was banished by the Parthians on account of his cruelties, and that Tiridates was made king in his stead. Dio states (li. 18) that Phraates regained his throne in 30 B.C., when Tiridates fled for protection to Augustus, who was then in Syria. According to Justin, however, the flight of Tiridates took place when Augustus was in

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[1] Cf. Wroth, l. c., pp. xxxi ff.

[2] ZDMG, 60, 1906, pp. 57 f.

[3] ἄχρι τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Πάρθων ἐπικράτεια.

Spain, i.e. 27–25 B.C. According to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xvi. 8. 4) there was a new rival king Mithradates in 12–9 B.C.

Phraates IV was murdered by his son, Phraataces (3 B.C.–A.D. 4), who was expelled by the Parthian nobles and fled to Roman territory in A.D. 4.

The nobles then placed Orodes II (A.D. 4–6) on the throne, but according to Josephus (xviii. 2. 4) his cruelty soon led to his being assassinated. Then followed a time of internal war and bloodshed, till the Parthian nobles sent envoys to Rome and brought back Vonones I (A.D. 8–12), the eldest son of Phraates IV, as king of Parthia. Vonones, however, proved too refined and effeminate for his subjects, and a rival king appeared in the person of Artabanus III, who finally ousted Vonones and remained on the throne till A.D. 40.

Parthians in N.-W. India.

The further development in Parthia proper does not concern us in this connexion. It was during the troubled reign of Phraates IV that we seem to meet with Parthian rulers in north-western India.

Azes, Azilises.

The oldest of them is apparently the ruler called Azes, Azilises in the Greek, and Aya, Ayilisha in the Kharoshṭhī coin legends. His name seems to occur, in the form *Ayasa*, in connexion with an illegible date, in an old inscription from Shahdaur, which has been mentioned above. The figures giving the year are, however, entirely defaced, so that the inscription cannot be utilized for chronological purposes. The stratification at Taxila, on the other hand, clearly shows that Azes, Azilises, succeeded Maues as ruler there.

The coins bearing these names are found in great abundance in the Panjāb, but do not appear to have been unearthed to the west of Bīmarān near Jālalābād.

They present a great variety of types and also the legends differ. The obverse legend βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου ΑΖΟΥ is coupled with Kharoshṭhī legends of the same meaning on the reverse; *maharajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa*. In some cases, however, the reverse legend runs *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa*. Similarly we have, on the obverse, the legend βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ, and on the reverse *maharajasa rajatirajasa* (or, *rajarajasa*) *mahatasa Ayilishasa*, but also *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*.

From this state of things Mr. Vincent Smith [1] infers that there were two kings of the name of Azes, probably related as grandfather and grandson, separated by Azilises, who was probably the son of Azes I and the father of Azes II. 'The proof', he says, 'that there were two kings of Taxila named Azes is easy. Azes I struck a few coins, of which three specimens are recorded, bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of his successor, Azilises or Ayilisha, in Kharoṣṭhī, on the reverse. . . . The coins struck by Azilises as independent king in his own name alone are numerous and various. One silver coin of his with his name in Greek on the obverse exhibits the name of Azes (Aya) in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. . . . These coins, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate viceregal colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes, similarly, was subsequently the subordinate viceregal colleague of king Azilises. It is obvious that the two princes named Azes cannot be identical, and that they must be distinguished as Azes I and II. This necessary inference is fully confirmed by minute examination of the immense mass of coins bearing the name of Azes alone, which readily fall into two classes—one well

[1] ZDMG, 60, 1906, pp. 62 ff.

a priori very likely that the Sakas and the Parthians should have dropped their old quarrels after the Sakas had made themselves independent of Parthia, as shown by their assumption of the imperial title, or after the Parthians had succeeded in re-establishing their suzerainty in the east. It is much more probable that the old contrast remained.

Parthia after Mithradates II.

We do not know much about the history of Parthia after Mithradates II.[1] Tigranes of Armenia is known to have annexed parts of the Parthian empire about the time when the Sakas asserted their independence. About the king Sinatruces, who seems to have been ruling between 77 and 70 B.C., we learn from Lucian (Macrob. 15) that he had been staying with the Sakaraukai before he was summoned back to Parthia.

Revival of imperial title.

His son Phraates III (70–57 B.C.) was able to some extent to retrieve the fortunes of Parthia, and under his sons, Mithradates III (57–54 B.C.) and Orodes I (57–37 B.C.), the imperial title King of Kings again makes its appearance on Parthian coins.

This increase of Arsacid power was evidently also felt in Seistān, and about the beginning of the Christian era we find that the Parthian empire comprised the whole country from Herat and eastwards, including Seistān, but nothing to the east of Arachosia. Vincent Smith gives the following eastern provinces after Isidor of Charax:[2] (1) Arīa, with its capital 'Alexandria among the Arīans', the modern Herat; (2) the country of the Anauoi, being a segment of Arīa, with its chief town Phra, the modern Farrah; (3) Zarangiana or Drangiana, lying farther south, E. long. 60°, N. lat. 31°–32°, to the east of the Hamun or Zareh Lake; (4) Sakastana, to the south-east of the last, including Sigal, the Śaka capital, a province to the north of the Helmund river; and, lastly, (5) Arachosia, which the Parthians called White India (Ἰνδική λευκή), with its capital Alexandropolis, the modern Kandahār. So far extended, says Isidor, the realm of the Parthians.[3]

Eastern provinces of Parthia about the times of Christ.

We here get information about a state of things when the Gandhāra country was not subject to Parthian rule, while Seistān had been reduced. We do not know whether this expansion had already been effected during the reigns of Mithradates III and Orodes I, but we shall see presently that a further expansion eastwards seems to have taken place about the times of Christ. This latter expansion, however, was apparently more the consequence of internal troubles within the Parthian empire, as had been the case when the Sakas set up an independent king, than of the increased power of the Parthian emperor.

Orodes I was to all appearances a powerful ruler, who was able to assert his power against the Roman legions. Crassus was defeated at Carrhae in 53 B.C., and Syria was invaded in 40 B.C. But the Romans soon got the upper hand, and the Parthians had to give up Syria.

Orodes was put to death by his son Phraates IV (38–2 B.C.), who was engaged in war against Rome till peace was restored in 36 B.C. The relations between the two powers were then comparatively friendly for some time, and we hear that Phraates sent his four sons to Rome about 10 B.C.

Internal trouble in Parthia.

We hear, on the other hand, about internal troubles in Parthia. Justin (xlii. 5) says that Phraates was banished by the Parthians on account of his cruelties, and that Tiridates was made king in his stead. Dio states (li. 18) that Phraates regained his throne in 30 B.C., when Tiridates fled for protection to Augustus, who was then in Syria. According to Justin, however, the flight of Tiridates took place when Augustus was in

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[1] Cf. Wroth, l.c., pp. xxxi ff.

[2] ZDMG, 60, 1906, pp. 57 f.

[3] ἄχρι τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Πάρθων ἐπικράτεια.

Spain, i.e. 27–25 B.C. According to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xvi. 8. 4) there was a new rival king Mithradates in 12–9 B.C.

Phraates IV was murdered by his son, Phraataces (3 B.C.–A.D. 4), who was expelled by the Parthian nobles and fled to Roman territory in A.D. 4.

The nobles then placed Orodes II (A.D. 4–6) on the throne, but according to Josephus (xviii. 2. 4) his cruelty soon led to his being assassinated. Then followed a time of internal war and bloodshed, till the Parthian nobles sent envoys to Rome and brought back Vonones I (A.D. 8–12), the eldest son of Phraates IV, as king of Parthia. Vonones, however, proved too refined and effeminate for his subjects, and a rival king appeared in the person of Artabanus III, who finally ousted Vonones and remained on the throne till A.D. 40.

Parthians in N.-W. India.

The further development in Parthia proper does not concern us in this connexion. It was during the troubled reign of Phraates IV that we seem to meet with Parthian rulers in north-western India.

Azes, Azilises.

The oldest of them is apparently the ruler called Azes, Azilises in the Greek, and Aya, Ayilisha in the Kharoshṭhī coin legends. His name seems to occur, in the form *Ayasa*, in connexion with an illegible date, in an old inscription from Shahdaur, which has been mentioned above. The figures giving the year are, however, entirely defaced, so that the inscription cannot be utilized for chronological purposes. The stratification at Taxila, on the other hand, clearly shows that Azes, Azilises, succeeded Maues as ruler there.

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They present a great variety of types and also the legends differ. The obverse legend *βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου* ΑΖΟΥ is coupled with Kharoshṭhī legends of the same meaning on the reverse; *maharajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa*. In some cases, however, the reverse legend runs *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa*. Similarly we have, on the obverse, the legend *βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου* ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ, and on the reverse *maharajasa rajatirajasa* (or, *rajarajasa*) *mahatasa Ayilishasa*, but also *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*.

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[1] ZDMG, 60, 1906, pp. 62 ff.

executed, with good Greek legends, the other semi-barbarous with debased, and often corrupt, Greek legends.'

On this Mr. Whitehead[1] remarks: 'Whether this evidence by itself is weighty enough to warrant so important a conclusion is a matter of opinion. I know it is generally held that Azes came before Azilises, but the coins are so far our only testimony, and the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best didrachms of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouroi reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then, following Mr. Vincent Smith, we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. The differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign.'

I quite agree with Mr. Whitehead in his criticism. Mr. Vincent Smith's argument is based on the supposition that Professor Thomas was not right in explaining[2] Azes as a short form of Azilises, an explanation which leads us to the conclusion that Azes and Azilises was one and the same person, that we have neither two kings of the name Azes nor two kings of the name Azilises, a conclusion which seems to follow with necessity from a consideration of the coin legends discussed by Mr. Smith. When we find βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου ΑΖΟΥ on the obverse and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa* on the reverse of some coins, and βασιλέως . . . μεγάλου ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ on the obverse and *maharajasa [rajaraja]sa mahatasa Ayasa* on the reverse of others, the use of the imperial title on both sides raises a strong presumption in favour of identifying the two names.

And, as a matter of fact, there does not seem to be room for more than one king between Moga, who was on the throne in the year 78 of an era which cannot begin earlier than 88 B.C., and Guduvhara, the successor of Azes-Azilises, who was on the throne in the year 103, there being no apparent or likely reason for considering the era of the Guduvhara inscription as different from that used in the Moga record.

It has usually been assumed that Azes belonged to the same dynasty as Maues. This opinion cannot, however, so far as I can see, be reconciled with what can be inferred from our sources. Maues was certainly a Saka, while Azes seems to have been a Parthian. That follows from a series of coins, which bring him into connexion with a ruling family whose oldest representative bears the name Vonones.

Vonones.

According to Sir A. Cunningham,[3] 'the coins of Vonones and his family come chiefly from the ancient Arachosia, or Kandahār and Ghazni. Some of them have also been found in Sistān, the ancient Drangiāna. A few have been obtained at Kābul, but as not a single specimen was got at Begrām by Masson, during his three years' collection, it seems almost certain that Vonones could not have ruled there. For a similar reason the family of Vonones could not have ruled for any time in the Panjāb, as their coins are very rarely found there.'

There can be no doubt that Vonones was a Parthian. The name is, as we shall see, well known from the list of Parthian kings. There are, as we have seen, indications to show that he and his family for some time held sway in Kābul,[4] and we have every reason for assuming that it was this Parthian dynasty which overthrew the Greek dominion in Ariana.[5]

Some of these coins have, on the obverse, the Greek legend βασιλέως βασιλέων

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[1] p. 93.
[2] JRAS, 1906, p. 208.
[3] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, x, 1890, p. 106.
[4] Cf. Gardner, p. xli.
[5] Cf. Thomas, JRAS, 1906, pp. 193 f.; Rapson, l. c., p. 561.

μεγάλου ΟΝΩΝΟΥ, and on the reverse, in Kharoshṭhī letters, either *maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa* or *Śpalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Śpalagadamasa*; others give ϹΠΑΛΥΡΙΟϹ δικαίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως on the obverse and *Śpalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Śpalagadamasa* on the reverse. Finally there is a series of coins showing the name Spalirises. Some have the legends βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ ϹΠΑΛΙΡΙϹΟΥ and *maharajabhrata dhramiasa Śpaliriśasa*; others βασλέων βασιλέως μεγάλου ϹΠΑΛΙΡΙϹΟΥ and *maharajasa mahatakasa Śpaliriśasa*, and others, finally, βασιλέως μεγάλου ϷΠΑΛΙΡΙϹΟΥ[1] and *maharajasa mahataksa Ayasa*.

One specimen of the coins of the King of Kings, the great Spalirises (p. 101, no. 2 in Gardner's catalogue) has been restruck on a copper coin of Spalyris and Śpalagadama. In Professor Gardner's catalogue it is stated that the original coin was issued in the names of Vonones and Śpalahora or Śpalagadama, but Mr. Allan has kindly examined the coin for me and corrected this statement. Spalirises is, therefore, evidently later than Spalyris.

The name Vonones occurring in some of these legends is, as remarked above, known from the imperial dynasty of Parthia. One of the sons of Phraates IV who were sent to Rome about 10 B.C. had this name, and he was, as we have seen, later on placed on the imperial throne of Parthia. His dated coins range between A.D. 8/9 and 11/12. We also know of another emperor, Vonones II, who does not seem to have left any coins. According to Tacitus (*Annals* xii. 14) his reign was short and inglorious, and his accession took place in A.D. 51.

It has usually been considered impossible to identify either of these kings with the ruler mentioned on the coins under discussion, who has been described as an old king of Drangiāna and Arachosia.

According to Professor Rapson[2] the use of the imperial title shows that he must be later than the reign of Mithradates II. 'The most trustworthy evidence as to the date of Vonones is supplied by the coins of Spalirises, "the king's brother". If "the king", who is not named, was Vonones himself, as is usually assumed, the earlier coins of Spalirises, i.e. those struck by him before he became suzerain of eastern Irān in succession to Vonones, may perhaps afford a valuable historical indication. There are two classes of these. . . In the first, Spalirises appears alone as "the king's brother" without any distinctly royal title. In the second, he as senior (Greek legend) is associated with Azes as junior (Kharoshṭhī legend), both of them bearing the subordinate or viceregal title, "Great King". Vonones was evidently reigning as Great King of Kings at this time. The relationship of Azes to Spalirises is not expressed in the Kharoshṭhī legend; and in such cases it seems to be assumed that the junior is the son of the senior: otherwise, i.e. when the junior is a brother or a nephew, the relationship is stated. We may conclude, then, that this Azes was most probably the son of Spalirises and the nephew of Vonones, and we may identify him with Azes II, who afterwards became suzerain of N.-W. India and ended his reign in A.D. 19. Vonones was at least a generation earlier; that is to say, he appears to have been contemporary with Azilises and possibly with Azes I. Until more definite evidence can be discovered, he may be supposed to have begun his reign *c.* 30 B.C. It seems impossible, therefore, to identify him with Vonones I of Parthia (A.D. 8–11).

'The family of Vonones is one in which the two ruling elements of eastern Irān have

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[1] Whitehead, l. c., p. 144[1], draws attention to the first letter of the king's name, which, he says, seems to foreshadow the use of the new letter *þ* (*sh*) on the coins of Kanishka.

[2] l. c., pp. 572 ff.

been blended. The name of Vonones himself is distinctly Parthian; but the names of his brothers, Spalahores and Spalirises, and of his brothers' sons, Spalagadames and Azes, are Scythian. For the sake of convenience we may call this family "Pahlava", in order to distinguish it from the better known "Parthian" dynasty in Ctesiphon, although in reality the two terms are etymologically identical.

'A characteristic feature of the coins of Vonones and his family is . . . the association of the Great King of Kings with the viceroy of Arachosia, whose relationship to the suzerain is sometimes expressed in the Kharoshṭhī legend of the *reverse*. Thus Vonones ruled conjointly with his brother, Spalahores, and with his nephew Spalagadames, the son of Spalahores. . . . If we may assume with Mr. Whitehead that the Scythian name, Spalahores (Śpalahora), appears in a Greek guise as Spalyris, this brother of Vonones and his son also ruled conjointly as viceroys over the district of Arachosia in which coins bearing the type of Euthydemus, "Heracles seated", were current. This district had formerly been under the direct government of the Great King of Kings, Azilises. . . .

'The *rev.* type of the coins which Spalirises issued as the successor of Vonones in the suzerainty of eastern Irān is "Zeus enthroned" . . .; and, as it is evidently borrowed from the coins of Hermaeus, it may perhaps be interpreted as an indication that the kingdom of Kābul had now passed from the Yavanas to the Pahlavas. If so, it would appear that this last stronghold of Yavana power had yielded to an invasion of the Pahlavas of Kandahār.'

There are some details in Professor Rapson's argument to which it seems difficult to agree.

I do not understand why the names Śpalahora, Śpalagadama, Śpaliriśa, and Azes are said to be Scythian and not Parthian. Professor Thomas[1] expresses himself with the utmost reserve and is inclined to consider the three first of them as Pan-Iranic. At the present state of our knowledge we are quite entitled to put all these rulers down as Parthians, not only Vonones, about whose Parthian nationality there has never been any doubt, but also his brothers and their sons. And there does not seem to be any reason for doubting that Azes, who was the co-regent of Śpaliriśa, is identical with the successor of Maues in Panjāb and the north-western frontier province, who was accordingly a Parthian and not a Saka.

Vonones' date.

It is more difficult to settle the question about date.

Attention has been drawn to the varying shape of the Greek omikron on Greek and Scytho-Parthian coins. On the older Greek ones and on those of Maues it is always round. On some of the later Greek coins, e. g. those of Hippostratus, and on those of Azes, the square form begins to be used in addition to the round one. The same change took place on Parthian coins during the reign of Orodes I (57–38 B.C.), and the inference has therefore been drawn that coins showing the square *o* cannot be earlier than about 40 B.C.

Professor Rapson, however, rightly remarks[2] that this test must be applied with caution. Square forms are also found earlier and seem to be characteristic of certain regions. To infer, on the other hand, from the use of the round *o* on coins that they are older than about 40 B.C. would be still less justified. The coins of the Vonones group all have the round *o*, but so have those of the Parthian emperor, Vonones I (A.D. 8–11).

It seems to me that the date assigned to the East-Iranian Vonones by Professor Rapson, *c.* 30 B.C., is a little too early. If Śpaliriśa was his brother, the imitation of the coins of Hermaeus points to a somewhat later date. Though this, the last, Greek

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[1] JRAS, 1906, pp. 208 f.

[2] l. c., p. 572; JRAS, 1903, p. 285.

king, may have ruled for a long period, Professor Rapson can hardly be right in assuming[1] that he 'may have been reigning for some time before or after *c.* 40 B.C.' We shall see later on that Hermaeus was, for some time of his reign, associated with the Kushāṇa ruler Kujūla Kadphises, who did not start on his career before about A.D. 25.

In such circumstances we must ask ourselves if it is not possible to identify the East-Iranian Vonones with the Parthian emperor, Vonones I. When the latter mounted the throne of Parthia in succession to his father in A.D. 8, he does not seem to have been a young man. We learn from Tacitus' *Annals* ii. 2 that he was not fond of hunting and riding, and that he preferred to be carried about in a litter. The Parthians soon got disgusted and called in Artabanus III, who was of Arsacid blood but was living with the Dahae. Vonones took refuge with the Armenians, who made him king in A.D. 16. The Roman governor of Syria, however, reduced him to nominal power, and later on, at the request of Artabanus, he was removed to Cilicia, and, when he attempted to escape, he was killed in A.D. 19.

If we assume that he was then about sixty years old, he would have been about fifty when he was placed on the Parthian throne, and such an age might reasonably be inferred from Tacitus' narrative.

We have already seen that his father Phraates IV sent him and his brothers to Rome about 10 B.C. It is hardly likely that this was merely the outcome of paternal affection and anxiety for the safety of the princes. It looks more like an exile.

Phraates' favourite wife, the Italian slave-girl Musa, whom Augustus had presented to him, seems to have exercised considerable influence, and she would naturally do what she could in order to secure the throne for her own son, Phraataces, in preference to his older half-brothers, who would, of course, be less dangerous in Rome than in Parthia.

On the other hand, the frequent internal troubles during the reign of Phraates IV would more than once have offered an opportunity to his sons for setting up as independent rulers in some part of the empire, e. g. in Arachosia, where we find the East-Iranian Vonones. And if Vonones, the son of Phraates, had tried to do so, we should understand better why he was exiled in 10 B.C.

I therefore think that the most likely inference from the available material is that the East-Iranian Vonones was the same person who later on became the Parthian emperor Vonones I. Some time before 10 B.C. he was in charge of the eastern provinces and there assumed the imperial title 'King of Kings'.

This may have happened about the time when Mithradates rose against Phraates in 12 B.C., or even earlier. If we were to ascribe the coins of Vonones with Śpalahora and Śpalagadama to that period, the coins of Spalyris and Śpalagadama would belong to about the same time. After Vonones had been sent to Rome in 10 B.C., we should then be inclined to date the coins issued by 'the great king' (βασιλεὺς μέγας) Śpalirises and 'the great king' (*maharaja mahataka*) Aya, in other words Aya would have been the joint ruler of Arachosia and perhaps of Kābul from about 10 B.C.

Later on Spalirises assumes the title 'King of Kings', βασιλέων βασιλεύς, in the west, and Azes in the east. And it is perhaps possible to state with some confidence when that latter event took place.

Date of Azes.

I have already stated above that we are in possession of information to the effect that a Parthian ruler was established to the west of the Indus about the beginning of the Christian era. This information is contained in a stone inscription found either at Takht-i-Bāhī or at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and dated in the 26th year of the *mahārāja* Guduvhara,

[1] l. c., p. 562.

and, besides, in the year 103. The latter dating evidently refers to the same era which is used in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, and which cannot, as we have seen, have begun before 88 B.C.

The other date, in the year 26 of the mahārāja Guduvhara, has usually been interpreted as a regnal year of Guduvhara. What actually stands on the stone is, however, simply '(during the reign) of the mahārāja Guduvhara, year 26', which can just as well be referred to an era instituted by one of Guduvhara's predecessors. And, as we shall see below, such must be the case, if we are not to assume the use of another era in the Guduvhara inscription, different from that of the Taxila plate. And such an assumption can hardly be justified, unless it can be proved that the ascription of both records to one and the same era leads to impossible results, which is by no means the case.

We know from archaeological evidence that Guduvhara's predecessor was Aya, Azes, and it seems to be an unavoidable inference that the first date of the Guduvhara inscription should be reckoned from the accession of Azes, which must accordingly have taken place in the year 103–26, i. e. 77 of the old Śaka era.

Now we have already seen that the initial point of that era cannot be earlier than 88 B.C., and we shall see later on that it can, with some probability, be assigned to the year 84 B.C. The accession of Azes, or rather his assumption of the imperial title in the eastern provinces, would then fall in the year 7–6 B.C., a date which will be found to be in agreement with what we have inferred from other sources.

The introduction of a new era by Azes may be interpreted to indicate that he now set up as an independent ruler and severed his connexion with the princes with whom he had formerly been associated. In such circumstances we understand that his dominions were not included in the list of Isidor of Charax.

Aspavarma.

On some coins bearing the obverse legend *βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου* ΑΖΟΥ, the reverse has *Iṁdravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*. The use of the Greek title *στρατηγός* is of interest, as are also the semi-Indian form of the general's and the purely Indian form of his father's name.[1]

Guduvhara.

The same strategos is, on other coin-legends, associated with Azes' successor, Guduvhara, whose coins have been found in great abundance in the Panjāb, and at Begrām in Chārikār, north of Kābul, which district must, therefore, have passed definitely from Greek to Parthian rule during his reign. The stratification at Taxila shows that he was the immediate successor of Azes, and his name, which corresponds to Persian *Vindafarna*, 'the winner of glory', characterizes him as a Parthian.

Christian tradition.

It has long been recognized that this Guduvhara must be identical with a king called Gondopharnes or Gondophernes, who plays a role in Christian tradition as associated with St. Thomas, the apostle of India and Parthia.[2] It is told how the apostles divided the various countries between themselves, and that India fell to the lot of St. Thomas. He did not want to go, but then a merchant called Habbān came as messenger, for the purpose of bringing back a skilled carpenter, from an Indian king whose name is given as Gūdnaphar or Gundaphar in Syriac, *Γουνδάφορος*, *Γουνδιάφορος*, or *Γουντάφορος* in Greek, Gundaforos or Gundoforos in Latin sources. Jesus appeared to Habbān and sold

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[1] The word *Indra* is also contained in the name *I[ṁ]drarasa* on some Taxila coins described by Sir John Marshall, ASIAR, 1912–13, pp. 43, 49, plate XL, 23; 1914–15, pp. 27, 32, plate XXIX, 29; 1915–16, p. 32, plate XXV, 10. Sir John reads *Idharasa*.

[2] Cf. *inter alia* Sylvain Lévi, JA, XI, ix, 1897, pp. 27 ff.; IA, xxxiii, 1904, pp. 10 ff.; W. R. Philipps, IA, xxxii, 1903, pp. 1 ff., 145 ff.; Fleet, JRAS, 1905, pp. 223 ff.; Rapson, l. c., pp. 578 f.

St. Thomas to him for twenty silver pieces, and they started for Gūdnaphar's country. There the king ordered the apostle to build a palace, but he spent the money in acts of piety, in order to build a palace not made with hands. The king then cast him in prison. Now Gad, the king's brother, died and was carried by the angels to heaven, where he beheld the palace which the apostle had built through his good works. He was afterwards restored to life, and both he and the king were converted. Later on the apostle proceeded to another king, whose name is given as Mazdai, Misdaios, or Misdeus, and an apocryphal work also brings him into connexion with a certain Labdanes, the sister's son of a king to whom he went.

There can hardly be any doubt about the identity of the king Gūdnaphar and the successor of Azes in north-western India, and we can infer that the existence of this king, as ruling shortly after the death of Christ, had become known to the Christian world at an early date.

Guduvhara's coins.

The coins of this ruler are of various types, and also the legends vary. He bears the titles 'king saviour'[1] and 'great king of kings',[2] and once[3] *αὐτοκράτωρ*. And some of his coins seem to characterize him as a *Guḍa* or *Gaḍa*, which may be the name *Gad*, which is applied to his brother in Christian tradition. The form *Gadasa* has also been read on an intaglio and a pedestal found at Chārsadda,[4] where, however, the reading is uncertain.

The coins in question are said to come from Seistān and Kandahār,[5] and they have been dealt with by Messrs. Cunningham,[6] Gardner,[7] Rapson,[8] and Whitehead.[9] They show, on the obverse, the Greek legend *βασιλεὺς βασ.λέων μέγας* ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗϹ, and, on the reverse, a Kharoshṭhī legend which is stated to be *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Guduvharasa guḍana*[10] (or, *guḍa, gada, gudanasa*), and, in some specimens, *guḍranasa* without *Guduvharasa*.

It has usually been assumed that *Guḍa*, *Guḍana* is the name of a person, different from Guduvbara. Cunningham was the first to think of Gad, the king's brother, and Professor Rapson speaks of Gondopharnes as being associated in the subordinate rule as viceroy in Arachosia with Guḍa or Guḍana, 'who may perhaps have been his brother', and thinks that 'the coins on which Orthagnes still appears as chief ruler but with Guḍana alone as his subordinate, must no doubt be assigned to the period after Gondopharnes had succeeded Azes II in the sovereignty of N.-W. India'. Mr. Whitehead justly remarks that if *Guduvharasa Guḍana* means 'of Guduvhara and Gad', we should have to state that one of the names is in the genitive singular, the other in the genitive plural. 'On the other hand the word *Guḍana* may be an epithet, or monetary denomination, or

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[1] Obverse: *βασιλέως σωτῆρος* ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ; reverse: *maharajasa Gudavharṇasa tratarasa.*

[2] Obverse: *βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου* ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ; reverse: *maharaja rajatiraja tradara devavrada Guduvharasa, maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa devavratasa Guduvharasa*; obverse: *βασλέως βασιλέων* . . . ΠΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ; reverse: *maharaja rajaraja mahata [dhramia] devavrata Guduvharasa*; obverse illegible; reverse: *maharajasa rajatirajasa tratarasa Gadavharṇasa, maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Guduvharasa, maharajasa devavratasa Guduvharasa, . . . dh[r]amia[sa] apradihata[sa] devavratasa Guduvharasa, maharajasa mahatasa Guduvharasa.*

[3] Gardner, p. 174, plate XXXII, 10.

[4] ASIAR, 1902–3, p. 167.

[5] Cf. Gardner, p. xlv.

[6] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, x, pp. 121 ff.

[7] p. 109.

[8] l. c., p. 578.

[9] pp. 155 f.

[10] Cunningham proposed, as an alternative, to read *Guduvhara-sagaba* . ., i. e. *Guduvhara-sagarbhasa*, 'of the brother of Guduvhara', but Mr. Whitehead is certainly right in rejecting this reading.

again it may, as suggested by Dr. J. F. Fleet, give us the name of the tribe of Gondophares.'

It seems to me that Dr. Fleet's explanation is the only possible one. We find the two variants *Guduvharasa Guḍana* and *Guduvharasa Gudanasa*, i. e. probably *Guḍanasa*, where *Guḍanasa* must be an adjective characterizing *Guduvharasa*, wherefore we must necessarily infer that *Guḍana*, which is the genitive plural of *Guḍa*, has a similar meaning. Now it is well known that we have an exact parallel to the doublet *Guḍa*, *Guḍana* in the designations of the Kushāṇas. The Taxila silver scroll of the year 136 has *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa*, while the coin-legends of Kanishka run *shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano*, where *Khushaṇasa* is the genitive singular of an adjective *Khushana*, while *Koshano*, i. e. *Kushānu*, is the genitive plural of a simplex *Kushi* (*Kusha*). We know, e. g. from the Saka language of Khotan, that adjectives were formed from nouns by means of the suffix *āna* (cf. *balysi*, Buddha ; *balysāni*, Bauddha), and it seems evident that *Guḍana*, i. e. *Guḍāna*, is formed from *Guḍa* just as *Kushāṇa* from *Kusha*. But then *Guḍa* must be the name of Guduvhara's tribe, and *Guḍāna* might be translated 'Guḍian'. The idiom *Guduvharasa Guḍana* has an exact parallel in the coin-legend *Kaneshki Koshano* and means 'of Guduvhara of (the tribe of) the Guḍas'.[1]

We do not know anything about the family or tribe of the Guḍas. If the initial *g* is of the same kind as in *Guduvhara*, *Guḍāna* may be the same word as *Vardanes*, the name of a son of Artabanus III, who claimed the throne of Parthia after his father's demise in A.D. 40.[2] But we are not in a position to make any definite statement. We can only say that Guḍa was probably the name of Guduvhara's tribe or family, and there is no improbability in the Christian account about the king's brother Gad. He was, like his brother, a Guḍa.

The designation Orthagnes, occurring on the obverse of these coins, is, as is well known, equivalent with Avestan *vərəthraghna*, 'victorious', and the reverse of the coins shows a winged Nike with palm and wreath. Orthagnes is usually considered to be the name of the suzerain, under whom Guduvhara held a subordinate position. Professor Rapson thinks that Guduvhara succeeded Azes as viceroy in Arachosia before he became his successor as Great King of Kings in India. The legend on the reverse of the Orthagnes coins does not, however, point to a subordinate position. The titles of Guduvhara are exactly equivalent to those of Orthagnes. In such circumstances it seems to me that Orthagnes must be identical with Guduvhara, i. e. it is not a name but an honorific designation assumed after an important victory. And since these coins have been found in Seistān and Kandahār, we may perhaps assume that Guduvhara, as Great King of Kings, made a victorious expedition against the Sakas in the west.

Sasa. On another group of coins, where the obverse shows a king on horseback with the right hand extended just as on the coins with the legend βασλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ, the Greek is corrupt, while the Kharoshṭhī text runs *maharajasa rajatirajasa* (or, *mahatasa*) *devavradasa Guduvharasa Sasasa*. Cunningham[3] ascribed them to a ruler, Sasan, while Mr. Vincent Smith[4] regarded the word *sasasa* as an epithet or title. Mr. Whitehead[5]

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[1] Cf. *Yavanasa Irilasa Gatāna*, of the Yavana Irila of (the tribe of the) Gatas (Goths); *Yavanasa Chiṭasa Gatāna*, in two Junnar inscriptions, Lüders, List, Nos. 1154 and 1182, and Konow, JRAS, 1912, pp. 379 ff.

[2] Artabanus did not perhaps belong to the agnatic line of the Arsacids, because it is stated that he 'was of Arsacid blood but had grown up among the Dahae'; cf. Tacitus, *Annals* ii. 3 '*Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Dahas adultus*'.

[3] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, x, 1890, p. 120.

[4] *Cat.*, p. 54[4].

[5] p. 147[1].

draws attention to the fact that the word *sasasa* occupies the place of honour, where the name of the king is almost always situated, and reminds us of the fact that the name Sāsān is well known. Moreover, one of the coins described by Mr. Vincent Smith has the legend *[rayara]yasa apratihatachakasa devavradasa Sasasa* without *Guduvharasa*. There can hardly be any doubt that *Sasa* is a name.

Some Sasa coins were found by Sir John Marshall at Sirkap,[1] where the obverse shows the bust of a bearded king, in which Professor Rapson[2] has recognized the king Pacores, with whom we shall have to occupy ourselves below. The reverse bears the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa Aśpabhataputrasa tratarasa Sasasa*, i.e., as explained by Sir John, 'of the mahārāja, the brother's son of Aśpa[varma], the saviour'. It thus becomes evident that Sasa is the name of a scion of the family of Aśpavarma, the strategos of Azes and Guduvhara.

Abdagases. Other coin legends mention a nephew of Guduvhara called Abdagases.[3] According to Gardner[4] these coins have been found in the Western Panjāb. There are two different legends, viz. *βασιλέως σωτῆρος* ΑΒΔΑΓΑCΟΥ on the obverse and *maharayasa Avadagaśasa tradarasa* on the reverse; and *βασιλεύοντος βασιλέωνυ* ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ on the obverse and *Guduvharabhradaputrasa maharajasa* (*tradarasa*) *Avadagaśasa* on the reverse. The titles seem to show that he did not occupy an independent position. Mr. Whitehead[5] registers a coin with the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Gadavharabhrataputrasa Avadagaśasa*. If this reading is right, it shows that Abdagases may at some time have assumed the imperial title. To judge from Mr. Whitehead's plate, however, the word preceding *Gadavhara* or, rather, *Guduvhara*, seems to be *maharajasa*.

Pacores. The king Pacores, whose bust Professor Rapson has recognized on some Sasa coins, on the other hand seems to have occupied an independent position. His coins come from Kandahār and the country to the west of Bhakar,[6] and, according to Professor Rapson,[7] they 'show that he was undoubtedly suzerain in Irān, for they bear the imperial title[8] together with the type "Victory" which was first issued by Orthagnes . . .; and his portrait combined on coins found at Takshaśilā with the symbol of Gondopharnes and the legend of the commander-in-chief, Sasas, proves that he exercised at least a nominal sway in India'.

He cannot be identified with the king Pacores II of Parthia, because the bust on the latter's coins is different and his date (A. D. 77–110) too late. Another Pacores, the brother of Vologases I (A. D. 57–77), is mentioned as having received the kingdom of Media Atropane after the accession of Vologases,[9] but we have no means for judging of his possible identity with our Pacores.

Sanabares. Another king, Sanabares, whose coins bear the legend *βασιλεὺς μέγας* CΑΝΑΒΑΡΗC, does not seem to have held sway in India or in Kandahār, but only in Seistān.[10]

Sapedama, Satavastra. At Sirkap Sir John Marshall found an earthen jar containing one coin each of the reigns of Pacores and the Kushāṇa Wima Kadphises, and further some coins with the portrait and symbols of Guduvhara and legends in Greek and Kharoshṭhī,[11] the former

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[1] ASIAR, 1912–13, pp. 44, 49 f. [2] l. c., p. 580.

[3] Cunningham, l. c., p. 119, draws attention to the existence of a Parthian noble of this name among those who dethroned Artabanus III in A. D. 35, and thinks that this Abdagases may have been the father of Guduvhara and Sinnaces, the latter's son again being the Abdagases of the coins. We have no means for judging of the probability or improbability of this suggestion.

[4] l. c., p. xlv. [5] p. 154.

[6] Cf. Cunningham, l. c., p. 122. [7] l. c., p. 580.

[8] *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Πακορης*, *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa*.

[9] Cf. Wroth, l. c., p. lii. [10] Cf. Rapson, l. c., p. 580. [11] Cf. ASIAR, 1912–13, pp. 44, 50.

being partly illegible, the latter running *maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedamasa* and *maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa Satavastrasa*. We do not know anything about the identity of these rulers, but Professor Rapson is probably right in interpreting their coins and titles as showing 'that, even in the reign of Gondopharnes, the allegiance of the governors to the suzerain was becoming merely nominal'.

Phraotes.

The coins do not accordingly prove the existence of any independent Parthian suzerain in north-western India after Guduvhara. Such a ruler is, however, mentioned in the account of the visit to India of Apollonius of Tyana about A. D. 44, which is found in the romance of Philostratus (3rd century A. D.). We are there told[1] that the king then reigning at Taxila was Phraotes, who was independent of Vardanes, the King of Kings of Parthia (A. D. 41–45), and himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain powers over the satrapy of Gandhāra, though he found it necessary to pay subsidies to the wilder tribes on his frontiers in order to keep them quiet.

Phraotes is evidently the same name as Phraates, which is used by several Parthian rulers about the beginning of our era, and we have not *a priori* any reason for discrediting the statement in Philostratus' work, and we have every reason for accepting his description of the state of things in Taxila about A. D. 44: a Parthian emperor was in power, but 'wilder' tribes had begun to exercise pressure in the west, and these wilder tribes cannot have been other than the Kushāṇas, whom we shall soon find as the successors of the Parthians in N.-W. India.

The result of the preceding discussion is that a Parthian dynasty rose to power in Arachosia in the first century B.C. A ruler of this house, Azes, established an independent empire in N.-W. India about 7 B.C., and his successor, Guduvhara, conquered the Sakas in Drangiāna and Arachosia and also reduced the Greeks of Kābul. He may have had one successor as King of Kings, and his dynasty seems, at all events, to have held its own in Taxila about A. D. 44.

Length of Guduvhara's reign.

We have already seen that Guduvhara's name is found in a Kharoshṭhī inscription dated in the years 103 and 26, and I have stated that I take the first of these dates to refer to the era used in the inscriptions of the old Sakas, and the second to an era instituted by Guduvhara's predecessor, Azes. It follows that the record belongs to one of the first years of the rule of Guduvhara, perhaps to the very first, and it is in thorough agreement with such an assumption that he is simply designated as *maharaya*, and not with the imperial title. As we shall see below in the chapter about eras, the date of the inscription seems to correspond to A.D. 19. At that time Guduvhara had consequently become established as ruler. How long he remained on the throne we do not know. One of his coins[2] seems to bear the date *saṁ* 20, and if this means the twentieth year of his reign and his first year was A.D. 19, he must consequently have remained in power till about A.D. 40, shortly before the time when Apollonius is stated to have found his successor, or one of his successors, Phraotes, on the throne of Taxila.

erjhuṇa Kapa.

Towards the end of the inscription of the year 103 we find the words *erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae*, in honour of erjhuṇa Kapa. Here *erjhuṇa* is evidently the same word which we find as *alysānai*, *eysānai* in the language of the ancient Iranian population of Khotan, the same language which the great Kushāṇa ruler Kanishka later on employed in his coin-legends.[3] And *Kapa* is probably another and older Kushāṇa, who on his

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[1] Cf. Marshall, l. c., p. 7; *A Guide to Taxila*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1921, p. 14; Smith, ZDMG, 68, 1914, pp. 329 ff.

[2] Gardner, plate XXII, 12; cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1905, p. 229.

[3] For the correspondence *u* < *ā*, we may compare Saka *kṣhāni*, Kharoshṭhī *kshuṇa*.

coins is called Kadapha, Kaphsa, Kapa, &c. In the inscription he is designated as *erjhuṇa*, and as the corresponding *alysānai* is used to translate Skr. *kumāra*, we may infer that he was then a young prince, and perhaps without any official position.

If the identity of the *erjhuṇa* Kapa and the Kushāṇa Kadapha, or as he is usually called, Kujūla Kadphises, proves to be right, we here for the first time meet with a family or tribe which later on plays a considerable role during the period covered by Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

Kushāṇas. Several ancient rulers are designated as Kushāṇas, and they can be divided into two different lines, one comprising at least two kings, who are usually spoken of as Kadphises I and Kadphises II or as Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises, respectively, from the names occurring on their coins, and another which begins with the most famous of all Kushāṇas, the emperor Kanishka, and remained in power over a large part of India for about a century, while in the north-west minor dynasties traced their descent from Kanishka down to much later times.

The stratification at Taxila shows that the Kushāṇas were the immediate successors of Guduvhara's dynasty, and important Kharoshṭhī inscriptions bear witness to their rule. It will therefore be necessary to examine what we can learn about them, about their origin and history.

Name Kushāṇa. The very name Kushāṇa and its proper significance has been made the subject of discussion. It is found in several slightly different forms. Greek coin-legends of Kadphises I give κορσανο and χορανσυ, where the Kharoshṭhī has *kushaṇa* or *khushaṇa*; in Indian Kharoshṭhī inscriptions we find *gushaṇa* and *khushaṇa*, in Central Asian Kharoshṭhī *kushaṇa* and *kurshaṇa*,[1] and in a Brāhmī inscription from Māṭ near Mathurā *kushāṇa*(*putro*). A similar form seems to be represented by the Chinese *kuei-shuang*,[2] with which we shall have to deal below.

All these forms point to an adjective formed with the suffix *āna* from a base beginning with a guttural, which may have been a fricative, and containing a *sh* or *rsh*. The short base is, as already remarked, contained in the genitive plural *koshano* occurring in the coin-legends of Kanishka and his successors. It also seems to have occurred in the Sanskrit Buddhist text Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā of Kumāralāta, where King Kanishka is stated to be of the family (*kula*) of the *Kiu-sha*, i. e. evidently *Kusha*,[3] and perhaps also in other works.

Baron A. von Staël Holstein[4] is of opinion that the adjective *kushāṇa* does not exist, the form being everywhere the genitive plural of *kusha*. Forms such as *khushaṇasa* he explains as *khushāṇa sa*, i. e. *shāh*, 'King of the Kushas', just as he explains the genitive *Sasasa* discussed above in connexion with the Guduvhara coins as standing for *san sasa*, 'of the King of Kings'. Even if we were prepared to admit the possibility of such a hybrid form as *sa*, genitive *sasa*, in a language which consistently distinguishes between *s* and *sh*, and in a script which possesses a separate sign for *sh*, which I do not think we can, the Chinese *kuei-shuang* and Central Asian names such as *Kushanasena*, seem to prove the existence of the adjective *kushāṇa*, which bears the same relation to *kusha* as *guḍaṇa* to *guḍa*.

The Kushāṇas a tribe or sept. Not only the form but also the meaning of *kusha*, *kushāṇa* has been subject to

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[1] Cf. *Khar. Inscr.*, nos. 79, 117, 136, 193, 198, 320, 399, &c.

[2] Pronounced *kjwẹi-ṣịang* in T'ang times according to Karlgren, nos. 456, 923. *Kj* here means a yodicized *k*.

[3] Cf. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 67.

[4] JRAS, 1914, pp. 79 ff., SBAW, 1914, pp. 643 ff.

doubt. The Baron saw in *kusha* the same word which the Chinese render as Yüe-chï, the tribe mentioned above in connexion with the old Sakas. I shall have to return to the question about this identification later on. In the present place it is sufficient to state that if the Baron were right, we should have to separate the word *kusha*, *kushāṇa* from Chinese *kuei-shuang*, and there is not, as we shall see, any sufficient reason for doing so. Moreover, the passages from the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā referred to above seem to prove that the Kushas, Kushāṇas were a tribe or a family within a larger group, and I shall draw attention below to some facts which seem to prove that this larger group was the Yüe-chï.

Nationality of the Kushāṇas.

In order to become able to judge about the Kushāṇas it will be necessary to examine the indications about their ethnic and linguistic affinity which can be gathered from the available sources. And in this respect Kanishka's dynasty has played a prominent role in the discussion.

Turkī theory.

We know that, at a later period, the Turkī kings of Gandhāra claimed Kanishka as their ancestor, and Kalhaṇa speaks in his Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 170, of Kanishka and the other members of his dynasty as Turushkas, i. e. Turks. Some of the designations used by the first Kadphises have also been explained as Turkī. In inscriptions and coin-legends he is, as we shall see, characterized as a *yavuga*, *yaüa*, ζαοος, and in Chinese sources this title occurs as *hi-hou*, old pronunciation *χịəp-γəu*.[1] This title was identified by Hirth[2] with Turkī *jabgu*, and the inference was drawn that the Kushāṇas were Turks. Also the designation *kujūla* has been explained in a similar way. Professor Hultzsch compared Turkī *güjlü*, 'strong',[3] and I have thought of *güzel*, 'beautiful'.[4] M. Sylvain Lévi has also[5] drawn attention to the statement in Hemachandra's Abhidhānachintāmaṇi 959 that the Turks are *śākhis*, i. e. use the royal title *śākhi*,[6] where *śākhi* is evidently written for *shāhi*, the title used by Kanishka and his successors in Brāhmī inscriptions.

Supposed Turkī features.

It has also been thought possible to find proofs of the Turkī nationality of the Kushāṇas in the features presented by the likenesses on their coins. Thus Mr. Kennedy[7] is positive that they 'belonged to the great Turkī family', and speaks of Kanishka's features as characteristic of his race. 'He has the pointed cranium, the salient cheek-bones, the large, long and heavy nose, the thick beard . . . and his coins represent him as a powerfully built barbarian king, clad in the loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan.'

None of these arguments are, however, conclusive.

Homo alpinus.

The large nose and the other features shown in the likenesses are characteristic of the so-called *Homo alpinus*, which is stated to be largely represented in the population of Chinese Turkestan. This type has been described by Mr. T. A. Joyce as follows:[8] 'A white-rosy race; very brachycephalic; stature above the average; with thin prominent nose, varying from aquiline to straight; long oval face; hair brown, usually dark, always abundant and curly; eyes medium in the main.'

Moreover, everything which we know about the history and ethnology of Chinese Turkestan is to the effect that the Turkī element is comparatively late. Even at the present day the population has been described by Mr. Joyce[9] as follows: 'The majority

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[1] Karlgren, nos. 128 and 79.

[2] *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk* (Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, Zweite Folge, T. ii), p. 48.

[3] ZDMG, 69, 1915, p. 176.

[4] SBAW, 1916, p. 799.

[5] JA, IX, ix, 1897, p. 10 note.

[6] *Turushkās tu śākhayaḥ syuḥ.*

[7] JRAS, 1912, p. 670.

[8] Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1361.

[9] l. c., p. 1360.

of the peoples surrounding the Taklamakan desert have a very large common element . . . seen in its purest form in Wakhi. The fact that the Wakhi display so close a relationship with the Galcha proves that the basis of the Taklamakan population is Iranian.'

Now Chinese Turkestan is, as we shall see, the probable home of the Kushāṇas, and we have not, therefore, any *a priori* reason for considering them as Turks.

At a later time, it is true, Turkī tribes make their appearance in the country where the Kushāṇas were once the rulers, and this fact explains the statements of Kalhaṇa and Hemachandra, which are based on a later state of things.

The supposed Turkī origin of the titles or designations *yavuga* and *kujūla*, finally, is more than doubtful. It has not proved possible to find a Turkī etymology for the word *yavuga*. I have already mentioned that it seems to be used, in the form *jaüva*, i. e. probably *zaüva*, by the Saka Patika, and even if it were originally a Turkī word, it seems more probable that the Kushāṇas had taken it over from the old Sakas than that it was a reminiscence of their Turkī descent. We shall see later on that the Kushāṇas throughout behaved as the inheritors of the Sakas, and also other Saka titles are used by them. And besides it is more likely that the title *yavuga* is originally Iranian and has subsequently been adopted by Turkī tribes than that the opposite should have been the case.

With regard to the designation *kujūla*, it has already been seen that it is likewise used by old Sakas, and it is therefore common to the two tribes just as the title *yavuga*. About its etymology and significance we do not know anything, but Lüders is probably right in thinking [1] that it is the name of a family or a clan.

The Kushāṇas Iranians.

We must accordingly look out for other indications, and such as there are point to the conclusion that the Kushāṇas were Iranians. We seem to be justified in drawing this conclusion by the fact that several terms and designations used by them find their explanation in an Iranian language, which was once spoken and used in literature in parts of Chinese Turkestan, and only in it.

Khotanī Saka language.

This language was called North-Aryan by Professor Leumann, who was the first to give a connected account of its peculiarities.[2] French scholars, beginning with M. Pelliot,[3] speak of it as East-Iranian, and Professor Lüders[4] as the Saka language. I have formerly preferred the neutral designation suggested by Professor Kirste,[5] Khotanī, because we know that it was used in the Khotan country as an official language in the eighth century A. D.,[6] and seems to have been spoken there since the first centuries of our era.[7] At an early date, apparently after the introduction of Buddhism, it was also used in literature in the southern oases.

Professor Lüders has shown that there are remarkable points of agreement between this form of speech and the language of the old Sakas, as evidenced by Saka names, and there can be little doubt that the designation Khotanī is too narrow. It is a Saka

[1] SBAW, 1922, p. 261.

[2] *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, Strassburg, 1912.

[3] *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, 18, 1913, pp. 89 ff.

[4] SBAW, 1913, pp. 406 ff.; 1919, pp. 734 ff.

[5] WZKM, 26, p. 395.

[6] Cf. my remarks, JRAS, 1914, pp. 339 ff.

[7] Cf. my remarks, SBAW, 1916, pp. 822 ff.; *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 86 ff. They might now be considerably enlarged. Of words and forms adopted from the old Iranian language in the Kharoshṭhī documents I may e.g. mention *vita*, 'was' (no. 295); *vitaṁdi*, 'were' (no. 272), which would sound *vite*, *vitāndi* in Khotanī Saka; *vaṁdi*, 'in', 'near', corresponding to Pashto *bāndi*, Khotanī Saka *bendi*, &c.

language, and the only Saka language about which we are more fully informed. I shall therefore speak of it as Saka or Sakish.

Saka literature cannot provisionally be dated farther back than about the fourth century A. D.,[1] and we know that an Indian language was used in administration in the south of Chinese Turkestan at least in the second and third centuries, as we shall see later on. But the Kharoshṭhī documents written in that form of speech bear witness to the existence of Sakish as a spoken vernacular, as indicated above. And they even allow us to state that a certain phonetic development had taken place between the second and the fourth century. For the word *vaṁdi*, i. e. *vāndi*, 'in', 'on', which is found as a 'loan-word' in the documents, has become *bendi* in literary Saka. And a characteristic feature of the latter, the change of old *r* to *l* before *ś*, *s*, and *ys*,[2] seems to be later than the first century A. D. For the word *erjhuṇa* in the Guduvhara inscription of the year 103 is evidently, as remarked above, a shorter form, without the suffix *ka*, of *alysānai*, *eysānai* in literary Saka.

Sakish in Kushāṇa coins and inscriptions.

We have already found some designations among the Kushāṇas, which can be traced with Sakas as well, viz. *yavuga*, *kujūla*, i. e. as shown by the Greek κοζουλο, *kuzūla*, and *erjhuṇa*. The word *alysānai* has been explained by Professor Leumann[3] as a middle participle of the base which we have in Greek ἄρχων. I prefer to look on it as an adjective formed with the suffix *āna*, *ānaka* from a simplex corresponding to Greek ἀρχός, a leader, just as we have *balysāni*, 'Bauddha', from *balysi*, 'Buddha', and *kushāṇa* from *kusha*.

Other Saka designations are found in connexion with the later Kushāṇa branch, and especially with King Kanishka.

In an inscription of the year 11 found at Zeda this ruler bears the titles *muroḍa* and *marjhaka*. Here *muroḍa* evidently stands for *muruṇḍa* and is clearly the old Saka designation which we have learnt to know above. And *marjhaka* can hardly be anything else than the Saka word *malysaki*, which is used as a translation of Skr. *gṛihapatiratna*, 'who sees all treasures below ground and transfers those which have no owner to the king's treasury',[4] so that the designation characterizes the king as a ruler abounding in treasure.

And, finally, the coin-legends of Kanishka and his successors are written in pure Khotanī Saka.[5] They are written in Greek letters and can be transliterated as *shaonano shao kaneshki koshano*. If we bear in mind that the Greek omicron often renders an Indian or Iranian short *u*,[6] we may read the text as *shaunānu shau Kaneshki kushānu*. Here *shau* is a well-known Saka word for 'king', which is used in several documents of the eighth century, where it is written *shshau*.[7] It is formed from the same base as *shāhi*, *shāh*, but with the suffix *van*,[8] and *shaunānu* is the regular genitive plural of this

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[1] I shall show below that King Kanishka began to use Sakish in his coin-legends, and this fact may be taken as an indication that the language had begun to be reduced to writing. And we hear about Buddhist works being translated from the Kuishan language into that of Barchuq, i. e. the present Maralbashi near Yārkand, and about other translations from the same language into Tocharian and thence into Turkish. But we are not told where this Kuishan language was used.

[2] Cf. *chahaurä*, 'four', but *chaholsä*, 'forty'; *brashṭe*, 'asked', but *pulsāmä*, 'we ask'; *mulysdi*, 'compassion', from *mṛiźdi*, &c., Leumann, l. c., p. 63.

[3] l. c., p. 63.

[4] Cf. *Maitreya-samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten. Die nordarische Schilderung in Text und Übersetzung*, von Ernst Leumann, Strassburg, 1919, p. 67, v. 156.

[5] Cf. my remarks, ZDMG, 68, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

[6] Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1907, p. 1046; J. Kirste, SWAW, Phil. hist. Kl., 182, 2, p. 17.

[7] Cf. my remarks, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 220 ff.

[8] Cf. Sogdian, *χshēvanē*, 'king'.

word. As these words are Sakish, the same must be the case with the last word *kushānu*, which must accordingly be the genitive plural of *kushi*, where *-i* is the regular Saka termination of the nominative and genitive singular; cf. my remarks about the word *Guḍana* in some of the coin-legends of Guduvhara.

The remaining word *Kaneshki* can be the nominative or the genitive. The Greek legend *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων ΚΑΝΗÞΚΟΥ*, however, shows that it is probably the genitive, i. e. we have before us an idiom which is well known from Chinese Turkestan, where names and titles are strung together in such a way that only the last is put in the genitive, the remainder standing in the nominative.[1]

Everything accordingly points to the conclusion that the Kushāṇas were Iranians, at least in language, and the affinity with the Sakas leads us to think that they were a Saka clan or family. This inference would be proved if the reading *σακα-κορσανου* on the coins of Heraus or Miaus proves to be right.[2]

Chinese accounts. In order to arrive at more precise results it may be of interest to examine the Chinese accounts of the Kuei-shuang, i. e. the Kushāṇas. They are there mentioned in connexion with two other peoples, the Yüe-chï and the Ta-hia, and it is possible that they can be identified with one of these two.

Yüe-chï. We have already touched the history of the Yüe-chï in connexion with the Sakas, but now we must take it up in greater detail.

The Chinese seem to have been aware of the existence of the Yüe-chï since the second half of the third century B.C. We read in the Shï-ki:[3] 'Originally they were strong and esteemed the Hiung-nu of small account. But when Mao-tun mounted the throne, he attacked the Yüe-chï and defeated them. When the shan-yü Lau-shang had killed the king of the Yüe-chï, he took his skull and made it into a drinking-cup. Originally the Yüe-chï lived between Tun-huang and the K'i-lien.[4] After they had been defeated by the Hiung-nu, they went far away, beyond Ta-wan (Ferghāna). In the west they defeated the Ta-hia and made them subject to themselves. Thereafter they lived to the north of the Oxus river and established their head-quarters there.'

According to the same source[5] the defeat of the Yüe-chï must have taken place before 176 B.C., in which year Mao-tun informed the Chinese emperor of the fact in a letter.

The result was that the Yüe-chï made themselves masters of the Sai-wang country, as we have already seen. According to M. Chavannes[6] that happened in or about the year 165 B.C.

We have already heard that the Yüe-chï were not to remain long in the Sai-wang country. The Ts'ien Han-shu[7] contains the information that the king of the Wu-sun had an old grudge against the Yüe-chï and therefore attacked them and drove them out.

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[1] Cf. *mahanuava maharaya jiṭugha Vashmana devaputrasa* in Kharoshṭhī documents from the Niya site (Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 113 ff.); *shshau Shanīrä salya*, in King Shanīra's year, in one of the Saka documents mentioned above, and, from Indian Kharoshṭhī *maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkasra* in the Wardak Vase inscription.

[2] Cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 9 f.; Oldenberg, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1910–12, p. 1[3]; Kirste, l.c., pp. 55 ff.

[3] Chap. 110 fol. 6 v°, chap. 123, fol. 4, cf. Marquart, pp. 201 ff.; F. W. K. Müller, SBAW, 1918, p. 571.

[4] The Shï-ki-cheng-i quotes authority to show that the old country of the Yüe-chï comprised Liang-chou, Kan-chou, Su-chou, Kua-chou, and Sha-chou.

[5] Chap. 110, fol. 13 r°; cf. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii, 1874, p. 415; Franke, *Beiträge*, p. 13.

[6] *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 189[1]; cf., however, Franke, *Beiträge*, p. 55[1].

[7] Chap. 61, fol. 4 r°; cf. Franke, *Beiträge*, p. 15.

And we are told that this happened just at the time when the Shan-yü, i. e. Mao-tun's successor (174–160 B.C.), died.

Yüe-chï and Ta-hia.

It was accordingly after 160 B.C. that the Yüe-chï went westwards and conquered the Ta-hia.

The Chinese got more information about the Yüe-chï through Chang K'ien, who was sent westwards in order to enlist the assistance of the Yüe-chï against the Hiung-nu in 138 B.C.[1] He was long detained by the Hiung-nu, but after about ten years he succeeded in escaping to Ta-wan (Ferghāna), whence he was escorted to the K'ang-kü (Sogdiana), who again sent him on to the Yüe-chï. He did not succeed in enlisting their services and was no more successful with the Ta-hia, wherefore he returned to China in 126 B.C.

The account of his mission was the chief source from which the Chinese got further information about the Yüe-chï.

Their country was stated to be rich and fertile, and the people peaceful and happy. Their capital was Kien-she, to the north of the Oxus, and they had made themselves masters of the Ta-hia, whose capital was Lan-shï, to the south of the river, in the present Badakhshān.[2]

Hou Han-shu.

Further information is contained in the Annals of the Later Han, the Hou Han-shu. They were written by Fan Ye, who died in A.D. 445, and their account of the Western Countries has been translated by M. Chavannes.[3] Fan Ye states: 'The notes which Pan Ku has written on the configuration and the manner of the various (Western) Countries are detailed in the book of the older (Han); now I have chosen what in the events of the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25–55) or later was different from what has already been said formerly, and I have compared the chapters on the Western Countries on that; all the facts have been related by Pan Yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107–125).'

It is accordingly the events of the period A.D. 25–125 which are narrated by Fan Ye, though there are some additions referring to a somewhat later time in the case of countries which were near enough to remain in contact with China after the reign of the emperor Ngan. It is therefore only what we should expect when we here find a different state of things than in the older accounts.

The capital of the Yüe-chï is now the old Ta-hia capital Lan-shï, in Badakhshān, which remained their stronghold down to the fifth century of our era.[4] There is accordingly a marked change since the days of Chang K'ien, when the Yüe-chï were settled to the north of the Oxus. The conquest of the Ta-hia country does not seem to have been completed at that time, and we have thought it possible above to assume that Saka tribes were then still in power in Bactria. In the period of the Hou Han-shu the Yüe-chï had settled down in the old Ta-hia country and now represented the whole Ta-hia empire, i.e., as M. Chavannes puts it: henceforward they are the Ta-hia.

We do not know exactly when this change took place. It must have been some time between Chang K'ien's departure and A.D. 25, and it is evident that the same events are referred to by Trogus, when he speaks of the Asiani, the kings of the Tocharians, and the annihilation of the Saraucae, i. e. the Asiani are the Yüe-chï and the Tocharians the Ta-hia, and the final reduction of the Ta-hia country brought about the annihilation

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[1] Cf. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 1881, pp. 60 ff.; Hirth, JAOS, xxxvii, pp. 89 ff.

[2] Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 187[2].

[3] l. c., pp. 149 ff.

[4] Cf. Chavannes, l. c., p. 187 with notes.

of the Saraucae, who may, consequently, be considered to have exercised a certain supremacy over the Ta-hia or Tocharians before that time.

Trogus' remarks about these events are found in the Prologus of the 42nd book as an addition to the account of Parthian history down to the reign of Phraates IV (38–2 B.C.), and we should be inclined to draw the inference that they had been completed in the second half of the first century B.C. But it is impossible to be confident.

Little Yüe-chï. Before dealing with the Ta-hia or Tocharians it will be practical to add some remarks about a branch of the Yüe-chï which did not join in the expedition towards the Ta-hia.

The passage of the Shï-ki quoted above (p. liii) about the Yüe-chï establishing themselves to the north of the Oxus gives the further information: 'a remainder of them, small in number, who were unable to depart, took refuge with the K'iang in the southern mountains and were called the little Yüe-chï',[1] evidently in order to distinguish them from the conquerors of Ta-hia, who are usually called Ta Yüe-chï, i. e. Great Yüe-chï. And the Weï-lio, which was compiled by Yü Huan and covers the period of the Weï down to the reign of the emperor Ming (227–239), contains the statement that 'in the mountains to the south of Tun-huang and the Western Countries, from the Jê-k'iang to the Ts'ung-ling (Pamir), over a stretch of more than a thousand li, are found the remaining tribes of the Yüe-chï'. They are here mentioned together with several Tibetan tribes, but there is no reason for doubting that also the Yüe-chï were living there at that time.[2]

We also hear about Yüe-chï tribes farther to the east after the westward movement of the Great Yüe-chï. The Hou Han-shu[3] states that the Hu tribe of the Yüe-chï lived in Huang-chung, the present Si-ning-fu in Kan-su: 'when the Chinese general Ho-k'ü-ping conquered the Hiung-nu (121 B.C.) and took the country on the Si-ho, he also invaded Huang-chung; then the Yüe-chï submitted to the Chinese and lived together with them. Though they had submitted to the district officers, their chiefs controlled their doings'.

We also hear that some of the Yüe-chï had returned to their old seats in Kan-chou, where they are stated to have revolted against the officials in A.D. 189. It must have been these Yüe-chï who are stated in the Ts'ien Han-shu[4] to have taken part in an expedition in order to prevent an alliance between the Hiung-nu and the Tibetans in 61 B.C.

Even so late as A.D. 939 the Little Yüe-chï are mentioned as a warlike tribe in Kan-su.[5]

It is necessary to mention this because there are, as we shall see, some indications to show that Kanishka rose to power in Chinese Turkestan, so that there may be some connexion between the Kushāṇas and the Little Yüe-chï.

Ta-hia. It is only after the Yüe-chï had completed the conquest of the Ta-hia country and become the representatives of the Ta-hia empire that we hear about the Kuei-shuang, i. e. the Kushāṇas, in Chinese sources. In order to grasp all the features which may help us to judge of the race-affinity of the Kushāṇas, we must, therefore, examine the Chinese accounts about the Ta-hia.

The oldest ones are found in the Shï-ki (chap. 123, fol. 6 f.) and the Ts'ien Han-shu (chap. 96). According to the former source 'Ta-hia is situated more than 2,000 li

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[1] Cf. Franke, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vi, p. 85, where further references are given.

[2] Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, vi, pp. 526 f.; Franke, *Beiträge*, p. 28, and *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vi, p. 85, against F. W. K. Müller, SBAW, 1918, pp. 570 f.

[3] Chap. 117, fol. 27 v° f.; cf. Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 26 ff.

[4] Chap. 69, fol. 3 v°; cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, vi, p. 526[8].

[5] Cf. Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 9[2], 27; Chavannes, l. c., p. 527[1].

south-west of Ta-wan (Ferghāna) and south of the Wei water (Oxus). The farmers have towns and houses, and they have the same customs as the Ta-wan. The people have no supreme ruler, but the various towns appoint minor chiefs. The soldiers there are weak and fear warfare, they are skilled in trading and marketing'.

We have already seen that the Chinese ambassador Chang K'ien found the Ta-hia subject to the Yüe-chï, and Lan-shï in the present Badakhshān as their capital. The Ts'ien Han-shu[1] adds about the Ta-hia that there were there five principalities, each under one *hi-hou*, which all depended on the Ta Yüe-chï, viz. Hiu-mi, with the capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi, with the capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with the capital Hu-tsao; Hi-tun with the capital Po-mao, and Kao-fu with the capital Kao-fu.

In the Hou Han-shu the state of things is, as already remarked, different. Lan-shï is now the capital of the Yüe-chï, and the Annals go on to say: 'Formerly the Yüe-chï were conquered by the Hiung-nu; they transferred themselves to the Ta-hia and divided that kingdom between five *hi-hou*, viz. those of Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun, and Tu-mi.'

It will be seen that this account differs from the old one in two respects: instead of mentioning the five principalities as existing within the Ta-hia country, it says that the Yüe-chï divided the Ta-hia empire between five *hi-hou*, and instead of Kao-fu it gives Tu-mi as the name of the fifth principality.

With regard to the latter point the Annals expressly state[2] that it is a mistake of the Ts'ien Han-shu to mention Kao-fu among the five principalities. It was only at a later date that Kao-fu was included in the empire.

On the other hand, it is possible that the Ts'ien Han-shu is right in its remark about the five principalities. They may have been in existence before the Yüe-chï subjected the whole Ta-hia empire. And it is clear that they were only a part of the Ta-hia country.[3]

Professor Marquart[4] has identified Hiu-mi with the present Wakhān, Shuang-mi with Chitrāl, Kuei-shuang with the country immediately to the north of Gandhāra or with Gandhāra itself, Hi-tun with Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu with Kābul. Tu-mi should perhaps be substituted for Kao-fu, but the general localization is clear: the five principalities were outside the Ta-hia stronghold in Badakhshān, and in districts which are not very distant from the route which the Sakas must be considered to have followed on their way to Ki-pin. In such circumstances it is not even certain that the five principalities were peopled by the Ta-hia, or ruled over by them before the Yüe-chï conquest.

The third of them was Kuei-shuang, i.e. the Kushāṇa principality, apparently situated somewhere between Chitrāl and the Panjshir country.

We cannot say whether the Kuei-shuang had been settled there for a prolonged period when the events narrated in the Han Annals happened. The T'ang-shu[5] speaks of a Kuei-shuang-ni-kia in K'ang, midway between Samarkand and Bokhara, and though Professor Franke[6] does not think that the two names have anything to do with each other, it is not impossible that we have here an indication of the Kuei-shuang having come to their later habitat via Sogdiana, where Trogus, as we have seen, seems to speak of Scythian invaders, whom he calls Asiani.

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[1] Chap. 96 a, fol. 15 r°; cf. Specht, JA, VIII, ii, 1883, p. 323.
[2] Chap. 118, fol. 11 v°.
[3] Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 189[3].
[4] *Ērānšahr*, pp. 242 ff.
[5] Cf. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St-Pétersbourg, 1903, p. 145.
[6] *Beiträge*, p. 67[2].

Ta-hia and Tocharians.

We have seen that some indications exist which seem to show that the Kushāṇas were Iranians. In order to ascertain whether they belonged to the Ta-hia people, we shall have to examine what we know about the ethnic or linguistic affinities of the Ta-hia.

It has sometimes[1] been assumed that the Ta-hia were the Dahae of classical literature. But there is nothing to show that the Dahae were ever settled in the Ta-hia country.

Most scholars seem to have accepted Marquart's identification[2] of Ta-hia with Tu-ho-lo, a designation which is, for the first time, met with in the history of the Northern Weï (A. D. 386–556) as denoting a western people on and beyond the Oxus, and about which we read in the T'ang-shu:[3] 'It is to the west of the Ts'ung-ling (Pamir) and to the south of the river Wu-hu (Oxus). It is the old territory of the Ta-hia.'

According to Karlgren[4] the T'ang pronunciation of Ta-hia was *t'ā̆i* (or *d'ā̆i*)-*γa*, and that of Tu-ho-lo *tuo-χuâ-lâ*. Both names have a guttural fricative and not *h* as the second consonant, and Marquart has explained the short form Ta-hia by reference to a well-known tendency in old Chinese accounts to avoid using more than two characters in the rendering of foreign names, while Haloun[5] thinks it possible that the name of the Tocharians was identified with an older Chinese designation Ta-hia.

Old Tu-ho-lo.

There are some notices in old Chinese sources which seem to speak of a Ta-hia in north-western Kan-su, on the south-eastern border of Gobi. Professor Franke tried to establish the identity of these Ta-hia with the people conquered by the Yüe-chï,[6] but Chavannes[7] may be right in thinking that they have nothing to do with each other.

The strongest argument in favour of Professor Franke's theory is the reference to an ancient Tu-ho-lo four marches east of Niya in Chinese Turkestan, at the present Endere, by Hüan-tsang. Sir Aurel Stein has, however, shown excellent reasons for doubting that such an ancient Tu-ho-lo has ever existed.[8] Just as the people of the present day speak of the ruins of Chinese Turkestan as 'the Kalmaks' houses', or 'township of the old Chinese', &c., thus Hüan-tsang's guides may have spoken of 'Old Tu-ho-lo', because the designation Tu-ho-lo had come to be used about the empire of the Yüe-chï and their successors, the rulers of the so-called Tocharistan, and ancient remains were vaguely ascribed to their times.

The Ta-hia were the old inhabitants of the Yüe-chï empire, and their name continued to be used also after the Yüe-chï conquest, just as classical authors speak of the Tocharians.

We can thus provisionally abstract from the accounts of an old Ta-hia or Tu-ho-lo settlement in Chinese Turkestan or even farther east. The only place where we are sure that this people was settled in ancient times is the country to the south of the Oxus. And we can assume that it was the same people which classical authors called Tocharian.

Tocharian language.

Now the modern exploration of Chinese Turkestan has brought to light numerous fragments and documents written in an Indo-European language, which we have every reason for bringing into connexion with the Tocharians.

There are two dialects, one of which, usually designated B, was used as the language of administration in Kuchi in the north-east of Chinese Turkestan in the seventh

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[1] Cf. O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 2. Auflage, *sub voce* Tocharer.

[2] *Ērānšahr*, pp. 199 ff.

[3] Chap. CCXXI b, fol. 4 v°; cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 155.

[4] Nos. 952, 136; 1187, 93, 569.

[5] Gustav Haloun, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer oder Indogermanen überhaupt* I. Leipzig, 1926.

[6] *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 117 ff.

[7] *Les mémoires historiques de Sse Ma Ts'ien*, ii, p. 148.

[8] Cf. *Serindia*, pp. 286 ff.

century A.D.,[1] and was also probably spoken in Turfan, while the other, dialect A, is used in Buddhist texts and evidently belongs to Tocharistan, the western country of the Ta-hia.[2] Some of these texts have been further translated into Uigur, and such translations are occasionally stated to have been made from the *toχri* language, and *toχri* cannot be anything else than Tocharian. The dialect A can accordingly be characterized as the literary language of the Tocharians.

It is an Indo-European form of speech, but does not belong to the Aryan group and has nothing to do with Sakish or any other Iranian tongue.

Ārśi.

Now there is one peculiarity about this language. The designation *toχri* is only used about it in Uigur translations. In the texts themselves the language is designated as *ārśi kanta*, the Ārśi tongue.[3]

F. W. K. Müller has shown[4] that this *ārśi* can very well be a rendering of the same word which Strabo gives in the form Ἄσιοι, and from which the adjective *Asiani* is evidently derived. We thus again arrive at the conclusion that the *Asiani*, the rulers of the Tochari, were identified with their subjects, just as was the case with the Yüe-chï and the Ta-hia, and it seems necessary to infer that the *Ārśi*, the Ἄσιοι, the *Asiani* must be identified with the Yüe-chï, the *toχri*, Tocharians, with the Ta-hia, as has already been indicated above.

But now the question arises: is this *ārśi-toχri* language originally the language of the Ἄσιοι, i.e. the Yüe-chï, or that of the Tocharians? In the former case the Ārśis brought their language to the Tocharians, who then gradually adopted the speech of their conquerors. In the latter we should have to state that the Tocharian language was renamed after the kings, their new rulers, much in the same way as French and Russian have got their names.

In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the Tocharian language does not seem to possess guttural fricatives, and that the ethnic name is therefore apparently in disaccord with the laws of the language. The name Tocharian, *toχri*, seems to be more in its place with Iranians, and we might draw the inference that the Tocharians were Iranians, who had abandoned their old language in favour of their non-Iranian conquerors. Moreover, the existence of a dialect of the same language in and near Kuchi might be taken as an indication of the way by which the language has come to the Tocharians. We have no traces of any material change in the population of Kuchi from the time when it first emerges into the light of history and down to the Turkish conquest, while there has evidently been considerable movement in and about Bactria. It therefore seems possible to assume that the *ārśi-toχri* language originally was the speech of the Ārśi or Ἄσιοι, i. e. of the Yüe-chï.

The name Yüe-chï.

It has also been thought possible to find support for this opinion in the Chinese name Yüe-chï, which has been much discussed.

The first of the two signs with which it is written is pronounced *üe* in Mandarin, *ŭt* in Cantonese, *ñet* in Hakka, *getsu* or *guatsu* in Sino-Japanese, *ngoat*, *ngüet* in Anamese, *uöl* (written *nguer*) in Korean, and had the sound *ngiwvt* in the T'ang period. In transliterating Indian words it is used to render *vi*, *ūr*, and *o*.[5] The final *t* of the T'ang form may further represent an *r* in the original.[6]

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[1] Cf. Lévi, JA, XI, ii, 1913, pp. 311 ff.

[2] Cf. E. Sieg and W. Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921, B. I, pp. iii ff., with references.

[3] Cf. Sieg, SBAW, 1918, pp. 560 ff.

[4] SBAW, 1918, pp. 566 ff.

[5] Cf. Karlgren, no. 1347; Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 21 ff.; *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vi, pp. 83 ff.; Staël Holstein, SBAW, 1914, pp. 643 ff.; F. W. K. Müller, SBAW, 1918, pp. 566 ff.

[6] Cf. Hirth, *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, p. 220.

The second sign[1] sounds *shï* in Mandarin, *shi* in Cantonese, *śi* in Sino-Japanese, and was a *źię* in the T'ang period.

Klaproth has stated[2] that we sometimes find the second sign written *ti*,[3] Cantonese *tai*, T'ang *tiei*. He would therefore read the whole name as *yüe-ti* and identify this with the Yetes of Dzungaria and the Ili country, while other scholars, who accepted his reading, thought of the Getae and Massagetae.

Franke has shown that Klaproth's reading cannot be accepted, but drew attention to a statement in Chinese commentaries to the effect that *shï* in this name should be pronounced as the sign[4] which means 'branch', Mandarin *tṣï*, Cantonese *tśi*, T'ang period *tśię*. He thinks that this pronunciation represents an attempt at preserving the final *t* of the first part of the name, so that it is not excluded that we have to do with 'the people of the Yet or Get', which may have something to do with the Getae and Massagetae. Yüe-chï might, he says, be a comprehensive term, something parallel to the denominations Scythian and Getae, denoting the peoples to the north and east of Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian Sea, from Haemus to Thracia and far into Central Asia. Marquart[5] starts from a pronunciation *get-ti* and compares this with the *Πασιανοί* of Strabo, which he corrects to *Γασιανοί* and considers as a simple variant of *Ἄσιοι* and of Ptolemy's *Ἰάτιοι*.

Baron A. von Staël Holstein infers a pronunciation *kurshi* or *gurshi* and identifies this with *kushi*, the simple form of the name of the Kushāṇas. A. Herrmann[6] accepts this identification, reading the Chinese name *guat-si*.

Professor Charpentier[7] sees in *Yüe-chï*, which might be translated as 'the moon-clan', the rendering of an unknown name, which was once used to denote the people called Tocharian by classical authors and Tu-ho-lo by the Chinese.

F. W. K. Müller maintains that *Yüe-chï* is probably a rendering of the same word which we have learnt to know in the form *ārśi* as a designation of the language of the Tocharians, and Franke has subsequently[8] accepted this explanation.

It is impossible for a non-sinologist to weigh these opinions against each other. Professor Pelliot[9] is, however, of opinion that none of the suggested forms is probable in the Han period, and Professor Karlgren has been good enough to point out to me:

(1) That the initial *ng-*, in later times often weakened and disappearing, was quite strong and important in ancient times and cannot simply be overlooked in our identifications. It is true that the T'ang time *ng-* sometimes transcribes words without initial *guttural*, but then these latter begin with a *labial* sound (*ng*(*i̯*)*w-* for foreign *u-*, *w-*, *v-*), and the *whole* of *ngi̯w-* cannot reasonably be simply skipped (*ngi̯w*)*vt* = *ār*(*śi*), with abstraction from *both* the guttural *ng-* and the labial *-w-* (the medial *-i̯-* is generally of no account in the transcriptions). *ng-* may stand for foreign *ng-* or *g-*, probably the latter (Chinese has only aspirated *g'*, and therefore *ng-* had to serve for ordinary *g-*), and we have to expect a *gw-* or a *g-* or a *w-* in the foreign word transcribed.

(2) The principal vowel of the word in pre-Christian time is impossible to determine. It was probably an *a* or an *o*.

(3) The final *-t* was decidedly a *-t* in pre-Christian time, not an *-r*, as in certain northern dialects in T'ang time (whence Korean *nguer*). The reasons for this statement are given by Professor Karlgren, JRAS, 1928, pp. 789 ff. Thus the approximate

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[1] Karlgren, no. 879.
[2] *Tableaux historiques*, pp. 287 ff.
[3] Karlgren, no. 984.
[4] Karlgren, no. 1212.
[5] *Ērānšahr*, p. 206.
[6] l. c., *sub voce* Sacaraucae.
[7] ZDMG, 71, 1917, p. 375.
[8] *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vi, pp. 83 ff.
[9] BEFEO, v, 1905, p. 443.

transcription value of the first syllable would be (*n*)*gwat* or (*n*)*gwot*, pointing to a foreign *gwat*, *gwot*, or *gat*, *got*, or *gut*, or *wat*, *wot*, or *ut*.

(4) Franke is certainly right in pointing out that the second syllable has to be read, according to the ancient phonetic gloss, like *chï*, 'branch', T'ang time *tśię̂*. This, however, comes from an older *t'ʑ̂a* (*t'* = palatal explosive, not affricative; cf. Karlgren, p. 25), and can transcribe a foreign *ti* (or possibly *či* ?), or, of course, *tia* (*čia* ?), but certainly not *śi* in *ārśi*.

No certain inference can, accordingly, be drawn from the Chinese name, and we can only say with some confidence that the *ārśi*, the Ἄσιοι, or Asiani were in reality the Yüe-chï, but that the designations themselves can hardly be identified.

Yüe-chï and Tocharian language.

The reasons for assuming that the *ārśi-toχri* language was brought to Tocharistan by the Yüe-chï from Chinese Turkestan and for seeing in the Kuchi dialect remnants of the ancient speech of the conquerors are hardly conclusive. The Chinese are absolutely unaware of any connexion between the Yüe-chï and the population of Kuchi. The same annals which contain the account of the wanderings and conquests of the Yüe-chï have much to say about the history of Kuchi, but the Yüe-chï are always mentioned as a different people and sometimes as the enemies of the Kuchians.

Moreover we have not sufficient reason for assuming that the Tocharians had been settled for a very long time to the south of the Oxus, when the Yüe-chï conquered them. We have seen above, p. xxi, that Strabo speaks of the Tocharians as one of the nomadic tribes who made an end to the Greek dominion in Bactria. In the Chinese accounts, on the other hand, the Tocharians are described as settled in towns and engaged in trade. It is perhaps possible to reconcile these varying statements by assuming that the Tocharians were originally immigrants from Chinese Turkestan, in which case the Kuchi and Turfan settlements might indicate the localities from which they had come, localities where the Yüe-chï had never been settled.[1]

This Tocharian immigration into the Oxus country must have happened before the Yüe-chï exodus, i. e. they must have lived for some time in the neighbourhood of Iranian tribes. And if the guttural fricative in their name is really unwarranted in their language, the form of the name taken over by the Chinese as by classical authors may have been coined by their neighbours.

It seems to me that this is a much more likely explanation than to assume that the Tocharians were originally an Iranian tribe, which was conquered by non-Iranians from Turkestan, the Yüe-chï, and adopted their language. There can hardly be any doubt about the ethnic and linguistic unity of the Little and the Great Yüe-chï. And in the country of the former we have no traces of the Tocharian language, but, as already remarked, direct evidence to the effect that an Iranian tongue, practically identical with the speech of the Kushāṇas, was used as a vernacular, at least since the first centuries of the Christian era. The natural inference is that the Little Yüe-chï as well as the Great Yüe-chï were Iranians, and that the Tocharian language was originally spoken by the Tocharians, the subjects of the Great Yüe-chï in the Oxus country, who had perhaps formerly been settled in the northern oases of Chinese Turkestan, while the old home of the Yüe-chï was farther to the east. When the Chinese first heard about the Ta-hia,

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[1] Some scholars have thought it possible to draw a similar conclusion from the association of the Tocharians with eastern peoples in later classical texts (Dionysius Periegeta 752: *καὶ Τόχαροι Φροῦνοί τε καὶ ἔθνεα βάρβαρα Σηρῶν*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 55 'ab Attacoris gentes Thuni et Focari,' i. e. probably 'Funi et Thocari', where *Φροῦνοι*, Funi, have been explained as meaning the Huns, Hiung-nu) and from the notice in the Mahābhārata, II. 1850 ff., about the Tukhāras bringing furs, iron, and silk to Yudhishṭhira.

i. e. the Tocharians, they were mentioned in connexion with the Yüe-chï, of whom the Chinese had previous knowledge, and the name of the people was probably transmitted through them. In this connexion it is also worth remembering that the designation *toχri* of the language is found in Uigur texts, i. e. the Uigurs used a name known in the east, while the Tocharians themselves speak of the language as Ārśi, i. e. perhaps the speech of the *Ἄσιοι*, their masters.

A priori it is also most probable that the Yüe-chï conquerors in Tocharistan used the language of their subjects, just as the Kushāṇas did in India. The subjects were no doubt more numerous than the conquerors, and their whole administration seems to a large extent to have been continued by them without material change.[1]

The designation *ārśi*. If *toχri* is the old language of the Tocharians, and *Ārśi* is the same word which classical authors render as *Ἄσιοι*, the conquerors of the Tocharians, we must probably draw the inference that the designation *ārśi* was borrowed by the Tocharians from their rulers. In that case the word *ārśi* must be a loanword in Tocharian.

The comparison of *ārśi* and *Ἄσιοι* is not, of course, quite certain. It seems *a priori* difficult to explain the absence of *r* in the Greek form. The connexion between *Ἄσιοι* and *Asiani*, on the other hand, cannot be doubted: the latter is a regular adjective formed from the former by adding the suffix *āna*.

Now it may be asked whether it is possible to trace any connexion between this adjective and the word *erjhuṇa*, *alysānai* mentioned above in connexion with the first Kushāṇa ruler of India.

The Saka word *alysānai* shows some peculiar features. I have already mentioned that it seems to have had the form *arysānai*, i. e. *arzānai* in older times. The later form *eysānai* now shows two things: in the first place that the compound *rys*, *lys* had a tendency to become *ys*, i. e. the *r* must have been weakly sounded. And moreover the *e* seems to show that the initial had become long and that there was a *y* after the voiced *s*. For there is a rule in Saka[2] according to which a *y* causes a preceding *a* to become *ī* and *ā* to become *ē*; cf. *kīntha* from *kanthya*, 'in the town'; *bēḍa* from *bāḍya*, 'at the time'. We can thus infer the existence of an adjective *āʳzyānai*, or shorter *āʳzyāni*, and from this a simpler *āʳzyi*, which in Sakish must become *āʳźi*.[3]

Now such a word, with the base *āʳzya*, would naturally be borrowed by the Greeks as *asio*, while the Tocharians, whose literary texts belong to a period when the word had become *āʳźi* in Sakish, could only borrow it in the form *ārśi*, because there were no voiced sibilants in their language.

If these deductions are accepted, the necessary conclusions are that the Tocharians were an Indo-European tribe, but not Aryans, while the Yüe-chï were Iranians, and, to judge from their language and their later history, Sakas. And just as the Saka-muruṇḍas or Sai-wang were designated as such because their chiefs used the title *muruṇḍa*, in the same way the Yüe-chï might be called Asioi, because their leaders were designated as such. And to judge from the probable connexion with Greek ἀρχός, ἄρχων, this word simply means 'leader', 'chief'.

The Kushāṇas Sakas. Now we have seen that the Kushāṇas were almost certainly Iranians. They cannot, accordingly, have been Tocharians, but must be related to the Yüe-chï, i. e. those Sakas whose chiefs were designated as *Ἄσιοι*, *Asiani*, *ārśi*, *alysānai*. It is in good accordance with this view that the great Kushāṇa Kanishka seems to have started on his career in the Khotan country, where we have every reason for locating some of the Little Yüe-chï.

On the other hand, the Kuei-shuang principality seems to have existed before the

[1] Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 187[2].

[2] Cf. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, p. 71.

[3] Leumann, l. c., p. 72.

Yüe-chï conquest of the Ta-hia country was completed. It is therefore probable that the family or clan (*kula*) of the Kushāṇas had a comparatively large distribution among the Sakas, and some of them may have been with the Sai-wang who went to Ki-pin some time before 160 B.C.

Foundation of Kushāṇa empire.

The Kuei-shuang principality was made the starting-point of a development which led to the establishment of a large empire in India and the Indian borderlands.

The passage in the Hou Han-shu quoted above (p. lvi), which speaks about how the Yüe-chï divided the Ta-hia kingdom between five *hi-hou*, continues as follows: 'More than a hundred years after this the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, called K'iu-tsiu-k'io, attacked the four other *hi-hou*; he styled himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kuei-shuang. He invaded An-si and seized the territory of Kao-fu; moreover he triumphed over Pu-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. K'iu-tsiu-k'io died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. He again conquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yüe-chï became extremely powerful. In all the kingdoms they were spoken of as "King of Kuei-shuang", but the Han stuck to their old designation and called them Ta Yüe-chï.'

As shown by Marquart,[1] both the rulers mentioned in this passage can be identified. K'iu-tsiu-k'io [2] was still in the T'ang period pronounced *k'i̯ə̯u-dz'i̯ə̯u ki̯vp* and is evidently identical with the Kushāṇa *Kujū*(*la*) *Kapa*, known from coins, and Yen-kao-chen,[3] his son, is the Wima Kathphiśa (or Kaphthiśa) of coins, whose name occurs in a Kharoshṭhī inscription of the year 187 in the form Uvima Kavthisa.

Kujūla Kadphises.

K'iu-tsiu-k'io or Kujūla Kadphises thus started on his career by bringing all the neighbouring principalities under his rule, and this happened 'more than hundred years after' the events narrated in the preceding passage, which runs: 'formerly the Yüe-chï were conquered by the Hiung-nu; they transferred themselves to the Ta-hia and divided that kingdom between five *hi-hou*.' Because the Yüe-chï are in this very passage stated to have their capital at Lan-shï, we may infer that the hundred years are reckoned from some date subsequent to Chang K'ien's visit, when the Yüe-chï capital was still to the north of the Oxus. On the other hand, the Hou Han-shu deals with the events that happened in and after the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25–55), and Kujūla Kadphises' conquest cannot, therefore, have taken place before the year A.D. 25. If Kujūla Kadphises is the same person which is mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i.e. probably A.D. 19, he had not then reduced the four other *hi-hou*, and it is even possible that he had not yet risen to the rank of *hi-hou*. In such circumstances the designation *erjhuṇa* characterizing him in the inscription is quite intelligible, for the corresponding Saka word *alysānai* translates the Indian *kumāra*, 'young man', 'prince'.

Kujūla Kadphises' conquests.

After having reduced the other *hi-hou* Kujūla Kadphises is stated to have invaded An-si. An-si is, as we have seen, the usual Chinese name for Parthia. But here we cannot think of the Parthian empire of Ctesiphon. We have already seen, however, that Parthian rulers had shortly before the beginning of our era established themselves in the Indian borderlands and were menacing the Greek dominion in Kābul. Now the immediate result of the invasion of An-si is stated to be the seizure of Kao-fu, i.e. Kābul, and we necessarily infer that An-si must mean the Parthian dynasty in the east, to which Guduvhara belonged.

Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus.

Most scholars are apparently now agreed that it was the Parthians who made an

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[1] *Ērānšahr*, pp. 208 f. [2] Karlgren, nos. 406, 252, 491.

[3] T'ang pronunciation *i̯äm-kâu-t'i̯ĕn*, Karlgren, nos. 247, 308, and 1191.

end to the Greek power in Kābul.[1] The last Greek king of Kābul was Hermaeus. His coins bear different legends, but he is usually designated as 'King Saviour', *βασιλεὺς σωτήρ*, *maharaja tratara*. One group, however, adds the syllable *συ* after *σωτῆρος*, at the same time mutilating this word to *στηρος*. The reverse has either the legend *maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa* or *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*, but on some of them, with the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse, we find the reverse legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushaṇa yavugasa dhramathidasa*. On some of these coins the obverse legend is corrupt, but apparently intended to run *Κορσανο* (or *Κορανο*) *Κοζουλο Καδφισου*. Sir John Marshall found some new specimens of this group at Sirkap, where also the Kharoshṭhī legend is corrupt. On one of them it seems, however, possible to read [*Ku*]*jula Kara* [*dha*]*rmathi*.

On other coins[2] the king's bust is different, but the Greek legend seems to be the same, while the reverse apparently runs *Kuyula Kaüsa Kushaṇasa*.

In this connexion we must also consider another type, showing on the obverse a royal head resembling that of Augustus in his last years, with the legend *Χοραν συ ζαοου Κοζολα Καδαφες*. On the reverse is a king seated on a chair, and the Kharoshṭhī legend *Khushaṇasa yaüasa Kuyula Kaphsasa sachadhramathitasa*. And, finally, we have coins with a seated person, and a corrupt legend of which the words *Χοραν συ* can apparently be read on the obverse, and a god, which has usually been identified with Zeus, and a Kharoshṭhī legend which seems to run *Khushaṇasa* . . *Kuyula Kadaphasa* on the reverse.

These coins seem to bear witness to a certain connexion between Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises, who seem, for some time, to have ruled conjointly.

M. Senart[3] has discussed this question and drawn attention to the fact that the word *tratarasa*, which usually occurs on the reverse of Hermaeus' coins, is absent where the obverse shows the corrupt Greek legend *στηρος συ*. This coincidence precludes, he thinks, the idea of *στηρος συ* being simply a corruption of *σωτῆρος*. Since now the coins of Kujūla Kadphises are the oldest Indian coins where we find an ethnic designation, he thinks it possible that *συ* has a similar meaning and may stand for *Σύρου*, of the Syrian, supposing that Syria had, for those far-off Greeks, come to stand as the last representative of the independent Greek power. He compares the *su* occurring in the Kharoshṭhī legend, *su Theüdamasa*, on an engraved stone from Bajaur.

Other explanations of the corrupt *στηρος συ* have been given by Professor Rapson,[4] who thinks that it may be a rendering of *sterasya*, Skr. *sthavirasya*, 'of the elder', while *χορανσυ* may stand for *kushaṇasya*; Professor Thomas,[5] who suggests the possibility of seeing in *συ* a genitive suffix corresponding to Tocharian *tse*; Professor Kirste,[6] who sees in the *συ* of *στηρος συ* an abbreviation of *σύμβολον*, and Baron Staël Holstein,[7] who takes *συ* to be the genitive of a word corresponding to Persian *shāh*, comparing the forms *Σαπωρης*, 'Shāhpūr', where *sh* is rendered as *σ*, and *σατραπυ Ζειωνυσου*, where *υ* stands for the genitive suffix.

The explanation of *συ* as an abbreviation of *σύμβολον* is the only one which does not lead to the assumption of a clumsy or mistaken orthography. But the position of the syllable might be intelligible in the seal-legend *su Theüdamasa*, where we have Kharoshṭhī letters, but hardly in *βασιλεως στηρος συ Ερμαιου* or *χοραν συ ζαοου Κοζολα Καδαφες*. At least we should have to assume that the abbreviation had been mechanically taken over from other legends. But as a matter of fact we do not know of any other instance of its use on Indian soil.

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[1] Cf. Justin, xli. 6, 3 '*Bactriani . . . ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis velut exsangues oppressi sunt*'; Thomas, JRAS, 1906, pp. 193 f.; Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, i, pp. 561 f.

[2] Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 66, no. 5.

[3] JA, VIII, xiii, 1889, pp. 364 ff.

[4] JRAS, 1897, pp. 319 ff.

[5] JRAS, 1913, p. 632[1].

[6] SWAW, 182, 2, 1917, pp. 45 f., 59 ff.

[7] JRAS, 1914, pp. 82 f.

It seems to me that the syllable must have been felt to be of some importance. And it is of interest that the corresponding Kharoshṭhī legend sometimes has the imperial title *rajaraja*. I think that this may be significant. If we further bear in mind that Hermaeus is on some of these coins associated with Kujūla Kadphises, who was a Kushāṇa, we become inclined to think that the addition of the syllable *συ* bears witness to an alliance between Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises, through which the former tried to strengthen his position and make himself independent of the Parthian suzerains, who had oppressed him. In that case, however, *συ* must evidently be a Kushāṇa title, and it becomes natural to think of the word *shau* used by Kanishka and his successors and also by Iranian rulers in Chinese Turkestan.

I am therefore inclined to interpret these coin-legends as follows. When Kujūla Kadphises invaded An-si, i.e. the Parthian realm in and near Kābul, Hermaeus entered into an alliance with him and perhaps actually supported him. But the Kushāṇa ruler did not long leave him free to enjoy his new independence. He had to share the government with him, and was soon entirely replaced by Kujūla, about whom the Chinese annals state that he seized Kao-fu, i. e. Kābul. To begin with he retained the bust of Hermaeus, but later on he replaced it, and now also began to introduce the syllable *συ* in his legends.

It is impossible to settle the chronology, but these events cannot have taken place before Kujūla Kadphises had risen to the rank of *hi-hou*, because the title *yavuga* is used on the coins he struck conjointly with Hermaeus, and we may infer from the statement of Fan Ye that this happened some time after A. D. 25.

Further conquests.

After the conquest of Kao-fu K'iu-tsiu-k'io is said to have triumphed over Pu-ta and Ki-pin and to have brought these kingdoms entirely under his sway.

Pu-ta [1] has not been identified. Franke [2] and Marquart [3] compare *Πακτυική*, which they locate to the north of Arachosia, while Chavannes [4] thinks it possible that the city of Balkh is meant. It seems probable that Pu-ta cannot have been too distant from Kābul and Ki-pin, which must comprise parts of the Panjāb. The stratification at Taxila shows, as already remarked, that there Kadphises succeeded the Guduvhara dynasty, and his conquests brought the Kushāṇa empire at least so far towards the east.

In corroboration of the Chinese accounts we have a Kharoshṭhī inscription of the year 122, i. e. according to my chronology A.D. 38, found at Panjtār on the Indus, and mentioning a *maharaya Gushaṇa*, and another record from Taxila of the year 136, i. e. A.D. 52, mentioning a *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushaṇa*. We have seen that the Guduvhara dynasty still seems to have held sway at Taxila about A. D. 44, and the two inscriptions therefore seem to bear witness to the gradual growth of the Kushāṇa empire.

There are further some coins which must be mentioned in this connexion.

At Sirkap Sir John Marshall [5] found a new type, with the bust of a king 'resembling Wima Kadphises' and a corrupt Greek legend on the obverse, while the reverse shows a Nike and the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Khushaṇasa yavugasa*. Another group of coins have on the obverse a humped bull and an illegible Greek legend, and, on the reverse, a two-humped Bactrian camel and a Kharoshṭhī text with slightly varying wording: *maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphasa*, *maharajasa mahatasa*

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[1] Pronounced *Puk-d'ât* in the T'ang period; cf. Karlgren, nos. 760, 956.

[2] *Beiträge*, p. 99[1].

[3] *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, ii, pp. 175 f.

[4] *T'oung Pao*, II, vii, pp. 513 f., viii, p. 191[3].

[5] ASIAR, 1912–13, pp. 44, 51.

Kushaṇa Kuyula Kaphasa, maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa, and *maharayasa rayatirayasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa.*

In my opinion all these records belong to the reign of Kujūla Kadphises. For there does not seem to be any reason for discrediting the Chinese account according to which there were only two Kadphises kings, father and son, of whom the first was more than eighty years old at his death. And since the second Kadphises seems to have been ruling in the year 187, he can scarcely have succeeded his octogenarian father as early as the year 136.

The evidence of the coins and inscriptions has, however, been interpreted in a different way.

Professor Rapson [1] considers Kujūla Kara Kadphises (Kuyula Kara Kapa, &c.) to be different from Kujūla Kadphises, and states that he 'seems to have succeeded the satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī, and he may have been contemporary with Wima Kadphises'. It seems to me that the imperial title used on his coins precludes the idea of his having been a subordinate ruler. And the Chinese annals only know two old Kushāṇas with imperial power. I therefore think that the addition *kara* cannot prevent us from ascribing these coins to Kadphises I. We do not know anything about the signification of this *kara.* I have mentioned above that a Sirkap coin of Kadphises I, showing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse, seems to have the Kharoshṭhī legend . . *jula kara dharmathi*,[2] and here there cannot be the question of another person than Kujūla Kadphises. *Kara* may be a title, of a similar kind as the unexplained *kāla* preceding the name Kushanasena in the Niya document, no. 399, where the comparison with *ogu Kushanasena* in nos. 136, 193, 198, *guśura Kushanasena* in no. 320, &c., makes us inclined to think of a title. Moreover, the word *kara* is sometimes absent from the coins in question.[3]

Also the Sirkap coins with a bust 'resembling Wima Kadphises' have been dissociated from Kujūla Kadphises and ascribed to his successor. In his description of them Sir John Marshall, who does not feel confident about their connexion with Wima Kadphises, draws attention to the simultaneous use of the titles *yavuga* and *maharaja rajatiraja*, which he thinks throws some doubt on the current view that the title *yavuga* was replaced by the imperial designation *maharaja rajatiraja* after the conquest of India. But it seems possible to explain the coin-legend in a slightly different way. Kujūla Kadphises started on his career as a *yavuga*, and the use of the old title on the coins seems to me to be intentional, to bear witness to a feeling of pride at the success which led him from such beginnings to the position of emperor and master of the famous town of Taxila.

To judge from the published plate and from casts, which I owe to the courtesy of Sir John Marshall, the similarity of the bust on the obverse to that of Wima Kadphises is not, moreover, striking.

Professor Rapson states [4] that 'most of the coins of Kujūla Kadphises show clearly both by their types and their fabric that they were struck in the Kābul valley'. It seems natural to assume that the Sirkap coins were struck after the conquest of Taxila, partly in imitation of the coins of the Guduvhara dynasty, where royal busts are a common feature on the obverse.

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[1] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 582[1]; cf. *Indian Coins*, p. 17.

[2] See the reproduction, ASIAR, 1912-13, p. 52, no. 49.

[3] Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, xii, 1892, pp. 65 f.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 584.

Moreover, we have not the slightest reason for supposing that the title *maharaja* (*rajatiraja*) *Khushaṇa* was ever used by Wima Kadphises. It reminds us of the remark in the Hou Han-shu that K'iu-tsiu-k'io assumed the title 'king', the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang, and Sir John Marshall is evidently right in saying[1] that 'it would be natural for the first emperor of the dynasty to be styled "the Kushan Emperor" without any further appellation, while it would be equally natural for his successors to be distinguished from him by the addition of their individual names'.

Against ascribing the Taxila inscription of the year 136 to Kujūla Kadphises it has been urged that the silver scroll on which it is written bears the monogram ⚲, which is characteristic of the coins of Wima Kadphises. Sir John has, however, drawn attention to the fact that it is also found on coins of Kujūla Kara Kadphises.[2]

Reconstruction of Kujūla Kadphises' history.

For the reconstruction of the history of the first Kushāṇa ruler we may accordingly use the following dates. To judge from the introduction to the Hou Han-shu the reduction of the four *hi-hou* can hardly have taken place before A.D. 25. In an inscription of the year 103, i. e. according to my chronology A.D. 19, Kujūla Kadphises is mentioned as *erjhuṇa*, i. e. a junior member of the ruling caste or clan, at a time when twenty-six years had passed after the establishment of an era by a Parthian ruler, presumably Azes, and when Azes' successor, Guduvhara, was on the throne.

Nineteen years afterwards, in the year 122, corresponding to A.D. 38, we find him, as the *maharaya* Gushaṇa, in the inscription from Panjtār in the Peshāwar district. The invasion of An-si, the seizure of Kao-fu, and the attack on Pu-ta and Ki-pin must be dated in this interval and, to all appearances, after A.D. 25. The conquest of Ki-pin cannot, however, have been completed. For we have seen that the Parthian dynasty seems to have been in power in Taxila in A.D. 44. And since the Hou Han-shu limits K'iu-tsiu-k'io's conquests to Ki-pin in the east, we must take Taxila in this connexion to belong to Ki-pin.

After further fourteen years, in the year 136 corresponding to A.D. 52, Taxila has been reduced and the former *hi-hou* now meets us as the great king, the King of Kings: his conquests have been completed, the Kushāṇa empire has been established.

We do not know how long time after the conquest of Taxila the inscription of the year 136 was executed. *A priori* it seems likely that it belongs to the first years of Kushāṇa rule there.

Kujūla Kadphises' conquest of Ki-pin can be characterized as a re-establishment of the previous Saka dominion in that country, for the Kushāṇas seem to have acted as the heirs and successors of the Sakas in India.[3]

We have no further dates to guide us. If we assume, however, that the *erjhuṇa* Kapa was about twenty years old at the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, we should be entitled to conclude from the Hou Han-shu that his death must have taken place about sixty years later, i. e. about the year A.D. 79.

Yen-kao-chen.

According to the Hou Han-shu his son and successor was Yen-kao-chen, who can hardly have been a young man at his octogenarian father's death.

Of him we learn that he 'again' conquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration.

T'ien-chu.

In the *Cambridge History of India*[4] it has been taken for granted that T'ien-chu

[1] JRAS, 1914, p. 978.

[2] It is also met with on coins of Zeionises.

[3] Cf. Lüders, SBAW, 1913, p. 426. If M. Sylvain Lévi, JA, cciii, 1923, p. 52, is right in explaining the name Kadphises as 'the Kapiśa man', one might even infer that the Kushāṇa *hi-hou* was considered by his people as entitled to the throne of Kapiśa, i. e. in this connexion perhaps Ki-pin.

[4] Vol. i, p. 584.

denotes north-western India. The description of the country given in the Hou Han-shu, however, points to the Indus country, the ancient stronghold of the Saka empire in India. The text runs: 'The kingdom T'ien-chu is also called Shen-tu. . . .[1] The kingdom is situated on the banks of a great river. The inhabitants mount on elephants in war; they are weaker than the Yüe-chï; they practise the religion of the Buddha; it has become a habit with them not to kill and not to fight. Parting from Kao-fu, which belongs to the Yüe-chï, and turning towards the south-west one comes to the western sea; in the east one comes to the kingdom of P'an-k'i;[2] all these countries form part of Shen-tu. Shen-tu has several hundred other towns (besides the capital); in each town a governor has been appointed; there are several tens of other kingdoms (besides the principal kingdom); in each kingdom there is a king. Though one observes some small differences in each of their kingdoms, they are nevertheless all called Shen-tu. At that time (i. e. probably when Pan Yung wrote, or towards A.D. 125) they were all dependent on the Yüe-chï; the Yüe-chï had killed the king and installed a general to govern the population.'

Though this description is somewhat obscure, because it also mentions countries to the west and east, it seems clear that the country conquered by Yen-kao-chen was situated on the Indus.

These districts were, as we have seen, under Parthian rule at the time of the Periplus, i. e. some time during the second half of the first century A.D. It is therefore possible that Yen-kao-chen effected his conquest by ousting the Parthians, though there may also have been other rulers.

At an earlier period the Indus country had been ruled by Sakas. Now we have seen that the Hou Han-shu states that Yen-kao-chen 'again' conquered T'ien-chu, and we get the impression that his conquest is described as a reconquest. It has been maintained that the word rendered as 'again' should, in this passage, be translated as 'further', 'in his turn', since there is no indication in the Hou Han-shu of a previous conquest, which was repeated by Yen-kao-chen. It is impossible for a non-Sinologist to judge about the merits of these translations.[3] But from the point of view of Indian history the meaning 'again' is thoroughly intelligible, since we know that there had been a previous conquest by kindred tribes, so that the Kushāṇas may here be considered as repeating the deeds of their Saka cousins.

And we have also seen that the Kālakāchāryakathānaka speaks of two Saka conquests. The Sakas of the Indus country conquered Surāshṭra and Mālava shortly before the beginning of the Vikrama era; they were ousted by Vikramāditya, but after a lapse of 135 years a new Saka came and re-established the Saka dominion.

There is such a remarkable similarity between the accounts of the Hou Han-shu and the Kālakāchāryakathānaka, that it seems natural to assume that they both contain the same indigenous tradition, so that they can be used to supplement and explain each other.

The later Śaka era.

If we apply this principle, it follows that Wima Kadphises' conquest must have been effected about the year A.D. 78, and that he was the founder of the historical Śaka era, since the Kathānaka states that this reckoning was established in consequence of the second Saka conquest. Moreover, the Khalatse inscription of the year 187, i. e.

[1] T'ang pronunciation *śi̯ĕn-d'uok*, Karlgren, nos. 869, 645.

[2] T'ang pronunciation *b'uân-k'ji*, Karlgren, nos. 690, 319. According to Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 193[1], perhaps in Annam or Burma.

[3] Professor Karlgren kindly informs me that the text unmistakably has 'again, anew, extinguished T'ien-chu', and not 'in his turn'.

A.D. 103–104, shows that Wima Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era, which cannot, accordingly, have been instituted by Kanishka, his successor.

Under this supposition it also becomes intelligible that the era, which was intended to commemorate the re-establishment of Saka power, was later on known as the Śakakāla or Śakanṛipatikāla, and that it was only used in those districts where the Ṣakas, and their old era, had been replaced by national Indian rulers.

Yen-kao-chen's governors.

We learn from the Hou Han-shu that Yen-kao-chen appointed a general to rule in his stead. We have no indication to show that he himself resided in India, and the Khalatse inscription is the only one which mentions his name. His governors in T'ien-chu were no doubt the so-called Western Kshatrapas, with whom we shall have to occupy ourselves later on, though their rule did not comprise the districts where Kharoshṭhī inscriptions have been found.

Yen-kao-chen's empire was not, however, limited to T'ien-chu. He also inherited his father's kingdom in the north-west, and also there he seems to have appointed other persons to carry on the government. That such was the case must be inferred from numismatic evidence.

Wima Kadphises' coins.

Wima Kadphises' coins are much more uniform than those of his father. They show, on the obverse, the king's head or figure, sitting or standing, and commonly Śiva on the reverse. The obverse legend is *βασιλεὺς Οοημο Καδφισες* on the gold, *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας Οοημο Καδφισης* on the silver, and *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων σωτὴρ μέγας Οοημο Καδφισης* on the copper coins. The corresponding Kharoshṭhī legend runs *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphiśasa tradarasa.*

Form of his name.

The form of the king's name has been discussed by Professor Rapson.[1] The *v* of *Wima* has an apparent bottom line, which has led former scholars to read *hima.* Professor Rapson has shown that the same sign is of common use in the Kharoshṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. It looks almost like *vra* and evidently indicates a modified sound. The double *oo* of the Greek legend and the writing *uvima* in the Khalatse inscription lead us to think of something like the English *w*, while the apparent *r*-stroke reminds us of the use of a subscript *r* in several Kharoshṭhī letters where it seems probable that we have to do with a strongly fricative sound. We might therefore transliterate *wh*, but I shall, for practical purposes, write *w*.

The compound letter in *Kathphiśa* consists of a *ph*, or sometimes *p*, above a St. Andrews' cross which reminds us of the usual sign *th*. It would be just as natural to read *phth* as *thph*, and the Khalatse inscription evidently has *vth*, which form might also be supported by the Chinese *kâu-t'i̯ĕn*. I shall not, however, make any change in the usual rendering, which is, in its turn, supported by the Greek form Καδφισης.

We may note that the designation *Kushāṇa* is absent from these coins. The Chinese notice that it became usual, in all the kingdoms, to speak of the empire of the two Kadphises kings as that of the Kushāṇas cannot accordingly be taken at its face value. But we know that the designation Kushāṇa came to play a great role in historical records, notably in Armenian sources.[2]

Wima Kadphises' viceroy in the north.

The title *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων σωτὴρ μέγας* used on Wima Kadphises' copper coins occurs, in a slightly different form, as *βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων σωτὴρ μέγας*, as the only legend, without the addition of a name, on numerous coins, which 'are exceedingly common all over the

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[1] Actes du *XIV*e *Congrès des Orientalistes*, i, p. 219.

[2] Cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 208.

Panjāb, as well as in Kandahār and in the Kābul valley' and 'are found as far eastward as Mathurā'.[1]

Professor Rapson [2] rightly remarks that these coins show a symbol of the kind which is characteristic of Wima Kadphises, and that it cannot be doubted that they are related to him in point of time.

Mr. Whitehead [3] draws attention to the fact that these coins 'are found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of country extending from Peshāwar to Mathurā. These facts point to great power and a long reign, and are much in favour of the supposition that we must look for Soter Megas amongst the most important of the kings and satraps known to us, as it is very improbable that such a great potentate would be nameless and unknown except from these coins. The style of the coins, which are in copper only, and the absence of square forms, point to a period about the Kushān conquest, so that Soter Megas was probably a contemporary of one of the two Kadphises'. He also thinks that 'it is possible that these coins were struck by more than one ruler, and that the differing types issued from distinct localities. Such rulers might have been subordinate to a single suzerain'.

I accept these suggestions. The fact that these coins are only struck in copper can be interpreted to show that they were not issued by a suzerain king, but by a ruler acting for him. The Greek legend *βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων* means 'king exercising royal power', 'ruling king'. Those who used the coins were not likely to observe the difference between *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* and *βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων*, the less so because the reverse occasionally bears the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tradarasa.*

Certain types almost invariably exhibit in the field the Kharoshṭhī akshara *vi.* Though Mr. Whitehead is of another opinion, I think it probable that Cunningham was right in thinking that this *vi* was the initial of a name, and it seems probable that it denotes Wima Kadphises, as the suzerain of the ruler who styles himself Soter Megas.

Sir John Marshall is of opinion [4] that there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, and it is conceivable that the Soter Megas coins cover both the reign of Wima Kadphises and this interval, or part of it, so that the coins bearing the akshara *vi* chiefly represent the issues during Wima's reign.

After the death of Wima Kadphises there are indications to show that a disintegration of the Kushāṇa empire began to set in, similar to what took place after the demise of Moga. For the Taxila inscription of the year 191, i. e. A. D. 107–108, seems to show that Jihonika, i. e. Zeionises, the kshatrapa of Chukhsa, i. e. the Taxila country, was then the actual ruler of Taxila. The result seems to have been a decline of the Kushāṇa power, which after some time led the chiefs to make an attempt at strengthening their position in another direction, through an alliance with the Sakas in the Khotan country, as we shall see below.

The Western Kshatrapas.

In the new provinces added to the empire by Wima Kadphises the government was apparently also carried on by a viceroy, and these viceroys are known as the Western Kshatrapas, who held sway in Surāshṭra and Mālava. It is in the records of these rulers that we find the first certain instance of the use of the historical Śaka era, which was, in my opinion, instituted by their suzerain Wima Kadphises.

The provinces ruled over by the Western Kshatrapas do not belong to the territory of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. There are, however, some features in their records which

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[1] Cf. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, x, 1890, pp. 115 f., with the addition: 'His Mathura coins were of local coinage, which is not met with elsewhere.'

[2] *Indian Coins*, pp. 16 f. [3] p. 160[2]. [4] ASIAR, 1912–13, p. 8.

seem to throw light on the further history of the Kushāṇa empire in the north, and these features must be taken into consideration.

Professor Rapson is evidently right[1] in holding that the oldest of the Western Kshatrapas, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, were kshatrapas of the Kushāṇas. They are both designated as Kshaharātas, as was also the case with the Northern Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka. This designation as well as the use of Kharoshṭhī in their coin-legends in a country where Kharoshṭhī was not in common use point to the conclusion that they had come from the north-west.

Bhūmaka uses the titles *kshaharāta kshatrapa*, while Nahapāna is designated *rājan kshaharāta* on his coins, *rājan kshaharāta kshatrapa* in his inscription of the year 42, and *rājan mahākshatrapa svāmin* in his inscription of the year 46. The position of Nahapāna accordingly seems to have been more independent than that of Bhūmaka, and I have no hesitation in accepting Professor Rapson's view that Bhūmaka was the earliest known member of the dynasty.

The name Bhūmaka is certainly not good Sanskrit, but looks like a clumsy attempt at translating a foreign name.

Now we have another, somewhat later, Western Kshatrapa named Chashṭana, of whom we possess inscriptions dated in the year 52, i. e. A.D. 130, where he is mentioned together with his grandson Rudradāman,[2] both being designated as *rājan*. Chashṭana strikes coins both as *kshatrapa* and as *mahākshatrapa*, and also his son Jayadāman has issued coins as *kshatrapa*, but never seems to have risen to the rank of *mahākshatrapa*. Since Nahapāna occurs as *kshatrapa* in the year 42 and as *mahākshatrapa* in 46, and Chashṭana's grandson Rudradāman is mentioned as *rājan* in 52, Chashṭana cannot have become kshatrapa before the year 42 and mahākshatrapa before 46, and his son Jayadāman can only have held office for a very short period.

Chashṭana's name has been explained by Professor Andreas as corresponding to Pashto *chashtan*, 'a master', and since Pashto is certainly in some way connected with the ancient Saka language of Eastern Turkestan, we may draw the conclusion that he was by race a Saka.

In his inscriptions and coin-legends Chashṭana is characterized as the son of *Ysamotika*, and this *Ysamotika* is evidently derived from the Saka word *ysama*, 'earth'. I therefore agree with M. Sylvain Lévi[3] in identifying Ysamotika with Bhūmaka, seeing in the latter name a clumsy attempt at translating the Saka name into Sanskrit.

In the year 52 Chashṭana ruled conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman and cannot, therefore, have been less than towards sixty years old. He was accordingly born about the beginning of the Śaka era, and his father Ysamotika-Bhūmaka must have held sway about that time, i. e. he must have been the first kshatrapa appointed after Wima Kadphises' reconquest.

At that time Western India, at all events Mālava, had been under national Indian rulers for a considerable period, and we easily understand the reasons which led to his name becoming Indianized as Bhūmaka. When Chashṭana came into power, the state of things was somewhat different.

The Sakas had been ruling for more than forty years. The Western Kshatrapas seem to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Andhras some time during the reign of Nahapāna, but they appear to have partly reasserted themselves under Chashṭana.[4] We

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[1] WK, pp. cv ff.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xvi, pp. 19 ff. I cannot accept Mr. Banerji's interpretation of these records.

[3] JA, XI, v, 1915, p. 191.

[4] Cf. Rapson, WK, pp. cx, cxv.

may therefore look on Chashṭana's use of the indigenous Saka form of his father's name as a sign of increased Saka self-assertion.

Now there is one detail which points in another direction. Professor Lüders[1] has drawn attention to the use of the compound *ys* in the word *Ysamotika* to render the voiced *s*, an orthograph which has its only parallel in the Saka language of Chinese Turkestan. He justly remarks that such a device can hardly have been invented independently in two different places, and is inclined to think that it was done in India, when the attempt was made to adapt Brāhmī to the exigencies of the Saka language. His chief reason is that Chashṭana's reign falls in the second quarter of the second century A. D., while the manuscripts in Central Asian Saka are several centuries later.

I have, however, already pointed out that the use of this language in Kanishka's coin-legends may be taken as an indication that it had begun to be reduced to writing at an earlier period, and, at all events, it is certain that it is only in Chinese Turkestan that we know that the writing *ys* for *z*, i. e. the voiced *s*, was in common use.

In such circumstances we must ask ourselves whether there are any indications to show that Saka power had made such progress in Central Asia that it could have been felt by the Sakas of Kāṭhiāwār and Mālava. The only sources in which we can hope to find any information are the Chinese Annals.

Later history of the Yüe-chï.

We have seen that the Chinese continued to speak of the Ta Yüe-chï after 'all the countries' had begun to use the designation Kushāṇa. The Hou Han-shu contains several references to them,[2] and these tend to show that they began to take an increasing interest in Chinese Turkestan, whence they had once come and where the Little Yüe-chï were still living.

China gradually lost its hold on the Western Countries, and during the time between the periods Kien-wu (A.D. 25–55) and Yen-kuang (A.D. 122–125) the connexion with China was interrupted and resumed no less than three times. From the period Yang-kia (A.D. 132–134) the imperial prestige gradually dwindled, 'the different kingdoms of the west became arrogant and negligent; they oppressed and attacked each other alternately'. Some attempts at reasserting Chinese authority were occasionally made, especially by the generals Pan Ch'ao and Pan Yung,[3] but they did not lead to lasting results.

In these events the Yüe-chï seem to have played a certain role, rarely, however, in connexion with the north-eastern oases, but repeatedly in the western and southern ones.

At the time of the consolidation of the Kushāṇa empire Yārkand was the most important power there, and is stated to have exercised supremacy over all the countries to the east of the Pāmir.

Khotan rises to power.

In A.D. 60, however, Khotan revolted against Yārkand, and a Khotanese noble, Hiu-mo-pa, established an independent kingdom. He was killed in an attack on Yārkand, but his brother's son Kuang-tê succeeded him and gradually became so powerful that thirteen kingdoms, from Niya to Kāshgar, are stated to have been dependent on him.

In A.D. 73 the Chinese general Pan Ch'ao is stated to have brought Kuang-tê over to the imperial side, and in the ensuing years Khotan repeatedly supported him in his operations.

Yüe-chï enter on the stage.

In the eighties Pan Ch'ao nominated a new king in Kāshgar, but the old one found support with the K'ang-kü (Sogdiana) and hoped through them to enlist the assistance of the Yüe-chï.

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[1] SBAW, 1913, pp. 407 ff.

[2] Cf. Chavannes' translation, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, 1907, pp. 149 ff.

[3] Cf. the translation of their biographies by Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, vii, 1906, pp. 216 ff.

Pan Ch'ao was able to prevent this by sending rich presents to the Yüe-chï ruler, but when the latter sent ambassadors with presents to ask for the hand of an imperial princess, Pan Ch'ao had the envoys stopped, and from this time there was enmity and resentment between the Yüe-chï and the Chinese. In A.D. 90 the Yüe-chï sent their viceroy Sie, i. e. according to M. Sylvain Lévi[1] a *sāhi* to attack Pan Ch'ao, who, however, succeeded in defeating him. The Yüe-chï are said to have become frightened and to have offered tribute every year, but we need not attach much importance to this statement.

It is stated, in this connexion, that the Yüe-chï came from a distance of several thousand li and had crossed the Pāmir. It is evident that the Kushāṇa empire is meant, and the ruler in question may accordingly have been Wima Kadphises. In his days the Kushāṇas had therefore begun to mix in the affairs of Eastern Turkestan.

Yüe-chï and Kāshgar.

They seem to have entertained certain relations with Kāshgar. For we hear that the Kāshgar king, An-kuo, sent his maternal uncle, Ch'en-p'an, in exile to them in the period Yüan-ch'u (A.D. 114–116), and that they placed Ch'en-p'an on the throne of Kāshgar after An-kuo's death.

These events are apparently alluded to in an unverified notice quoted by Klaproth,[2] according to which the king of Kāshgar was deposed by the Yüe-chï about A.D. 120, and that his subjects, on that occasion, embraced Buddhism.

Khotan and the Yüe-chī.

At the introduction of Buddhism in Kāshgar Khotan seems to have co-operated, and there are certain indications of relationship between Khotan and the Yüe-chï.

According to the Tibetan work Li-yul-gyi, Lo-rgyas-pa,[3] the daughter of the king of Ga-ḥjag, the queen of Vijayasiṁha, king of Khotan, was helpful in propagating Buddhism in Shu-lik, i. e. Kāshgar. We should after this be justified in dating King Vijayasiṁha about A.D. 120.

Now Tibetan sources[4] tell us about Vijayasiṁha's son, Vijayakīrti, that he joined King Kanika and the king of Guzan in an expedition to India, on which the city of Soked (Śāketa) was overthrown. Here *Guzan* can hardly be anything else than *Kushāṇa*, *Gushāṇa*, and we thus apparently have a reference to relations existing between Khotan and the Kushāṇa empire, perhaps with the successor of Wima Kadphises. And there are other indications to the same effect.

Central Asian Kharoshṭhī documents.

Sir Aurel Stein has brought home from Central Asia a long series of Kharoshṭhī documents, written in a debased Indian Prākrit, which has been published by Messrs. Boyer, Rapson, and Senart.[5]

The Indian language used in these documents certainly takes us to the western Panjāb, and its use as the common administrative language points to a strong influx of Indian civilization.

The Chinese pilgrim Hüan-tsang tells us about local traditions in Khotan, according to which the oasis had received a considerable portion of its earlier population through immigration from Takshaśilā in the days of Aśoka.[6] It is questionable whether this is a genuine old tradition or a later myth based on the existence of Buddhism and the use of names such as Asoga and Kunala[7] by the local population. At all events we seem to be justified in stating that a considerable influx of Indian elements took place during

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[1] JA, XI, ii, 1913, p. 330.

[2] *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 166.

[3] Cf. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 240.

[4] Cf. Thomas, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, p. 349.

[5] *Khar. Inscr.*

[6] Cf. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 156 ff.

[7] Cf. Thomas, *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 57, 62.

the Indo-Scythian period, and it was evidently at this time that Buddhism was introduced in Khotan.

The oldest Kharoshṭhī text discovered in Eastern Turkestan is a manuscript of a version of the Dhammapada, which seems to belong to the second century A.D. The language is here still a pure Indian Prākrit. It bears witness to the existence of canonical books in the north-western Prākrit and to their use in Chinese Turkestan.

At an early date, however, Sanskrit was introduced as the sacred language of Buddhism in Turkestan. At Ming-Öi, west of Kuchi, Brāhmī fragments in Sanskrit have been found which belong to the second century,[1] and in the Kharoshṭhī documents mentioned above, most of which come from the Niya site, we occasionally find quotations from Buddhist Sanskrit works[2] such as the Udānavarga and the Prātimokshasūtra.

We can with some confidence draw the conclusion that the Buddhist monks of Eastern Turkestan began to take up the study of Sanskrit about the time of Kanishka, while Prākrit was largely used for administrative purposes. The clerks and officials were mostly non-Indian natives, and they were not in possession of the same learning and religious interest as the Buddhist monks. The language of the documents has, consequently, lost its correctness and seems to be strongly influenced by the local vernaculars.

Old language of Khotan.

Professor Thomas has maintained[3] that the language of the Khotan country in old times was a form of Proto-Tibetan, and that the Saka speech, which we later on find in use in books and documents, must have been introduced some time between Sung-yün (A.D. 518–522) and Hüan-tsang. I cannot accept this statement.

Already the Dhammapada manuscript presents some features which seem to indicate the existence of Sakish in the Khotan country at the time when it was written,[4] and there are more such indications in the Kharoshṭhī documents. I have already mentioned the use of words such as *vaṁti*, *vita*, *vitaṁti*, which find their explanation in the Saka language, and in another place[5] I have drawn attention to some phonetic and grammatical details which point in the same direction. I may add the curious double dot sometimes found in Kharoshṭhī documents[6] and which also occurs in the word *Hashthunä* in the Wardak Vase inscription: it seems to be of the same kind as the frequent double dot of Khotanī Saka.

There are, so far as I can see, so many details which remind us of the Iranian tongue of Chinese Turkestan, that there cannot be any question of a mere accident. If we further bear in mind that Chinese sources state that the Little Yüe-chï were settled, together with Tibetan tribes, in the south of the country, and that the Yüe-chï seem to have been Iranians, it seems almost necessary to assume that their ancient language had been preserved, perhaps side by side with Tibetan dialects, and made its influence felt in the official language represented by the documents. And we know that Sakish later on became the language of administration in the Khotan country.

In his *Serindia*[7] Sir Aurel Stein raises the question whether the far-spread use of Kharoshṭhī and an early Prākrit 'was not partly a result also of the political influence which the powerful Indo-Scythian dominion established both north and south of the Hindukush seems to have exercised for a time in the Tarīm Basin during the early centuries of our era, or of that even more important cultural influence which must have

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[1] Cf. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911.

[2] Cf. *Khar. Inscr.*, nos. 204, 510, 511, 514, 523.

[3] *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 251 ff.; *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 46 ff.

[4] Cf. my remarks, *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 85 ff.

[5] SBAW, 1916, pp. 822 f.

[6] Cf. e. g. Boyer, Rapson, and Senart, JA, XI, xii, 1918, pp. 319 ff.

[7] p. 243.

accompanied the Buddhist propaganda carried eastwards from the Oxus region about the same period'.

It seems to me that we have certain indications to the effect that the Kushāṇas exercised considerable influence in Eastern Turkestan in the first centuries of our era. Not only do we find several names containing the word *Kushana*, as already mentioned, but such documents as are dated show a remarkable correspondence with Indian Kushāṇa inscriptions and coins in the titles used and in the arrangement of the dates.[1] Thus when we read in the Kharoshṭhī document, no. 581 : *saṁvatśare 4 2 maharayadirayas(r)a mahaṁtas(r)a jayaṁtas(r)a dharmiyas(r)a sachadharmastidas(r)a nuava maharaya Aṁkvag(r)a devaputras(r)a kshuṇaṁmi mas(r)e 4 divas(r)e 10 4*, we are at every step reminded of the Indian Kushāṇas, and we involuntarily draw the inference that the latter had left a strong mark in the administration of Chinese Turkestan.

Rulers mentioned in Kharoshṭhī documents.

It will be seen that the date of no. 581 first gives the year as referring to the reign of a 'King of Kings' and then mentions the *kshuṇa* of the *mahārāja* Aṁkvag(r)a. In one document, no. 661, which was found in what was evidently an early structure at Endere, the suzerain is styled *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya* and named Hinajha Avijidasiṁha.

In such circumstances we must ask ourselves whether it is not possible to assume that all the different mahārājas acknowledged the suzerainty of one overlord, and since no. 661 speaks of a 'King of Kings' of Khotan, Sir Aurel Stein may have been right in thinking [2] that we have throughout to do with Khotan rulers.

We should then have to assume that all these rulers were more or less contemporaneous and exercised some special function, indicated by the term *kshuṇa*, in rotation.

Now *kshuṇa* is evidently the same word which occurs as *kshāna* in certain Saka documents from the Khotan country [3] and as *kshuṁ* in Tocharian documents from Kuchi,[4] where it means 'rule', 'term'.

It would then be possible to identify the ruler Aṁkvag(r)a with the Khotan king, An-kuo, or, according to the pronunciation of the T'ang period,[5] *Ân-kwək*, the son of Kien,[6] who, according to the Hou Han-shu, came on the throne in A. D. 152 and is mentioned again in A. D. 175.[7]

In a paper read in the Berlin Academy on the 28th July, 1927, Professor Lüders has, however, shown that most of the rulers mentioned in the documents do not belong to the Khotan realm, and in a lecture at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists Professor Rapson arrived at similar results.

It is, therefore, impossible to identify Aṁkvag(r)a with the Khotan ruler An-kuo and utilize this identification for chronological purposes. The documents only give the name of one Khotan ruler, Avijidasiṁha, the remaining rulers do not seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Khotan. We must try if it is possible to arrive at some approximate dating from other sources.

Chinese accounts.

The Hou Han-shu states that Khotan, Kāshgar, Yārkand, and other countries tendered their submission to China in A.D. 127. Two years afterwards, however, Fang-ts'ien,[8] king of Khotan, enlarged his influence against the wishes of the Chinese. He

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[1] Cf. my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 121 ff.
[2] *Ancient Khotan*, i, p. 366.
[3] Cf. my remarks JRAS, 1914, pp. 351 ff.; *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 220 ff.
[4] Cf. Lévi, JA, XI, ii, 1913, pp. 311 ff.
[5] Karlgren, nos. 4 and 480.
[6] T'ang pronunciation *Kịvn*, Karlgren, no. 373.
[7] Cf. my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 113 ff.
[8] T'ang pronunciation, *Pịwang-dz'ien*, Karlgren, nos. 26, 1077.

was subsequently, in A.D. 132, defeated by the Kāshgar king, whom the Chinese induced to attack him, but the event shows that Khotan's power was on the increase.

The Chinese tried to interfere in Khotan in A.D. 152, when they killed Kien, king of Khotan, but the Khotanese placed Kien's son, An-kuo, on the throne, and after these events, we hear, Khotan became arrogant.

Now we have seen that Tibetan sources speak of an expedition against India undertaken shortly after A.D. 120 by the Khotan king Vijayakīrti in connexion with King Kanika and the king of Guzan. If this statement is based on genuine tradition, it seems necessary to infer that the Kushāṇas, some time after the demise of Wima Kadphises, succeeded in enlisting the support of Khotan for a forward policy in India. We have, as we have seen, reason for assuming that the population of Khotan was partly of the same stock as the Kushāṇas, and their joining hands in a great undertaking would naturally lead to a strengthening of their position both in Khotan and in India. It is perhaps not a mere accident that we meet with rulers using the same titles as the Kushāṇas in Turkestan at the same time when the Western Kshatrapa Chashṭana begins to use the Saka form of his father's name instead of the barbaric Sanskrit rendering used on the latter's coins.

King Kanika.

We do not know who the king Kanika mentioned in the Tibetan tradition was. It seems *a priori* likely that he was a member of the royal family of Khotan. The Khotan king Kien mentioned above bears a name which reminds us of Kanika, and we may draw the inference that such names were used in the royal family.

It seems probable that King Kanika was the famous Kanishka, though Tārānātha, as stated by Professor Thomas,[1] distinguishes between them, and says that the latter, whom he dates in the Maurya period, as a young man was chosen as sovereign in the land of Ṭili and Mālava. For Kanika was, according to the *Mahārājakanikalekha*,[2] a northern king of the Kuśa race, and *Kuśa* can hardly be anything else than *Kushi*, the ethnic designation used in Kanishka's coin-legends.

Kanishka.

It is a well-known fact that Kanishka is not mentioned in Chinese historical sources. Now we know that the Chinese were well aware of the happenings in the Western Countries down to about A.D. 125, but not after that time.[3] It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kanishka rose to power after the year A.D. 125. And if he is identical with King Kanika, he must have started on his career from the Khotan country. And there are indications in Chinese Buddhist texts which point in the same direction.

Chinese accounts of Kanishka.

The most important notices about Kanishka in Chinese texts have been brought together by M. Lévi.[4] Now we read in the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā,[5] which was composed shortly after the reign of Kanishka: 'In the family[6] of the Kiu-sha there was a king called Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a. He conquered Tung T'ien-chu (i. e., according to Messrs. Huber and Lévi, Eastern India) and pacified the country. His power spread fear; his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land.'

Professor Lévi is inclined to explain Chen-t'an as connected with Chandana, which, according to Sarat Chandra Das,[7] in Tibetan texts is stated to be an old designation of

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, p. 349.

[2] Cf. Thomas, l.c.

[3] Cf. Franke, *Beiträge*, pp. 70 ff.; Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 150.

[4] JA, IX, viii, 1896, pp. 444 ff.; IX, ix, 1897, pp. 526 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, pp. 381 ff.; xxxiii, 1904, pp. 110 ff.

[5] Cf. Açvaghoṣa, *Sûtrâlaṃkâra*, traduit par Édouard Huber, Paris, 1908; H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926; Lévi, JA, ccxi, 1927, pp. 95 ff.

[6] The fragments of the Sanskrit text have *kula*.

[7] JASB, LV, i, 1886, p. 193.

Khotan: 'The original Chen-t'an or Chīn-thān would be Kashgaria; and Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a would be Kanishka, king of Khotan. I cannot,' he says, 'avoid believing that the cradle of the power of the Tukhāra-Turushkas is to be found in that region.'

At all events the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā refers to Kanishka as a Kushāṇa coming from a country outside Tung T'ien-chu, and if we compare the statement of the Mahārājakanikalekha, according to which King Kanika, of the Kuśa race, came from a northern country, we become inclined to think of Khotan.

Such was also the opinion of Dr. Fleet, who said[1] that Kanishka belonged 'to a separate clan, sept, or ruling house of the Kushaṇ tribe, which made its way from Khotan into Kashmir, and thence to India'.

Now the Tibetan text quoted above is to the effect that King Kanika, i. e. probably Kanishka, undertook his expedition to India in connexion with the Guzan king and King Vijayakīrti of Khotan. This tradition seems to bear out the inference drawn above that the Indian Kushāṇas some time after Wima Kadphises' death tried to strengthen their position by joining hands with their cousins beyond the Pamir, and the result was evidently a large consolidation of Kushāṇa power, and the introduction of a new era, which may have been used both in Turkestan and in India, where it is usually spoken of as the Kanishka era.

It seems probable that Vijayakīrti was not the ruling king of Khotan when he left for India, and that Vijayasiṁha was then still alive. In that case it is tempting to identify Vijayasiṁha, which is evidently a biruda and is only known from Tibetan sources, with the *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya* Hinajha (?) Avijidasiṁha of the Turkestan document no. 661, the only document which gives the name of the 'King of Kings'. The uncertain Hinajha may be the proper name of the ruler, who may or may not be the Fang-ts'ien of the Hou Han-shu, who attacked his neighbours in A.D. 129. But it seems natural to infer that the era used in the Turkestan document, no. 661, is the same as the Kanishka era and was established on the occasion of the great consolidation of Kushāṇa power which led to the expedition to Eastern India.

Kanishka and the Little Yüe-chï.

If Kanishka came from Khotan, it will be necessary to accept the theory of Baron A. de Staël Holstein,[2] that he did not belong to the great (*Ta*), but to the Little (*Siao*) Yüe-chï. The Ma-ming-p'u-sa-chuan, the biography of Aśvaghosha, which was translated into Chinese before A.D. 412, expressly states that Aśvaghosha's patron, i. e. Kanishka, was king of the Siao Yüe-chï. And in its description of the Little Yüe-chï kingdom of its own time the Weï-shu gives the information that its capital was Purushapura, i. e. Peshāwar, and that for this reason they were called the Little Yüe-chï. The Baron is probably right in explaining this curious statement as meaning that Peshāwar was known as the ancient capital of the Little Yüe-chï, and that therefore the designation Little Yüe-chï might later be transferred to other tribes using the same capital. Now it was certainly Kanishka who first made Peshāwar the capital of the Yüe-chï empire, and the remark in the Weï-shu accordingly adds strength to the theory that Kanishka was a Little Yüe-chï.

Kanishka's date.

Such indications as have been mentioned above point to the conclusion that Kanishka belongs to a second Kushāṇa wave, and that he invaded India some time after A.D. 125.

After Sir John Marshall has shown, from the unmistakable evidence of archaeological stratification, that Kanishka followed after Wima Kadphises, and was perhaps even separated from him by an interval, there cannot any more be the question of dating his inscriptions in the Vikrama era. Nor can he be the founder of the Śaka era of A.D. 78–9,

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[1] JRAS, 1903, p. 334.

[2] SBAW, 1914, pp. 643 ff.

because Wima Kadphises was, as we have seen, reigning long after that date. We must necessarily assume that the era in which his and his successors' records are dated begins at a later date, and the silence of Chinese annals is strongly in favour of the assumption that it cannot begin earlier than A.D. 125.

We possess quite a large number of records in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī dated in that era. We have inscriptions of Kanishka between the years 1 or 3 and 23, of Vāsishka between 24 and 28, of Kanishka II in the year 41, of Huvishka between 33 and 60, and of Vāsudeva between 74 and 98.[1]

Now we know from Chinese sources that the Ta Yüe-chï Po-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230 and received the title 'king of the Ta Yüe-chï allied to the Wei'. According to Chavannes,[2] Po-tiao can very well be a rendering of Vāsudeva, and it has been maintained that, if such be the case, we should be able to fix the beginning of the Kanishka era approximately between A.D. 130 and 170.[3] And 170 is certainly, in that case, the very latest possibility, but the earliest one may fall before 130, because we do not know whether 98 was Vāsudeva's last year, and because there seem to have been more than one Vāsudeva. I shall show in the chapter about the eras that there is some reason for fixing the epoch of the Kanishka era in A.D. 128–129.

The fact that Po-tiao is designated as a Great Yüe-chï does not, on the other hand, militate against the theory that Kanishka, the founder of the dynasty, was a Little Yüe-chï, for his Indian conquests made him the successor of the Great Yüe-chï, and to the Chinese of a later date, who had long been out of touch with the Western Countries and had no records of his conquests, he and his successors would be the Great Yüe-chï, just as was the case with the first Kushāṇas.

Kanishka in India.

Among the Chinese texts mentioning Kanishka, the translation of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā is the most important one, because this work was written shortly after his demise. It apparently refers his expedition to Eastern India to the first years of his reign, and the Tibetan accounts of King Kanika's achievements are to the same effect.

Now we have an Indian inscription, on the relic casket found in the Kanishka stūpa near Peshāwar, which seems to be dated in the first year of the Kanishka era, i.e. according to my chronology in A.D. 128–129, and the natural inference is that Kanishka entered India via the Peshāwar country and presumably from Central Asia. The different sources accordingly seem to be in thorough agreement with each other with regard to this point.

And the agreement goes further. The next inscriptions dated in the Kanishka era are of the year 3 and have been found at Sārnāth.[4] Here we also learn to know the names of two of his governors, the mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and the kshatrapa Vanaspara, and we are again reminded of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, which states that he conquered Eastern India and pacified the country.

The same text contains the information that Kanishka subsequently set out to return to his country. His route passed through a broad, flat land, where he observed a stūpa, which proved to belong to the Jainas. It is here natural to think of Mathurā,

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[1] In the Mathurā inscription of the year 77, Lüders' List, no. 62, Huvishka is mentioned, not, however, as ruling, but as having given his name to a Vihāra in Mathurā.

[2] *T'oung Pao*, II, v, p. 489. The T'ang pronunciation of the name was *Puâ-d'ieu*, cf. Karlgren, nos. 753, 1240.

[3] Cf. Oldenberg, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1911, pp. 427 ff.; *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1910–12, p. 17; Lüders, SBAW, 1912, p. 830.

[4] Lüders' List, nos. 925 and 927.

where the inscriptions from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā have so many references to Kanishka and his dynasty and to the Jainas. And in Mathurā the Kanishka era came to replace the Vikrama Samvat, which was used by Śoḍāsa, just as was the case with the era introduced by Wima Kadphises after his reconquest, in the provinces which he again brought under the rule of the Sakas.

Kanishka returns to his country.

The narrative in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā makes us inclined to think that Kanishka went back to his own country, i. e. as we have seen, probably to Khotan. Now we soon find inscriptions, dated in his era, in the west, from Zeda and Hidda in the north to Sui Vihār in the south, and in the Zeda inscription we find the earliest known instance of the use of the words *iśe kshuṇami* after the date, which may, as already indicated, point towards Khotan.

We may draw the conclusion that Kanishka retraced his steps towards Peshāwar, which became a Kushāṇa capital, and that the new state of things led to the introduction of his era in that neighbourhood, while the ancient Buddhist centres farther to the north, at Hashtnagar, Jamālgaṛhī, and Loriyān Tangai, which were situated outside his proper sphere of action, retained the old reckoning, as they had done after Wima Kadphises' reconquest, in addition to the new era, which we find used at Mamāne Ḍherī in the Chārsadda district.

We find Indian inscriptions dated during the reign of Kanishka down to the year 23, the first month of the summer season, i. e. A.D. 151,[1] while a record of the year 24,[2] the fourth month of the summer season, i. e. A.D. 152, belongs to the reign of his successor Vāsishka. The natural inference is that Kanishka died in the interval between the summer 151 and the summer A.D. 152.

We have seen above that the Hou Han-shu states that the Khotan king Kien was killed in the year A.D. 152. The name Kien was pronounced *Ki̯vn* in the T'ang period,[3] and if we compare the Chinese rendering of Kapa, the name of the first Kushāṇa, as *Ki̯vp*, we are justified in restoring the Khotan king's name as *Kana*, and this Kana can very well be a shortening of *Kanishka*, *Kanika*.

It is therefore possible that Kanishka actually returned to Khotan and assumed the suzerainty there, some time before his death in A.D. 152, and in this connexion it is worth while recalling the fact that Hüan-tsang states[4] that Kanishka 'governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the Ts'ung-ling mountains'. If such be the case, Kanishka's reign led to a great consolidation of the Kushāṇa power in India and in Turkestan, and after his return to Khotan he and his successors were acknowledged as the suzerains over the whole empire.

Kanishka's importance.

Kanishka's conquests accordingly resulted in a considerable strengthening of the power of the Kushāṇas. And in India itself the idea of a great empire was again brought to life. And it seems probable that the consequences were greater openings for learning and literature, which show a flourishing development in and after his days.

He did not, however, any more than the Kadphises kings, come to India as the bearer of a new civilization. He adapted himself to that of his subjects, and in this way his rule became of importance, because he gave protection to Indian religions, Indian art, and Indian scholarship. And, on the other hand, he and his dynasty in all earnestness opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia. The mediums of this propaganda were above all Buddhism and Sanskrit.

Kanishka and Buddhism.

Already Kujūla Kadphises seems to have shown favour to Buddhism, and we repeatedly find references to Buddhist propaganda carried on by the Yüe-chï in Chinese

[1] ASIAR, 1920–1, p. 35.
[2] Lüders' List, no. 149[a].
[3] Karlgren, no. 373.
[4] *Si-yu-ki*, Popular edition, i, p. 56.

sources. But the state of things becomes quite different when Kanishka enters upon the stage. And here it is exactly his conquest of the east which seems to have been of greatest importance. There he came into contact with Brahmanic learning and civilization, and above all the famous Aśvaghosha became associated with him.

Aśvaghosha. According to the Chinese biography of Aśvaghosha, which in this detail seems to be supported by fragments of a Sanskrit text found in Chinese Turkestan,[1] he was originally not friendly towards Buddhism, but was converted by the patriarch Pārśva.

The Śrīdharmapiṭakanidānasūtra, which was translated into Chinese in A. D. 472, narrates[2] how Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a defeated the king of Pāṭaliputra and demanded a large indemnity, but agreed to accept Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's alms bowl, and a naturally compassionate cock instead. Later on the king of An-si, i. e. Parthia, attacked Kanishka, but was defeated after a sanguinary war, and now Aśvaghosha expounded the law to him.

We may infer that Aśvaghosha became associated with Kanishka on the occasion of his expedition towards Eastern India and later on strengthened him in his sympathy with Buddhism.[3]

Kanishka's council. According to Buddhist tradition a council was held under Kanishka's patronage in Kuvana near Jālandhara or in Kuṇḍalavana in Kashmir. The purpose is stated to have been to collect or to comment on the Sacred books, and the leading monks are said to have been Pārśva and Vasumitra.

Kanishka and Sanskrit. It seems probable that there was a codification of Buddhist canonical works about this time, and that the language in which they were written down was Sanskrit, while the north-western church language previously seems to have been the old Prākrit of the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, one of which, the Kurram casket record of the year 20, contains a quotation from a canonical work in that language.

The date of that inscription may perhaps indicate that the Sanskrit redaction belongs to the last years of Kanishka's reign, and a trace of the new state of things is perhaps found in the Peshāwar inscription no. 21, which seems to belong to the time of Kanishka's successor and where a Sanskrit blessing is added at the end. At all events, Sanskrit seems to have spread over the territory where Kharoshṭhī was used, at an early date. Thus we have already seen[4] that Sanskrit stanzas are occasionally found in Kharoshṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan, and together with Sanskrit the Brāhmī alphabet begins to replace Kharoshṭhī.

Sanskrit and Kharoshṭhī. With Kanishka, therefore, a development sets in, which gradually led to the disappearance of Kharoshṭhī in the old Yüe-chï empire. In the Indian provinces it lingers on in out-of-the-way places such as Hashtnagar, Jamālgaṛhī, and Loriyān Tangai, and also in Taxila we find Kharoshṭhī records of a late date at Jauliā. But a birch-bark Brāhmī manuscript in Sanskrit found at the same place tends to show that we have only to do with a survival of bygone times. And the latest dated record from more central districts is of the year 61.

Kanishka's successors. Among Kanishka's successors only Vāsishka and Huvishka are mentioned in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Those two kings also seem to have held sway in Kashmir. In Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, i, 168 ff. we read: 'There were in this land three kings, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, who built three towns named after them. That wise

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[1] Cf. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, p. 33.

[2] Cf. Lévi, JA, IX, viii, 1896, pp. 475 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, p. 387.

[3] The Tibetan tradition according to which Kanishka was not from the beginning in favour of the creed (cf. Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 121) is not likely in face of the fact that he seems to have dedicated Buddhist relics in Peshāwar in the first year of his reign.

[4] Above, p. lxxiii.

king Jushka, who built Jushkapura with its Vihāra, was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura. These kings, who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turushka race, built at Śushkaletra and other places Maṭhas, Chaityas, and similar (structures). During the powerful reign of these (kings) the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by (practising) the law of religious mendicancy had acquired great renown. At that time one hundred and fifty years had passed in this terrestrial world since the blessed Śākyasiṁha had obtained complete beatitude. And a Bodhisattva lived (then) in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the glorious Nāgārjuna, who resided at Shaḍarhadvana.'

Kalhaṇa's dating of these kings is clearly wrong, but it is certain that his Jushka is identical with Vāsishka, his Hushka with Huvishka.

It is curious that Kanishka comes last in Kalhaṇa's list, and it is possible that Mr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri is right[1] in thinking that he is not the founder of the dynasty but a later king of the same name.

We know that Kanishka made Peshāwar his western capital, and it is possible that the conquest of Kashmir was effected from that base, after Kanishka's return from his eastern expedition. The account of the Rājataraṅgiṇī may be interpreted to mean that the actual conqueror of Kashmir was Hushka, i. e. Huvishka, who was perhaps a younger brother of Jushka, i. e. Vāsishka. To judge from the Rājataraṅgiṇī Jushka's place in Kashmir's history seems to have been more prominent than was the case with the two other rulers of the dynasty, and he may have been the first Kushāṇa emperor who resided for some time in Kashmir. The last king in Kalhaṇa's list may then have been his son, a second Kanishka, different from the famous Kushāṇa king of that name.

Kanishka II.

And we have a Kharoshṭhī inscription of the year 41, found at Ārā on the Indus, which bears witness to the existence of a second Kanishka. It is dated during the reign of the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra kaïsara Vajheshkaputra Kanishka*, i. e. the ruler uses the old Indian title *mahārāja*, the imperial, originally Iranian, *rājātirāja*, the semi-Chinese *devaputra*, and the Roman *kaïsara*, i. e. *caesar*.

Mr. Banerji, who first published the inscription,[2] without, however, recognizing the title *kaïsara*, was of opinion that we are here faced with the founder of the Kanishka era, who 'after a period of ten or fifteen years spent in campaigning in Eastern and Central India . . . might have left the government of India in the hands of his eldest son and crossed the Indus to attend to pressing affairs on his northern and north-western frontiers'.

There is not, however, any foundation for such an assumption, and most scholars are of opinion that there were two rulers called Kanishka. This conclusion seems unavoidable in the face of the facts to which attention has been drawn by Professor Lüders[3] that Vāsishka uses the imperial titles *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra shāhi* during the period when, according to Mr. Banerji, Kanishka was still the supreme ruler, and that the emperor Kanishka of the Ārā inscription is characterized by the mention of his father's name, which is never the case with other Kushāṇas, so that we must assume that it was done in order to distinguish him from another ruler of the same name.

Dr. Fleet,[4] it is true, thought that the Ārā inscription and another one from Māṇikiāla, of the year 18, belong to a later revival of the line of the great Kanishka after the death of Vāsudeva. But the palaeography of the two records shows that they cannot

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[1] *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1923, p. 255.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 58 ff.
[3] SBAW, 1912, p. 827.
[4] JRAS, 1913, pp. 95 ff.

be so late, and, besides, Dr. Fleet's theory leads to the assumption of a new and elsewhere entirely unknown era for these two inscriptions.

We must, therefore, evidently assume the existence of a second Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka.[1] Now Kalhaṇa's *Jushka* shows that the *s* of the name *Vāsishka* must have been voiced, and such a pronunciation is reflected in the form *Vajheshka*. In other words, the father of the king Kanishka of the Ārā record was Vāsishka, the successor of the great Kanishka, and it is quite likely that this second Kanishka was the ruler mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.

The Ārā inscription of the year 41 falls between the years 33 and 60, for which we have records of Huvishka. There is, apparently, a certain overlapping of the reigns of these kings, and in this connexion it is of interest that the wording of the Rājataraṅgiṇī leads us to think of three contemporaneous rulers.

Reconstruction of events.

Professor Lüders assumes that Vāsishka succeeded the great Kanishka, and that, at his death, the empire was divided, Kanishka II, the son of Vāsishka, ruling in the north, while Huvishka held sway in India proper. Later on, however, Huvishka also became master of the north, for in the year 51 he is mentioned as emperor in the Wardak inscription.

This theory is the only one which leads to satisfactory results. It must, however, perhaps be slightly modified.

It can hardly be doubted that Vāsishka was the immediate successor of the great Kanishka. The latter's last date is in the year 23, and already the following year we find Vāsishka mentioned with the imperial title. He was probably the son of Kanishka, since his own son bears this same name, and succeeded his father in the natural course of events, wherefore he did not issue coins in his own name.

His last recorded date is in the year 28, and he may have died about that time. I think that we may assume that he was succeeded as emperor by his son Kanishka II.

Huvishka may, as we have seen, have been the actual conqueror of Kashmir, perhaps as the great Kanishka's general, and he was probably a brother of Vāsishka. After the latter's succession to the position of emperor, or after his death, he seems to have become governor or viceroy in the eastern provinces, at least as early as the year 33. It is noticeable that he is not characterized as emperor (*rājātirāja*) before the year 40. Until then he is simply styled *mahārāja devaputra*.

It is therefore possible to assume that he did not make himself independent before that date, and that may have been the occasion when he began to issue coins in his own name.

We cannot tell whether Kanishka II survived this new departure of Huvishka by more than a year, or if it was brought about by rumours of his approaching death. We only know that Huvishka was later on recognized as suzerain also in the north, for he bears the imperial titles in the Wardak inscription of the year 51.

Huvishka is the last of the great Kushāṇas who has left traces in the north-west. The dynasty was continued after his demise, and also later royal houses claimed Kanishka as their ancestor. But already Vāsudeva seems to have become quite Indianized, and the Sanskrit language and the Indian civilization connected with it gradually became the leading factors in the ancient empire of the Indo-Scythians. Kharoshṭhī ceased to be the prevailing script of the north-west, though it lingered on in out-of-the-way places, and the ancient north-western Prākrit was gradually brought under the strong influence of the languages of the Middle Country and lost its power of resistance, after it ceased to be used in literature and administration.

[1] The form of the name will be discussed in the chapter devoted to the inscription below.

From a historical point of view, therefore, Huvishka's reign closes the period covered by Indian Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, though the dynasty remained in power also after his demise, and though the empire may have increased still more. Thus the extension of Kushāṇa power westwards, which we can infer from the inscriptions and records found at Sui Vihār, at Mohenjo Daro, and even so far west as Tor Ḍherai in the Loralai district of Baluchistan, may have been continued by Kanishka's successors. For the *shāhi* Yola Mīra mentioned in the Loralai record seems, from palaeographical reasons, to belong to the time of Vāsudeva or even later. But the strong Sanskritization of that inscription bears witness to the new development which began with Kanishka.

THE ERAS USED IN KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

A little more than thirty Kharoshṭhī inscriptions are dated, in years, months, and days, but without any indication of the era or eras used. It has sometimes been maintained that we have throughout to do with one and the same reckoning. Palaeographical considerations, however, make it impossible to accept that opinion. For if we compare e. g. the letters of the Taxila plate of the year 78 and the Sui Vihār plate of the year 11, there can be no doubt that the latter is later than the former and must, accordingly, be dated in an era which was established some time subsequent to the year 78 of another, older, reckoning.

At least two eras.

Most scholars are now agreed in thinking that we have to do with at least two different eras, and, in accordance with the current view, I shall provisionally arrange the dated records in two groups.

A. Older Group.

1. Maira: [saṁ 58].
2. Shahdaur A: ra[ja]no Damijadasa saka-sa . . . [shashṭi . . . 60]. Reading uncertain.
3. Shahdaur B: [maharayasa ?] Ayasa saṁ. . . .
4. Mānsehrā: . . . aḍhashaṭhi. . . .
5. Fatehjang: saṁ 68 Proṭhavatasa masasa divase shoḍaśe 16.
6. Taxila copper-plate: saṁvatśaraye aṭhasatatimae 78 maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa Panemasa masasa divase paṁchame 5 etaye purvaye.
7. Muchai: vashe ekaśitimaye 81.
8. Kala Sang: [saṁ 100]. Reading uncertain.
9. Mount Banj: saṁvatśaraye 102.
10. Takht-i-Bāhī: maharayasa Guduvharasa vasha 26 saṁbatśarae tiśatimae 103 Veśakhasa masasa divase [praṭha]me [di 1 atra puña]pakshe.
11. Pājā: saṁvatśaraye ekadaśa[śa*]timaye 111 Śravaṇasa masasa di[va*]se paṁ[chada]śe 15.
12. Kāldarra: vasha 113 Śravaṇasa 20.
13. Mārguz: [vashe 1*]17.
14. Panjtār: saṁ 122 Śravaṇasa masasa di praḍhame 1 maharayasa Gushaṇasa rajami.
15. Taxila silver scroll: sa 136 ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa divase 15 iśa divase . . . maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa arogadakshiṇae.
16. Peshāwar Museum, no. 20: saṁ 168 Jeṭhamase divase paṁchadaśe.
17. Khalatse: saṁ 187 maharajasa Uvimaka[vthi]sasa.
18. Taxila silver vase: ka 191 maharaja[bhrata Maṇigulasa putrasa*] Jihoṇikasa Chukhsasa kshatrapasa.

19. Dewai: saṁ 200 Veśakhasa masasa divase aṭhame 8 itra khaṇasa.
20. Loriyān Tangai: sa 318 Proṭhavadasa di 27.
21. Jamālgaṛhī: saṁ 359 Aśpaï[u]sa paḍhaṁmaṁmi.
22. Hashtnagar: saṁ 384 Proṭhavadasa masasa divasaṁmi paṁchami 5.
23. Skārah Ḍherī: vasha ekuṇachaduśatimae Ashaḍasa masasa di[vase 22].

B. Later Group.

24. Kanishka casket: saṁ 1 ma[harayasa] Kanishkasa.
25. Sui Vihār: maharajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya saṁvatśare ekadaśe saṁ 11 Daïsi(ṁ)kasya masas[y]a divase(ṁ) aṭhaviśe 28 [aya]tra divase.
26. Zeda: saṁ 11 Ashaḍasa masasa di 20 Utaraphaguṇe iśa kshuṇami . . . muroḍasa marjhakasa Kaṇishkasa rajami.
27. Māṇikiāla: saṁ 18 Kartiyasa majh[e] divase 20 etra purvae maharajasa Kaṇeshkasa.
28. Box lid: saṁ 18 masye Arthamisiya sastehi 10 iś[e] kshunaṁmri.
29. Kurram: saṁ 20 masasa Avadunakasa di 20 iś[e] kshunaṁmi.
30. Peshāwar Museum, no. 21: maharajasa [Vajush]kasa saṁ [24 Jeṭhasa ?] masasa di . . . iśe kshunaṁmi.
31. Hidda: saṁbatśarae aṭhaviṁśatihi 28 masye Apelae sastehi daśahi 10 iś[e] kshunaṁmi.
32. Shakardarra: saṁ 40 P[r]oṭhavadasa masasa divas[ami] viśami di 20 atra divasakāle.
33. Ārā: maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kaïsarasa Vajheshkaputrasa Kanishkasa saṁbatśarae ekachapar[i]śa[i] saṁ 41 Jeṭhasa masasa di 25 iś[e] divasakshuṇami.
34. Wardak: saṁ 51 masy[e] Arthamisiya sastehi 15 imeṇa gaḍrigreṇa . . maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkasra agrabhagrae.
35. Uṇḍ: saṁ 61 Chetrasa mahasa divase aṭhami di 8 iśa kshunami . . . Purvashaḍe.
36. Mamāne Ḍherī: saṁ 89 Margaśirasra masi 5 iśe kshunami.

An incomplete date, *masasa di 25*, is further found in the Kāniza Ḍherī inscription.

Eras in Brāhmī inscriptions.

It is a well-known fact that the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period present a similar state of things. If we abstract from some uncertain cases, we have on one side the Amohinī tablet of the year 72, during the reign of the Svāmin, the mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa, and on the other a series of records dated in years ranging between 3 and 98 and giving the names of the Kushāṇa rulers, Kanishka, Vāsishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva. The former is usually considered to be dated in the Vikrama era, while the other series should evidently be brought together with our group B, and the prevailing opinion is to the effect that these records should all be referred to an era instituted by the famous emperor Kanishka. There is still a Mathurā inscription, no. 78 of Professor Lüders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions, dated in the year 299 and during the reign of some *mahārāja rājātirāja*, which has been interpreted in different ways.

Various views.

The existence of a Kanishka era is, as already stated, admitted by most scholars. In other respects opinions have differed to a great extent, and even at the present day no solution has been found which has met with general acceptance.

Edward Thomas[1] proposed to refer the dates of Kanishka and his successors to the Seleucidan era of 312 B.C. or to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., with omitted hundreds, 3 to 98 standing for 303–398 in the former and for 203–298 in the latter case. Cunningham[2] and Bühler[3] also thought of the Seleucidan era as an alternative. The

[1] *Academy*, 16 Dec. 1874; ASWI, ii, 1878, p. 31.
[2] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, xii, 1892, p. 44.
[3] *Indische Palaeographie*, § 19 B.

latter scholar, however, also proposed [1] to refer these dates, and also the Taxila plate of the year 78, to the same era as the Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72, again operating with omitted hundreds.

The Seleucidan era has also been adduced by Professor Vogel [2] in explanation of the dates of the Loriyān Tangai and Hashtnagar pedestals, while M. Foucher [3] is inclined to refer the Taxila copper-plate to the Parthian era, supposing the figure for 100 to have been suppressed.

Vincent Smith [4] once thought of the possibility of referring the date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription to the Caesarean era of Antioch, which ran from 49 or 48 B.C., or to some other foreign era.

Use of foreign eras.

The theories which reckon with eras established and used by foreign rulers outside of India are not *a priori* likely. We can understand that the Seleucidan era may have been used on a coin of Plato, who may have had some traditional connexion with the Seleucids.[5] But it would hardly be intelligible that it should have been used by the Sakas and Kushāṇas, who had never had anything to do with the Seleucids, or by their subjects in the Indian borderlands in their private records.[6] With regard to the Parthian era, it should be borne in mind that the Saka empire in India was the result of a weakening of the Parthian empire, which led to their former subjects, the Sakas, making themselves independent, and it is hardly likely that the latter should go on using the Parthian era after that event. Moreover, the Parthian rulers themselves generally use the Seleucidan era on their coins, the Parthian era occurring only rarely and sporadically before 38 B.C., and with regularity only from A.D. 41.[7]

Omitted hundreds.

With regard to the supposed omission of the hundreds, with which some of these theories operate, I may further recall the remark made by Professor Dowson,[8] that it has never, even at the present day, been customary to omit the hundreds in formal records, because 'it would entirely defeat the object of putting a date upon a monument intended to endure for a long period'.

Indian eras.

Most scholars have operated with Indian eras, instituted in or near India by national or foreign rulers.

Vincent Smith [9] tried to establish the use of the Saptarshi era, with omitted hundreds and thousands, and Messrs. Banerji [10] and Foucher [11] brought a supposed Mauryan era of 322 B.C. into the field, assuming the hundreds to have been suppressed. Against these theories we have the same objection about the omission of the hundreds, and with regard to the supposed Mauryan era, I can only repeat the statement of the late Dr. Fleet [12] that there is not any evidence whatever to the effect that such an era has ever existed.

Attempts have, further, been made to separate one record, the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, from the rest and to date it in an unknown Indian or semi-Indian era, which Sir John Marshall [13] thought was instituted by Moga about 95 B.C., and Mr. Banerji [14]

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[1] WZKM, x, p. 173. [2] ASIUPP, 1903–4, p. 55; ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 259.

[3] *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, ii, p. 488². [4] ZDMG, lx, 1906, p. 71.

[5] It should be borne in mind that we have no information about this ruler, and that the solitary coin bearing his name is stated to have been procured somewhere in Central Asia; cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, ii, 1875, p. 2.

[6] Cf. the remarks of M. Foucher, l. c., p. 490.

[7] Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1913, pp. 985 f., with further references.

[8] JRAS, N.S., vii, 1875, p. 382. [9] JRAS, 1902, p. 175; 1903, pp. 1 ff.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 67. [11] l. c., pp. 484 ff.

[12] JRAS, 1910, pp. 242 ff., 824 ff.; cf. my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12 ff., iii, p. 71.

[13] JRAS, 1914, p. 986. [14] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 67.

by Vonones *c.* 100 B.C., while Professor Rapson[1] referred the date to an era which 'may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I, *c.* 150 B.C.' Against all these theories it must *a priori* be urged that we are hardly justified in assuming the use of a separate era for one individual record, where there cannot be the question of an individual regnal era, unless it is impossible to date it in the same way as the remaining inscriptions of about the same time, and we have seen in the Historical Introduction that such is not the case with the Taxila plate.

The well-known historical eras of India, the Vikrama reckoning beginning in 57 B.C. and the Śaka epoch of A.D. 78, have been adduced by several scholars.

Vikrama era.

Professor Dowson[2] proposed to refer the date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription to the Vikrama era, and Cunningham[3] started the theory that that reckoning was established by Kanishka, a view which was consistently maintained by Dr. Fleet,[4] who tried to show that the only era used in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions was that of 57 B.C.

Dr. Fleet draws attention to the undoubted fact that the Vikrama Samvat is the great historical era of Northern India, and that it has never been an astronomical era, so that 'there is no reason for thinking that, like the Kaliyuga era of 3102 B.C., it is an artificial reckoning, invented at some later time and set back to its starting-point in 58 B.C. We have no good grounds for believing otherwise than that—like the era of A.D. 78 . . .—it existed from its very beginning'.

Dr. Fleet is no doubt also right in maintaining that 'all our knowledge of Indian eras teaches us that it was founded by a king, not by a people'.

On the other hand, it cannot any more be maintained that the Vikrama era was instituted by Kanishka, after we have learnt to know that this ruler was later than Kujūla and Wima Kadphises and cannot have ascended the throne before some time in the second century A.D.,[5] as stated in the Historical Introduction.

The Azes theory.

Nor does it seem possible to follow Sir John Marshall[6] in ascribing the institution of the Vikrama era to Azes, a view which has been endorsed by Professor Rapson.[7]

Sir John's theory is based on his interpretation of the date of the Taxila silver scroll, *sa 136 ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa divase 15* as 'in the year 136 (of the era) of Azes', &c. But the objections to this interpretation raised by Dr. Fleet and others are unanswerable : whenever a ruler is mentioned in connexion with a date, he is always the king or chief actually reigning at the time of the record, and there is no single instance in old inscriptions where a ruler is mentioned without a title.

Vikramāditya.

It should be borne in mind that both the Kanishka and the Azes theory are without any foundation in Indian tradition, and simply based on general reasoning. On the other hand, we have an Indian tradition to the effect that the era was instituted by Vikramāditya, a ruler of Mālava, who made an end to the dominion of the Sakas and began to rule in 57 B.C. As stated in the Historical Introduction this tradition is in

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[1] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 570.

[2] JRAS, New Series, vii, 1875, pp. 376 ff., ix, 1877, pp. 144 ff.

[3] ASI, ii, p. 68.

[4] Cf. JRAS, 1903, pp. 333 ff.; 1905, pp. 223 ff., 357 ff.; 1906, pp. 706 ff., 979 ff.; 1907, pp. 169 ff., 1013 ff.; 1908, pp. 177 ff.; 1913, pp. 95 ff., 913 ff., 965 ff.; 1914, pp. 992 ff.; 1915, pp. 314 ff.

[5] Cf. Lüders, SBAW, 1912, pp. 829 f.; Marshall, JRAS, 1914, pp. 983 f., 1915, pp. 195 f.; *Guide to Taxila*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1921, p. 17; Konow, SBAW, 1916, pp. 820 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 135 ff.; *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 130 ff., iii, pp. 73 ff., v, pp. 31 ff.

[6] JRAS, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

[7] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, pp. 581 ff.

thorough agreement with everything which we know from other sources, and there is no *a priori* reason for disbelieving it.

It is true, as maintained by Dr. Fleet, that in A.D. 405, and for nearly five centuries from that time on, the era was known as 'the reckoning of the Mālavas, the years of the Mālava lords, the Mālava time or era', but no such designation is used in the oldest record where it has been traced with great probability, viz. the Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72. And we have no sufficient reason for accepting the suggestion of Professor Thomas,[1] that it dates from the foundation of the tribal independence of the Mālavas. But it may reasonably be inferred that it was founded by a ruler of Mālava, and according to Indian tradition Vikramāditya was such a ruler.

Dr. Fleet maintained that 'later research has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya'. But the tradition about him is certainly old.[2] Haraprasād Śāstrī[3] has drawn attention to the fact that he is mentioned in Hāla's Sattasaī. And the fact that it was the Gupta conqueror of Mālava, Chandragupta, who revived the title supports the tradition according to which he was a Mālava ruler.

There is also another detail which supports the theory that the Vikrama era was a national Indian reckoning: it is evidently based on the old Sāvana year, with its three *chāturmāsyas*. That such was the case I infer from the designation *kṛita* used in ancient records about the Vikrama years.

Kṛita years.

This term has been explained in different ways. Professor Bhandarkar[4] thought that it means 'made' and characterizes the era as 'invented by the people of astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years'. Against this explanation Dr. Fleet[5] aptly objected that the Vikrama era was never an astronomical reckoning. His own explanation, however, that *kṛita* may be connected with *Ki-li-to*, the name of a race which, according to Hüan-tsang, seized the sovereignty of Kashmir after the death of Kanishka, is hardly preferable.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī[6] says that '*kṛita* is the name of the first year of a cycle of years which was used in the Vedic Period', the cycle comprising four years. In that case every year designated as *kṛita* should be 'divisible by four after the deduction of one'. That is not, however, everywhere the case.

Moreover, a date such as that of the Bijayagaḍh inscription of Vishṇuvardhana[7]: *kṛiteshu chaturshu varshaśateshv ashṭāviṁśeshu*, shows that every year of the era, and not only every fourth, was designated as *kṛita*.

In such circumstances, I still think that my own explanation[8] is the only possible one: *kṛita* is the best throw in the play of dice, when the number of points is divisible by four, and a *kṛita* year is a year divided into three seasons, each comprising four months. That is the arrangement in all the Brāhmī dates of the Kushāṇas and in the Śoḍāsa inscription, which all are subsequent to the epoch of the Vikrama era, but not in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

Vikrama era presupposes an older era.

If the designation *kṛita* is old, it is evidently chosen in order to distinguish the era from another, older one, and that must have been a Saka reckoning, if Indian tradition is right in stating that the Vikrama era was instituted by Vikramāditya in order to commemorate his victory over the Sakas.

In such circumstances it becomes unlikely that the Vikrama era is used in any of

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[1] JRAS, 1914, p. 414.
[2] Cf. SBAW, 1916, pp. 812 f.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 320.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, xlii, 1913, p. 163.
[5] JRAS, 1913, pp. 996, 998.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 319.
[7] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 253.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 140.

the inscriptions of the Sakas and Kushāṇas. The Kanishka series cannot come into discussion for the reasons already mentioned. And it is just as unlikely that the older group of inscriptions should be dated in an era instituted to commemorate the overthrow of the Sakas during whose reign those inscriptions were issued. It is *a priori* more likely that Professor Thomas[1] was right in thinking of an unknown era, an old Saka reckoning. And if the word *saka* occurring after the name of the ruler and before the year in the Shahdaur inscription should be restored as *sakasaṁbatśare* or some equivalent term, this explanation becomes certain.

The chief reason for referring the older Kharoshṭhī records to the Vikrama era seems to be that it seems necessary to assume an epoch in the first century B.C., as is the case with the Vikrama Samvat, and most scholars are disinclined to assume the existence of two eras beginning about the same time. But the result has been, as already indicated, that it has proved necessary to assume a separate era for the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, which is evidently older than the Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72.

Professor Rapson,[2] it is true, reads the date of the latter record as 42, but Professor Lüders[3] has proved that the numerical figures must be read as 72. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, wanted to distinguish between Patika, the son of the kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, and the mahākshatrapa Kusulua Patika, the contemporary of Śoḍāsa's father, the mahākshatrapa Rajula. But such a distinguishing can only become likely if it proves impossible to identify them, and we have seen in the Historical Introduction that such is by no means the case.

The result of the above discussion is that the Vikrama era cannot well have been used in ancient Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, and that the older group was probably dated in an undefined Saka-reckoning.

Śaka era of A.D. 78.

We must now examine the claims of the well-known Śaka era of A.D. 78.

James Ferguson[4] started the theory, which is still the prevalent one, that Kanishka was the founder of that reckoning, wherefore the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors should be referred to its epoch. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar[5] went further and referred both the Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72 and all Kharoshṭhī inscriptions to the Śaka era, operating with omitted hundreds, viz. 200 for the records of the Kanishka group.

This theory has been discussed at length by Dr. Fleet,[6] whose arguments have never been refuted. The era is emphatically a southern reckoning. According to the Akbarnāma,[7] the Vikrama era was specially connected with Mālava, Delhi, &c., the Śaka era with Gujarāt and the Dekhan. The latter is, besides, the second astronomical reckoning of the Hindus.

'The name of the era', he says, 'is found first, with certainty, in an astronomical date of the year 427, falling in A.D. 505, apparently from Gujarāt, which speaks of it as the Śaka-kāla, "the Śaka time; or the time or era of the Śakas". But the era itself is traced, without a name, from the year 41 to the year 310, in the inscriptions of Nahapāna from Nāsik and in the inscriptions and on the coins of his successors, the so-called Western Kshatrapas or Satraps, from Kāṭhiāwār and the northern parts of Gujarāt. And so foreign was the use of it to Northern India outside those territories that, apart from a few cases in astronomical writings, the first known instance there is found in the Dēōgaḍh inscription of A.D. 862 from the Lalitpur District, United Provinces, in which,

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[1] JRAS, 1913, pp. 636 f.
[2] l. c., p. 575.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, ix, pp. 243 ff.
[4] JRAS, New Series, xii, 1880, pp. 259 ff.
[5] JBoBrRAS, xx, p. 297.
[6] JRAS, 1913, pp. 987 ff.
[7] Transl. by Beveridge, ii, p. 22.

however, the Śaka year 784 is given only as a subsidiary detail alongside of the Vikrama year 919, which gives the real dating of the record.'

In such circumstances it is *a priori* unlikely that this Śaka era should have been used in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. The older group can, of course, be left out of consideration. The question, however, remains whether the Kanishka group should be referred to it.

Dr. Fleet has shown that the tradition according to which the Śaka era of A. D. 78 was instituted in commemoration of the overthrow of the Śakas by Vikramāditya is of North-Indian origin and later than the southern version according to which it dates from the anointment of a Śaka king, and he aptly remarks that 'our general knowledge of Indian eras teaches us that this—the anointment of a king, the beginning of his reign, not his overthrow—was the real origin of the reckoning'.

Founder of the Śaka era. Several such rulers have been suggested. Professor Bhandarkar[1] thought of Vonones, Messrs. Boyer[2] and Fleet[3] of Nahapāna, and Professor Jouveau Dubreuil[4] of Chashṭana. Vonones, however, was a Parthian and older than Azes, and Nahapāna and Chashṭana, with inscriptional dates between the Śaka years 42 and 52, are evidently too late to be the founders of the era. And besides, none of them seems to have exercised suzerain power.

Most scholars are of opinion that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era. But we have no information to show that he held direct sway in the provinces where the reckoning had its home. Moreover, his time was probably, as we have seen, the second century A.D., and, finally, the Khalatse inscription shows that his predecessor Wima Kadphises was still ruling in the year 187 of the old era, i. e. long after the establishment of the Śaka era of A.D. 78.

Now it should be borne in mind that there is not a scrap of evidence in favour of the Kanishka theory, which is simply based on general historical considerations.

The wording of the oldest Śaka dates, those of the Western Kshatrapas, point to the conclusion that its calendar was more Indian than is the case in the Kharoshṭhī dates. They give the year, the month, the *paksha*, and the day, and the mention of the *paksha* is an Indian feature. The seasonal details found in the Śoḍāsa record and the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kanishka group, on the other hand, are missing.[5] We thus get the impression that we are faced with a Śaka reckoning which had, in some details, been influenced by an older Indian era. And we have direct information in the Kālakāchāryakathānaka, which is supported by the Hou Han-shu, to the effect that the historical Śaka era was introduced, in order to replace the Vikrama Samvat, by a ruler who effected a reconquest of the old Saka dominions in India, and this ruler can hardly be anybody else than Wima Kadphises, a theory which has already been suggested as an alternative by Professor Gardner.[6]

Provisional results. My results are so far purely negative. We have no good grounds for identifying the eras used in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions with any reckoning known from other sources. We are evidently faced with two different eras, and since the records are so often connected with the names of Indo-Scythian rulers, it is *a priori* likely that they had both been established by Indo-Scythians, presumably by Sakas, since the Shahdaur inscription seems to characterize the year as a Saka year.

Wording of Kharoshṭhī dates. It is conceivable that some information can be derived from the arrangement of the

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[1] JBoBrRAS, xx, pp. 280 ff.
[2] JA, IX, x, 1897, pp. 120 ff.
[3] JRAS, 1913, p. 992.
[4] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 26 ff.
[5] Cf. my remarks, *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 140 ff.
[6] p. li, foot-note.

dates, which is the same in both groups of inscriptions. The details given are the year, the month, and the day, and there is no mention of the season, which is always given in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kanishka group, probably in imitation of the national Indian calendar used in the Vikrama Samvat, since that era was formerly used in Mathurā, the place where most of these records have been found.

The years.

The year is called *saṁvatsara* as in the Vikrama era, while *varsha* and synonymous terms are employed in the later Śaka era of A.D. 78. This latter word is, however, occasionally used in Kharoshṭhī records, viz. in the Muchai inscription of the year 81; in the first date of the Guduvhara epigraph of the year 103, where the second date has the usual word; in the Kāldarra record of the year 113; on the Skārah Ḍheri image of the year 399; and probably in the Mārguz inscription of the year 117.

It is impossible to draw any inference from this state of things. It only shows that both terms were used in North-western India, and that *saṁvatsara* was probably the common one in connexion with the calendar.

Beginning of the year.

Nor have we any right to infer from the occasional use of the word *varsha* that the year began with the rains. I agree with Dr. van Wijk,[1] that the occasional use of Macedonian months makes it probable that the year began in October, as in the Macedonian calendar. It is possible that this points to a certain influence exercised by the Macedonian calendar, though there was also an old Indian year beginning in the autumn.[2]

Names of the months.

The names of the months are mostly Indian, but sometimes occur in forms which do not appear to be quite regular in the dialect. Thus we find *ashaḍa* for *ashaḍha*; *śravaṇa*, for which we should expect *shavaṇa*; *aśpaïu* for *aśvayu* or *aśpayu*. It is possible, though perhaps not likely, that such forms are due to a secondary adoption of Indian months in an originally un-Indian calendar. Such an assumption might be supported by the fact alluded to above, that we occasionally find Macedonian month-names: Apellaios (Hidda), Artemisios (box lid, Wardak), Audunaios (Kurram), Daisios (Sui Vihār), and Panemos (Taxila copper-plate). *A priori* it is quite likely that the foreign invaders, during whose rule these records were executed, adopted the calendar of their predecessors, the Greeks.

Beginning of the months.

We are on safer ground when we want to ascertain whether the months began with full or with new moon. The Zeda inscription of the year 11 is dated on the 20th Āshāḍha, and the nakshatra is given as Uttaraphalgunī. Professor Jacobi has kindly informed me of the fact that that nakshatra belongs to the *śukla paksha*, where it may occur between the fifth and eighth day. If, therefore, the twentieth day of the month falls in the beginning of the bright half, in our case on the fifth day after new moon, the full-moon day must be the first day of the month.

The same result can apparently be derived from the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, where the first Vaiśākha seems to be characterized as [*puña*]*paksha*, evidently because it was the Buddha's birthday, which tradition sometimes gives as the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.

Numbering of days.

Another peculiarity of the calendar is the through reckoning of the days of the months, without the Indian division into *pakshas*. Thus we have the 20th Āshāḍha (Zeda), the 27th Proshṭhapada (Loriyān Tangai), the 25th Jyaishṭha (Ārā), &c.

An Indo-Macedonian calendar.

This is a distinctly un-Indian feature, and taken together with the other indications it shows that the calendar used by the Indo-Scythians was characterized by a blending

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[1] *Acta Orientalia*, iii, p. 82; cf. Dr. Fleet, JRAS, 1905, p. 234.

[2] Cf. Jacobi, *Festschrift Roth*, pp. 68 ff.; *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1894, pp. 105 ff.

of foreign, Macedonian, and Indian principles, the latter being most clearly traceable in the use of Indian names for the months. In other words, we are faced with the initial stages of that fusion of Greek and Indian notions which found its final formula in the system of the Siddhāntas.

The Siddhāntas.

In such circumstances we are justified in putting the question whether any conclusion can be drawn from calculations, based on the Siddhāntas, of such details as may be contained in inscriptional dates. The existing Siddhāntas are no doubt later than our inscriptions. According to Thibaut,[1] the Sūrya Siddhānta and some other Siddhāntas must be at least some centuries older than A.D. 500. That more than two or three centuries are necessary, might be maintained, but might also be doubted. We cannot, therefore, bring their system back to the period covered by the older Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, but then this system was not definitely framed from the very beginning, but gradually evolved in a country where Greek and Indian notions could influence each other, and such was the case where the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions are found.

If the results of calculations according to the Siddhāntas are in agreement with all ascertainable facts, a strong presumption is raised in favour of the correctness of these results.

The older group.

The era used in the older group of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions cannot, for reasons set forth in the Historical Introduction, have its epoch earlier than the demise of Mithradates II, in 88 B.C., and hardly later than 60 B.C., the traditional date of the establishment of Saka power in Ujjayinī.

Most of the inscriptions of the older group are dated in such a way that no inference can be drawn as to the epoch of the era, and none of the rulers mentioned in them can be the founder of the era, the oldest recorded dates being the years 56 (Maira) and perhaps 60 (Shahdaur). There is only one date which contains an addition to the usual wording, viz. the Taxila silver scroll, dated *sa 136 ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa divase 15*.

Taxila silver scroll.

Here the addition *ayasa* distinguishes the date from all other Kharoshṭhī dates. In the discussion of this record below it will be shown that the only probable interpretation of this word is to take it as an equivalent of Skr. *ādyasya* and as distinguishing the month Āshāḍha as the 'first Āshāḍha', i.e. there must in that particular year have been a second, intercalated, Āshāḍha.

Intercalated months are well known in the Jyotisha and in later works. According to the Jyotisha there was an intercalated Āshāḍha every five years, but we cannot well apply the rules of the Jyotisha to a calendar which is evidently half Greek. We must calculate according to other rules, and, as already indicated, the system which presents itself is that of the Siddhāntas.

Dr. van Wijk[2] has done so, on the supposition that the epoch of the era cannot be earlier than 88 B.C., and that the date of the silver scroll cannot be later than A.D. 78. He has shown that, within those limits, only two years, viz. A.D. 52 and 71, had an intercalated Āshāḍha. And of these only the former gives a likely dating. The latter would give an initial point about 65 B.C., and the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78 would belong to the year A.D. 13, only two years before the Śoḍāsa inscription, and two years are insufficient for covering the intervening events.

The interpretation of the Taxila silver scroll not being certain, these results can only be considered as a working hypothesis. It is, however, remarkable how well it suits all ascertainable facts.

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[1] *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, pp. 45 ff.

[2] *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 79 ff.

If we assume that the year 1 of this old era, which may be designated as the old Saka era, corresponded to 84–83 B.C., Dr. van Wijk's calculations show the following correspondence :

Corresponding Christian dates. Older group.

1. Maira : [saṁ 58] = 27–26 B.C.
2. Shahdaur A : . . . 60 = 25–24 B.C.
3. Shahdaur B : ?.
4. Mānsehrā : 68 = 17–16 B.C.
5. Fatehjang : 16 Proshṭhapada, 68 = 18 July, 17 B.C.
6. Taxila copper-plate : 5 Panemos, 78 = June, 6 B.C.
7. Muchai : 81 = 4–3 B.C.
8. Kala Sang : 100 (?) = A.D. 16–17.
9. Mount Banj : 102 = A.D. 18–19.
10. Takht-i-Bāhī : 1 Vaiśākha, 103 = 10 March, A.D. 19.
11. Pājā : 15 Śrāvaṇa, 111 = 23 June, A.D. 27.
12. Kāldarra : 20 Śrāvaṇa, 113 = 5 July, A.D. 29.
13. Mārguz : 117 (?) = A.D. 33–34.
14. Panjtār : 1 Śrāvaṇa, 122 = 7 June, A.D. 38.
15. Taxila silver scroll : 15 of first Āshāḍha, 136 = 17 May, A.D. 52.
16. Peshāwar Museum, no. 20 : 15 Jyaishṭha, 168 = 24 April, A.D. 84.
17. Khalatse : Saṁ 187 = A.D. 103–104.
18. Taxila silver vase : 191 = A.D. 107–108.
19. Dewai : 8 Vaiśākha, 200 = 24 March, A.D. 116.
20. Loriyān Tangai : 27 Proshṭhapada, 318 = 27 August, A.D. 234.
21. Jamālgaṛhī : 1 Aśvayuj, 359 = 24 August, A.D. 275.
22. Hashtnagar : 5 Proshṭhapada, 384 = 7 June, A.D. 300.
23. Skārah Ḍherī : 22 Āshāḍha, 399 = 10 May, A.D. 315.

The Azes era.

As mentioned in the Historical Introduction, no. 10, the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription also has another date, in the 26th year (during the reign) of the Mahārāja Guduvhara, and I have tried to show that this date should be referred to another era, instituted by Azes, the first Parthian ruler in North-western India.

This Parthian era is not used in other known records, and even in the Guduvhara inscription the corresponding year of the old Saka era is treated as the real date, the month and the day being given in connexion with it. It is evident that the old Saka era had got such a firm footing that it could not be replaced during the short-lived Parthian dominion.

The old Saka era and later eras overlap.

It also, as will appear from nos. 16–23, continued to be used after the establishment of the later Śaka era and the accession of Kanishka, and such was apparently sometimes also the case outside of the area covered by Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. For the Mathurā Brāhmī record of the year 299 must evidently be referred to this reckoning. It is not difficult to account for this state of things. The old Saka era was clearly the first secular era ever introduced in India.

Older Indian dates.

We know from the inscriptions of Aśoka and Khāravela that ancient Indian rulers dated their records in regnal years, and we can infer from these documents and from the Purāṇas that records were kept of the happenings in the different regnal years of individual kings and of the length of their reigns, which were also grouped together in dynastic lists. The Jaina stanzas quoted in the Historical Introduction are such an account of the duration of the different dynasties of Mālava intervening between Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa and the beginning of the Vikrama era. Such summaries can be characterized

as lists of dynastic eras, but these 'eras' have never been in actual use; they are simply a summing up after the events.

We might even say that the idea of a secular era for practical purposes is un-Indian. The history of the Aryans had theoretically no beginning. Aryan civilization had developed in an unbroken line, chiefly under Brahmanical influence, and the fact that the Aryans had once come into the country from outside had long been forgotten. Their history in India was assumed to be as old as creation, and there was no reason for marking out any event, such as the coming into power of an individual king or dynasty, otherwise than in the records of the royal offices.

Buddhist and Jaina eras.

It was only when new religions arose, which did not claim to continue Vedic tradition, that we can trace the use of real eras in India, viz. those of the Jainas and Bauddhas. And it is characteristic that, in both cases, the starting-point is not the birth of the founder or the time of his illumination, but the moment when he disappeared from the world of men and was reabsorbed into the eternal reality of Nirvāṇa.

Such eras might be used by the clergy, or by clerks who were under their influence, for the purpose of dating secular events. Thus it has been assumed that there is a reference to the Buddhist era in the figure 256 in the Rūpnāth edict of Aśoka,[1] and that some of the events registered in the Khāravela inscription have been dated in the Jaina era.[2] But there is not the slightest indication to show that Indian rulers thought of imitating the Jainas and Buddhists in instituting dynastic eras. There was never, as stated above, a Mauryan era. If it had existed, we should certainly expect to find traces of it in the inscriptions of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka. And nobody has ever suggested the existence of any other old dynastic era.

North-west frontier and Indian eras.

It was on the north-west frontier that conditions prevailed which led to the cropping up of such eras. Brahmanism did not play the same role as in the east, and foreign conquerors had held sway for a considerable period. The Greek predecessors of the Indo-Scythians had of old a secular era, the Seleucidan, which was also largely used by the Parthians, the overlords of the Sakas before they made themselves independent. There can hardly be any doubt that such models were at work when the Sakas, whose calendar was to a great extent based on that of their predecessors, began to continue the regnal era of an individual ruler after his death and thus established the first secular era in India.

This era naturally got a strong footing, and it has clearly served as a pattern, when later eras were introduced.

The old Saka era and the Vikrama Samvat.

The Vikrama era seems, as we have seen, to have received the designation *kṛita* in order to distinguish it from the old Saka era, while the mention of the season and the seasonal months was introduced into the dates in accordance with the purely Indian calendar. But the year was called *saṁvatsara* and was *Kārttikādi*, and the days of the month were counted through, as in the old Saka reckoning.

The Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72 seems to show that the Vikrama era was also introduced in the Mathurā country, but we seem to be justified by the inscription of the year 299 in inferring that the old reckoning was not quite forgotten.

The old and the new Saka eras.

According to the Kālakāchāryakathānaka the Vikrama era in Mālava was subsequently replaced by a new era, instituted by the Saka king who made an end to Vikramāditya's dynasty. This is the historical Śaka era of A.D. 78. In the inscriptions of

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[1] Cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. xlv ff., 169.

[2] Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, i, pp. 22 ff.

the Western Kshatrapas we again find the month-names, but the months are divided into *pakshas*, and in other old inscriptions in the era we find seasonal months instead of the month-names. Vikramāditya's innovations have left their traces.

This new era was intended for use in the country which had been reconquered, and it was not introduced in the provinces where the old Saka reckoning had not been abolished. We therefore find north-western inscriptions, and even the Khalatse record of the reign of Wima Kadphises, dated in the old Saka era also after the introduction of the second Śaka era of A.D. 78.

Mathurā and the Saka eras. In Mālava itself the Vikrama era does not appear to have gone out of use. And we have already seen that it was introduced in Mathurā. Here we should expect to find the new Śaka era employed. It is, however, evident that Wima Kadphises did not make his power felt to any considerable extent in Mathurā, and even in Mālava and Kāṭhiāwar the Indianization of the name of the first kshatrapa as Bhūmaka points to a growing influence exercised by Indian notions.

It was only later, after a fresh wave of Saka conquerors, that a new Saka era was really established in the Mathurā country. The new conqueror was the famous Kanishka, and his introduction of a new era is a striking parallel to what happened after Wima Kadphises' conquest. This new era also conquered the north-west, though the old reckoning remained in use, side by side with the new one, in the northern provinces, just as it had done after Wima Kadphises' reconquest.

The Mathurā inscriptions of Kanishka's dynasty remind us of the oldest Śaka records after Wima Kadphises also in another respect, in so far as the seasonal months were retained, while the west stuck to the old Saka calendar.

The Śaka era of A.D. 78 and the Kanishka era thus came to replace the Vikrama reckoning in such provinces where the Saka power had declined or had never been established. The great importance of Kanishka, however, led to his era being introduced also in the west, in those districts where his power was most strongly felt.

The Kanishka era. The first date in the Kanishka era has been found in the Kanishka stūpa near Peshāwar and is of the first year of the era. It is therefore evident that he brought it to India from his old home in Chinese Turkestan, and in the Historical Introduction I have tried to show that it was established on the occasion of an Indo-Scythian coalition some time after Wima Kadphises' death, which resulted in a powerful expedition to Eastern India under Kanishka.

Its epoch. It now remains to examine whether we have any indications which allow us to arrive at a conclusion as to the epoch of this, the third, Saka era.

And an examination of the records dated in this era will show that in two of the inscriptions the nakshatra current on the day when they were executed is mentioned. The Zeda inscription of the year 11 couples the Uttaraphalgunī with the 20th Āshāḍha, and the Uṇḍ record of the year 61 the nakshatra Pūrvāshāḍha with the 8th Chaitra.

Such features do not occur every year, and in the case of these inscriptions, which are not too much removed in time from the Siddhāntas, it seems to be comparatively safe to apply their methods to our calculations.

Dr. van Wijk has done so[1] and arrived at the result that the only set of years within the limits with which we can reasonably reckon which fulfils the conditions is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda and 3290 for the Uṇḍ inscription. The initial year of the Kanishka era would accordingly be A.D. 128–129.

Such an epoch seems to suit the circumstances. It was in A.D. 129 that the Khotan

[1] *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 83 ff.; v, pp. 168 ff.

king Fang-ts'ien attacked the neighbouring Kiü-mi, it is about this time that the Western Kshatrapa Chashṭana evinces an increase in his national pride in reintroducing the Saka name Ysamotika for his father, who called himself Bhūmaka, and we have every reason for believing that Kanishka started on his career in the year A. D. 128–129.

Corresponding Christian dates. Later group.

Assuming the epoch of the Kanishka era to be that year, the second group of dated Kharoshṭhī inscriptions has been calculated by Dr. van Wijk to correspond to Christian dates in the following way:

24. Kanishka casket: saṁ 1 = A.D. 128–9.
25. Sui Vihār: 28 Daisios, 11 = 7 June, A.D. 139.
26. Zeda: 20 Āshāḍha, 11 = 19 June, A.D. 139.
27. Māṇikiāla: 20 Kārttika, 18 = 9 October, A.D. 145.
28. Box lid: 10 Artemisios, 18 = 20 April, A.D. 146.
29. Kurram: 20 Audunaios, 20 = 2 January, A.D. 148.
30. Peshāwar Museum, no. 21: 24 (?) = A.D. 151–2.
31. Hidda: 10 Apellaios, 28 = 24 November, A.D. 155.
32. Shakardarra: 20 Proshṭhapada, 40 = 27 July, A.D. 168.
33. Ārā: 25 Jyaishṭha, 41 = 24 April, A.D. 169.
34. Wardak: 15 Artemisios, 51 = 25 April, A.D. 179.
35. Uṇḍ: 8 Chaitra, 61 = 26 February, A.D. 189.
36. Mamāne Ḍherī: 5 Mārgaśira, 89 = 1 November, A.D. 216.

I accept these identifications as a working hypothesis in my edition of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

this way, but I am afraid that I have done so unsatisfactorily, and in this place I should like to give expression to the cordial gratitude which I feel towards them.

Finally, I wish to add that it is largely due to the Oxford University Press if the outer appearance of the book will be found satisfactory. To people who have often had to fight some printing-office in order to produce fairly acceptable work it is a rare experience to co-operate with the Clarendon Press and to feel that there is no fight, but only a competition in order to make the results as excellent as it is possible at the present day.

STEN KONOW.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

The Kharoshṭhī inscriptions have been found over a wide territory, from the Swāt country in the north to Sui Vihār and Mohenjo Daro in the south, from Mathurā in the east to Wardak and Loralai in the west. Nevertheless, the language is fairly uniform everywhere.

It would, however, be premature to infer that this vernacular was the current speech over the whole territory in the centuries before and after the beginning of our era. We must evidently exclude the Mathurā country and perhaps districts such as Pāṭhyār, Kanhiāra, and Karnāl in the east, and probably Wardak in the west. With regard to Khalatse and Loralai we are not in a position to judge with confidence.

If we abstract from such outlying districts, it will be seen that the linguistic area covered by these inscriptions roughly coincides with the territory where we, at the present day, find Lahndī and Dardic, or Iranian languages. The language of the inscriptions is not Iranian, but an Indian Prākrit, and it is evident that the border line between Indian and Iranian has formerly run farther west than at the present day. With regard to the relationship between this old Prākrit and the Indian vernaculars of the present day, there can hardly be any doubt that we must rather think of Dardic than of Lahndī, which latter language seems to owe its present-day form to a strong influence exercised by the languages of the Middle Country, farther east.

As already stated, the language of the inscriptions is fairly uniform. We cannot, however, expect to find an absolute consistency. In the first place the area is very extensive, and there are consequently minor dialectic variations. Some traces might also be expected to be found of the different ethnic elements who lived in the country in the centuries when the inscriptions were written. As a matter of fact, however, there is nothing to remind us of the Greeks, if we abstract from some Greek names and titles, and the case does not seem to be different with regard to the Scythians and Parthians. On the other hand, we must reckon with a certain influence exercised by literary languages.

The Kharoshṭhī country was the home of Pāṇini, the famous Sanskrit grammarian, and Taxila was an old seat of learning. The Sarvāstivādins, who made extensive use of Sanskrit, were an influential community in the north-west, and they are repeatedly mentioned in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. We might, therefore, reasonably expect to find some Sanskritisms in the language. As a matter of fact we find a complete Sanskrit sentence in a Peshāwar inscription, and the language of the Tor Ḍherai records is almost pure Sanskrit.

The north-western Prākrit was itself at an early date used for literary purposes. An old manuscript of a version of the Dhammapada has been found near Khotan, and parts of it have been edited by Messrs. Senart[1] and Oldenburg.[2] I shall designate this important text as Dhp., giving my own readings but retaining M. Senart's numbering of the leaves as A, B, C, ^ro^ and ^vo^, respectively, and marking the quotations from the leaf published by Professor Oldenburg as O. The Dhammapada was not, however, the only canonical text translated into the dialect. The Kurram casket inscription contains a

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[1] JA, IX, xii, 1898, pp. 193 ff., reprinted by Benimadhab Barua and Sailendranath Mitra, *Prakrit Dhammapada*, Calcutta, 1921.

[2] *Predvaritelnaja zametka o buddijskoj rukopisi*, Sanktpeterburg, 1897.

quotation from another work, and also elsewhere, as for instance in the Wardak inscription, it is perhaps possible to find traces of canonical writings.

Such works were evidently translated from a more eastern language, which might, in this way, come to exercise a slight influence on the local vernacular when used in written records. But the chief influence was evidently exercised by the north-western book-language itself.

The Dhp. shows a remarkably consistent system of noting the various sounds of the dialect.[1] But it is evident that some difficulty was experienced, because some of the sounds were foreign to other Indian languages. In the inscriptions this difficulty has led to some inconsistency, and it is not always possible to be absolutely certain about the nature of some of the sounds, which may, moreover, have been slightly different in the different districts. On the whole, however, it seems possible to draw a fairly accurate picture of the dialect.

Vowel system. The vowels are, broadly, the same as in other Prākrits. Long and short vowels are, it is true, only rarely distinguished in writing, but the metrical Dhp. shows that they were distributed as in other Prākrits. There are no long diphthongs, *ai* and *au* having become *e* and *o*, respectively; thus *Veśakha*, Skr. *Vaiśākha*; *Proṭhavada*, Skr. *Praushṭhapada*. In foreign words we occasionally find *aï* for *ai*; thus *Daïsika*, Greek *Δαίσιος* (Sui Vihār); *kaïsara*, Latin *caesar* (Ārā).

***a* and *ā*.** Short and long *a* are both written *a*; thus *prapa*, Skr. *prapā* (Tor Ḍherai). An initial *a* is occasionally dropped; thus *vi ya*, Skr. *api cha* (Lion Cap.), *raña*, *ramña*, Skr. *araṇya* (Kurram, Hidda, Jamālgaṛhī). In the Dhp. *a* sometimes becomes *i* in the neighbourhood of *y*; thus *aï*, Skr. *ayam*; *bramhayirya*, Skr. *brahmacharya*. Similarly we find *ayimita* for *āyamitvā* (Lion Cap.); *bhui* for *bhūyaḥ* (Zeda), but also *bhuya* (Wardak). In a similar way *a* sometimes becomes *u* in the neighbourhood of labial and nasal sounds; thus *Kusuluka* (Patika), *Kusulua* (Lion Cap.), evidently derived from *Kusula*. In the case of *kshuṇa*, for which Sakish has *kshāna*, Tocharian *kshum*; *erjhuṇa*, Sakish *alysānai* (Takht-i-Bāhī), it is possible that we have to do with a change of *ā* to *u* before *n*, of a similar kind as in Pashto.

Such stray irregularities may be considered as indications of a tendency towards a certain harmonization of neighbouring sounds. The case is different with doublets such as *atra* (Patika), *itra* (Dewai), *etra* (Māṇikiāla), because here we may have to do with formations from different bases. And the form *sarviṇa* (Wardak) for the usual *sarvaṇa* is evidently due to contamination, while the apparent *i*-stroke in *Suḍisa* side by side with *Śuḍasa* (Lion Cap.) is probably a sign of reference.

***i* and *ī*.** *I* and *ī* are both written *i*, cf. *divasa*, *śarira*. There cannot, however, be any doubt that the length of the vowel is the same as in Sanskrit. In *pukaraṇi* (Kāldarra), as compared with *pukariṇi* (Pāṭhyār) we have the same tendency towards assimilation of neighbouring sounds which we noticed in the case of *a*. The same is the case with *khaṇasa*, Skr. *kshaṇe*, **kshaṇasmin* (Dewai), cf. e.g. *parasa*, Skr. *parasmin*, Dhp. A[3] 6. In *Vaseṭha*, Skr. *Vasishṭha*, on a Jamālgaṛhī pedestal, we have the well-known open sound of the Prākrits before a double consonant. Cf. also the form *etra* mentioned above. The form *maheshri*, Skr. *mahishī*, on the Lion Cap. has its parallel in Pāli *mahesī*. It is more difficult to judge about the *e* in foreign names such as *Kaṇeshka* side by side with *Kaṇishka* (Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Zeda, Māṇikiāla, Ārā), *Hoveshka* (Wardak), *Vajheshka* (Ārā). It is possible that the actual sound was the same as Saka *ä* and was difficult to render with the available signs. The Peshāwar inscription, no. 21, seems to

[1] Cf. my remarks, *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

have *u* in *Vajhushka*, cf. Kalhaṇa's *Jushka*, and this writing also points to a difficulty in rendering the actual sound. Of a similar kind are the doublets *Miṁjukrita* and *Muṁjukrita* on the Sirkap silver plates and the writing *i* for Greek *e* in *Miṇaṁdra*, Menandros (Peshāwar, no. 1938).

The treatment of *u*, *ū* is quite parallel; cf. *hotu*, Skr. *bhavatu*, *puyae*, Skr. *pūjāyai* (Taxila silver scroll). In *kuṭibiṇi*, *kuṭiṁbini*, Skr. *kuṭumbinī* (Dharmarājikā, Sui Vihār) we seem to have a case of harmonizing. The isolated *o* in *Bodhasa* (Tīrath), as compared with the common *Budha*, is comparable with the *e* in *Vaseṭha*, and the *o* of *Hoveshka* (Wardak) has its parallels in the *e* of this and similar names. The *u* of *Theüdama* (Bajaur), *Theüdora* (Swāt casket), *Theütara* (Sirkap) renders a Greek *o*, just as *o* is used for *u* in Greek legends such as κοζουλο, *kujūla*; ϸαονανο ϸαο, *shaunānu shau*, &c. *u* and *ū*.

The vowel *ṛi* seems to have had the same development as in other Prākrits; thus *gaha*, Skr. *gṛiha* (Taxila silver scroll); *kata*, Skr. *kṛita*, *upakacha*, Skr. *upakṛitya* (Zeda); *tash'a*, Skr. *tṛishṇā* (Kurram); *kiti*, Skr. *kṛiti* (Kumrahār). After *p* an old *ṛi* apparently becomes *ra* in *praḍhravi*, *paḍhravi* (Lion Cap.); *pradhavi*, *paḍhavi* (Dhp.), for Skr. *pṛithivī*. Forms such as *Krish'ayaśa* (Kanhiāra), *Kriśa* (Karnāl), *matapitrinaṁ* (Tor Ḍherai) are probably Sanskritisms. *ṛi*.

Old *e* is well preserved; thus *teṇa ime* (Taxila silver scroll). *E* also represents old *ai*, as already stated. In *ateura*, Skr. *antaḥpura* (Lion Cap.), *e* is hardly derived from an old *aḥ*. The *e* which is used in the nominative of *a*-bases in several inscriptions will be mentioned in connexion with the inflexion of nouns. The *e* of *erjhuṇa* (Takht-i-Bāhī) finds its explanation in the phonetical tendencies of the Saka language, to which the word belongs; cf. Saka *alysānai*, *e'ysānai*, 'prince'. In the locative singular of *a*-bases we sometimes find *i* for *e*; thus *aṭhami* (Uṇḍ), *ekachapariśaï* (Ārā), *masi* (Mamāne Ḍherī), *paṁchami* (Hashtnagar). Such forms are probably due to analogy, influenced by the parallel form in *-ami*. In the Dhp. there is a certain confusion between *i*, i. e. *ī*, and *e*; thus *balaṇeku*, Skr. *balānīkam* O 29; *adea*, Skr. *atīyāt* C[ro] 38; *imi*, Skr. *ime* A[4] 4; *savishu bhudeshu*, Skr. *sarveshu bhūteshu* B 39, &c. It is uncertain whether such writings represent a tendency in the dialect or are due to the influence of Sakish, where old *e* regularly becomes *ī*. *e*.

O regularly represents Skr. *o* and *au*; cf. *loo*, Skr. *lokaḥ* (Taxila gold plate); *dormanasta*, Skr. *daurmanasya* (Kurram). As in most western Prākrits the Saṁdhi form *o* has become universal in the nominative singular of masculine *a*-bases over an extensive territory of the Kharoshṭhī area. As in the Dhp., *a* is often written instead. *o*.

The *u*, i. e. probably *ū*, in names such as *Śuḍasa*, *Muki* (?), *Kamuïa* (Lion Cap.) probably finds its explanation in the rules of the Saka language, where old *o* becomes *ū*.

As in other Prākrits we find instances of the change of *aya*, *ayi* to *e*, *ava* to *o*; thus *ṭhaveti*, Skr. *sthāpayati*; *hotu*, Skr. *bhavatu*; *Budhoruma*, Skr. *Buddhavarma*, &c. *aya*, *ava*.

The rules of Saṁdhi were evidently the usual ones. Late forms such as *jinaeśa* for *jineśa*; *vanaea* for *vinaïa* (Jauliã) do not prove anything for the genuine vernacular. Saṁdhi.

With regard to consonants, we find many of the usual Prākrit features: preservation of initials, dropping of finals, and assimilation of compound stops. Thus *kuva*, Skr. *kūpa*; *khada*, Skr. *khāta*; *chadu*, Skr. *chatur*; *jadi*, Skr. *jāti*; *teṇa*, Skr. *tena*; *dhatu*, Skr. *dhātu*; *pada*, Skr. *pada*; *Budha*, Skr. *Buddha*; *aśpaiu*, Skr. *aśvayuj*; *uta*, Skr. *ukta*; *satati*, Skr. *saptati*; *saṁmupate*, Skr. *samutpāda*. In *hotu* (Taxila scroll), side by side with *bhavatu* in other records, we have the change of *bh* to *h* which is common in this base. Consonants.

It will be seen that the treatment of compound stops is the usual one, the first being merged in the second. The result is a doubled consonant, which is not further changed. This fact and the metrics of the Dhp., where syllables ending in a double consonant are

long, show that we cannot think of a state of affairs like that in Sindhī and Dardic, with a single consonant and a preceding short vowel, as has sometimes been assumed.[1]

Intervocalic stops.

With regard to intervocalic stops the state of things is less clear. Double stops remain, as already remarked, unchanged, as in other Prākrits. In the case of uncompound intervocalic stops the state of things is more complicated. We find the usual tendency towards voicing, replacing by *y*, and final disappearance. Some features, however, point to a tendency towards a fricative pronunciation of such sounds, not only in the case of labials, where it is common in all Prākrits, but also elsewhere. We cannot here expect to find a consistent system of writing outside of the literary texts. For the alphabet had no proper signs for such sounds, and, besides, the mental picture may sometimes, as in other languages, have differed from the actual sound, and there may also have been some difference in the different districts. We cannot, therefore, do more than draw attention to such features as seem to be of interest, and it will be necessary to analyse the state of affairs in some detail.

Intervocalic *k*.

With regard to intervocalic *k* we must distinguish between different cases. In the first place we have the numeral *eka*, where the *k* is always preserved, but where we have perhaps to do with the common Prākrit form *ekka*. The case is different in the compound *pratyeka*, for which the Taxila scroll has *prach*[*e**]*ga*.

Then we have those cases where an intervocalic *k* stands at the beginning of the second part of a compound and may have been treated as an initial, as is often the case in the Prākrits; cf. *puñakara* (Panjtār), *upakacha* (Zeda), *dharmakathi* (Sui Vihār), *navakamika* (Patika), &c. The Dhp. shows that this treatment is not the only one, for we find forms such as *sagarauḍa*, Skr. *saṁkārakūṭa* C[ro] 3; *uthaṇe*(*a*)*ala*, Skr. *utthānakāla* A[3] 9.

Where intervocalic *k* belongs to the base, it is usually modified; thus *prach*[*e**]*ga*, Skr. *pratyeka* (Taxila scroll); *śogra*, Skr. *śoka* (Kurram); *sakra*, Skr. *śaka* (Lion Cap.). On the other hand, we have *oke* (Jamālgaṛhī); *svakiya* (Tor Ḍherai), where it is possible to think of the influence of Sanskrit, and *Travaśakura* (Peshāwar, no. 20), which I cannot analyse.

Most instances of intervocalic *k* occur in the suffix *ka*. In the first place there is a series of foreign names and words such as *Diaka*, *Mevaki*, *Miyika* (Lion Cap.), *Patika* (Patika, Lion Cap.), *Liaka* (Patika, Zeda), *Moïka* (Panjtār), *Urasaka* (Taxila scroll), *Granavhryaka* (Māṇikiāla), *Jihoṇika* (Taxila silver vase), *Daïsika* (Sui Vihār), *Avadunaka* (Kurram); *Kusuluka* (Patika); *horaka* (Lion Cap.), *marjhaka* (Zeda). Here the *k* is usually preserved. Forms such as *Kusulua* (Lion Cap.), *Moga* (Patika), for which the Lion Cap. seems to have *Muki*, seem to show that also here there was a tendency to modify the sound.

In purely Indian words we likewise often find *-k-* preserved; thus *sabhayaka*, Skr. *sabhāryaka* (Taxila Meridarkh plate), *navakamika*, Skr. *navakarmika* (Patika), *Iśparaka*, Skr. *Īśvaraka* (Taxila ladle), *taruka* (Panjtār, uncertain), *upasika* (Sui Vihār), *karavaka*, *saṁvardhaka* (Māṇikiāla), *tanuvaka* (Kurram), *Makaḍaka* (Mount Banj), *Uḍiliaka* (Jamālgaṛhī), *nagaraka* (Jauliā). In other cases, however, *-k-* is changed to *g*; thus *-ṇayaga*, *navakarmiga*, *apanaga* (Māṇikiāla), *jalayuga*, *avashaḍriga*, *yetiga*, *mithyaga*, *mahasaṁghiga* (Wardak), *Vashiśuga* (Muchai). In the Wardak vase inscription we often find *gra* instead; thus *gaḍrigra*, *kadalayigra*, *ṇatigra*, *saṁbhatigra*, *ṇaragra*, where the *r*-stroke has a slightly different shape from *r* in old *gra*. In a similar way the Lion Cap. has *saman*[*u*]*motrakra*, Skr. *samanumodaka*, *nakrarakra*, Skr. *nagaraka*, with *kra* for old *-ka*.

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[1] Cf. Grierson, JRAS, 1913, pp. 141 ff.

In a few cases *-k-* is replaced by *y*; thus *saṁvatśaraye* (Patika, Mount Banj, Pājā), *daksho(i)ṇayae* (Taxila Meridarkh plate), *ekadaśa*[**śa*]*timaye* (Pājā), *ekaśitimaye* (Muchai), *Kartiya* (Māṇikiāla). More frequently, however, the *-k-* has apparently disappeared; thus *loo* (Taxila gold plate), *satatimae* (Patika), *mahasaghiana*, *nakraraa*, *utraena*, *Khardaa*, *Kamuia* (Lion Cap.), *saṁbatśarae tiśatimae* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *eḍuo* (Kala Sang, uncertain), *Kasua* (Panjtār, uncertain), *Bahalia*, *taṇuvaa* (Taxila scroll), *Takshaśilaa* (Taxila), *dhamaraïa* (ibidem), *navakarmia* (Kanishka casket, Hidda), *saṁbatśarae ekachapariśaï* (Ārā), *shavaa* (Jamālgaṛhī, Pālāṭū Ḍherī), *Podaa* (Jamālgaṛhī), *śatimaa* (Skārah Ḍherī), *S*[*i*]*hil*[*i*]*a*, *Ak*[*shaï*]*a* (Loriyān Tangai), &c.

Intervocalic *g*.

It is of interest to compare the treatment of intervocalic *g*. We find *g* in *nagara*, *bhagava* (Patika), *bhagava*, *parichaga*, *ṇagara* (Taxila scroll), *Nagadata* (Sui Vihār), *bhagava* (Māṇikiāla), *nagaraka* (Jauliã), *parityaga* (Tor Ḍherai); *gr* in *bhagrava* (Swāt vase, Bīmarān, Kurram, Wardak), *-maregra*, *bhagra* side by side with *bhaga* (Wardak) and *kr* in *nakrarakra*, *nakraraa*, *bhakrava* (Lion Cap.).

If we compare the state of things in the Dhp. we find *-k-* preserved in *moyaka*, Skr. *mochaka*; *shavaka*, Skr. *śrāvaka*, &c.; changed to *y* in *kshiravaya*, Skr. *kshīrapāka*, &c., and dropped in *ujua*, Skr. *ṛijuka*; *aṭhagia*, Skr. *ashṭāṅgika*, &c. For *-g-* we usually find *k*; thus *raka*, Skr. *rāga*; *uraka*, Skr. *uraga*. Occasionally *-g-* becomes *y*; thus *muyamadia*, Skr. *mṛigamātṛikā*.

Now we shall see below that old *-y-* is occasionally also represented by *k*, *gr*, and it is possible that we have to do with a strongly fricative sound, approaching that of a voiced guttural fricative. The natural inference is that intervocalic *k* had a marked tendency towards voicing, and that both *-k-* and *-g-* were further reduced to a fricative sound. And in this connexion it is worth remembering that guttural fricatives are found in modern Khowār.[1]

Intervocalic *kh*.

Intervocalic *kh* is partly preserved, as in *Veśakha* (Takht-i-Bāhī, Dewai), *sukha* (Sui Vihār), and the frequent *danamukha*; partly changed to *h*, as in *suha* (Pājā, Kanishka casket), *danamuha* (Dewai, Bīmarān). Similarly we find *suha* and *sukha* in the Dhp. It is possible that we have before us a tendency towards a fricative pronunciation of a similar kind as in modern Khowār.

Intervocalic *gh*.

With regard to intervocalic *gh* we have no inscriptional material. The Dhp. has forms such as *lahu*, Skr. *laghu*; *oha*, Skr. *ogha*.

Intervocalic palatals.

Intervocalic *cha* is sometimes preserved; thus *ekachapariśaï* (Ārā), *acharya* (Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Kurram, Wardak, Tor Ḍherai), *Khudachia* (Peshāwar, no. 20, Māṇikiāla). Elsewhere it is replaced by *y*; thus *ayaria* (Lion Cap.), *sahayara* (Muchai, Kala Sang). The initial of *cha*, 'and', shows the same inconsistency; thus *thuva cha sagharama cha* (Lion Cap.), *Chukhsasa cha*, *baṁdhavasa cha* (Patika), *tatra cha* (Panjtār), *mata cha* (Sui Vihār), *Buriteṇa cha*, *budhehi cha*, *shavaehi cha* (Māṇikiāla), *mithyagasya cha*, *parivara cha* (Wardak), but *vi ya* (Lion Cap.), *avi ya*, *jalayuga ya* (Wardak). After an old anusvāra *cha* is the rule; thus *sardha cha* (Shahdaur), *saṁgharamaṁ cha* (Patika), *imo cha* (Ārā), *aya cha* (Kurram), *yo cha* (Wardak). We may compare the state of things in the Dhp.: *tvaya*, Skr. *tvacham*; *śadeṇa cha*, *idriyeshu cha*, *diva ya radi cha*, Skr. *divā cha rātrīṁ cha*, &c.

Intervocalic *j* is quite parallel; thus frequently *raja*, *mahararaja*, with the same tatsama form as in modern vernaculars, *avaraja* (Lion Cap.), *aṁḍaja* (Wardak), where *j* stands at the beginning of the second part of a compound, but *maharaya* (Patika, Takht-i-Bāhī), *puya* (Patika, Lion Cap., Takht-i-Bāhī, Taxila scroll, and Meridarkh plate, Dharmarājikā, Kāldarra, Jamālgaṛhī, Wardak) *yuvaraya* (Lion Cap.), *vayira* (Mount

[1] Cf. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo, 1926, p. 75.

Banj). In *dhamaraïa* (Taxila scroll) the sound is not noted before *i*. In words such as *Rajula* (Lion Cap.), *Urumuja* (Panjtār), *j* may stand for *ñj* or for *z*.

The Dhp. regularly has *y* for *-j-*; thus *viraya*, Skr. *virajas*, *teyasa*, Skr. *tejasā*. And it seems probable that intervocalic *ch* and *j* had a sound which was very near to that of *y*, if it did not actually coincide with it.

Intervocalic cerebrals.

Intervocalic *chh* is properly a compound and is consequently not changed; cf. *palichhina* (Lion Cap.), *prachhi* . . (Mānsehrā).

Intervocalic *ṭ* occurs as *ḍr* in *gaḍrigra*, cf. Skr. *ghaṭikā* (Wardak), and as *ṭ* in *kuṭiṁbini* (Sui Vihār), *kuṭibiṇi* (Dharmarājikā). To judge from Dhp., where we find *ḍ* throughout, the latter is probably a Sanskritized writing. Intervocalic *ḍ* remains unchanged; thus *eḍua* (Kala Sang), *shoḍaśa* (Fatehjang). In Kurram and Wardak it is written *dṛ*, perhaps to indicate a fricative sound; thus *shaḍrayadana* (Kurram), *paḍriyaṁśae* (Wardak). Intervocalic *ḍh* occurs as *ḍhr* in *paḍhravi*, *praḍhravi* (Lion Cap.). In the word *Āshāḍha* it is always deaspirated; thus *ashaḍa* (Taxila scroll, Zeda, Uṇḍ, Skārah Ḍherī).

Intervocalic *t*.

In the Dhp. intervocalic *t* always becomes *d*,[1] with the exception of *ghadhedi*, Skr. *ghātayati* O 19; *kusidhu*, Pāli *kusīto* C^ro 17; *samidha*, Skr. *svāmitā* A² 1; *saghadhadhama*, Skr. *saṁskṛitadharma* C^ro 4, 14, where we have *dh*, and *chaüri*, Skr. *chaturaḥ* A³ 4; *avhaï*, Skr. *ābhāti* B 7; *phashaï*, Skr. *spṛiśati* A³ 10, where it has apparently disappeared.

In Kharoshṭhī inscriptions *-t-* very often remains unmodified; thus *stitiye*, *prati-*, *bhagravato* (Swāt vase), *etaye*, *kshaharatasa*, *pratiṭhaveti*, *matapitaraṁ* (Patika), *chatu* (Takht-i-Bāhī, Taxila ladle, Tor Ḍherai), *hotu*, *matapitu* (Taxila scroll), *tathagato* (Jauliā̃), *bhavatu* (Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Hidda, Wardak), *śatimae* (Skārah Ḍherī), &c. In other cases it becomes *d*; thus *chadu* (Bedadi, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Skārah Ḍherī), *madu pidu* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *hidasuhae* (Pājā), *karavide* (Panjtār), *pradi-*, *aya de* (Taxila scroll), *salohidaṇa* (Dharmarājikā), *khaṇavide* (Peshāwar, no. 20), *karavide* (Pēshāwar, no. 5), *pratiṭhavedi* (Peshāwar, no. 4), *hida* (Kanishka casket), *ṇiyatide* (Bīmarān), *edeṇa* (Māṇikiāla), *paristavida* (box lid), *shaḍrayadana*, *jadi*, *likhida* (Kurram), *edena* (Hidda), *khadao* (Shakardarra), *khade* (Zeda, Ārā), *madu* (Zeda), *kadalayigra*, *bhagravada*, *madapidara*, *bhradara* (Wardak), *Budharakshida* (Loriyān Tangai), *Podaeṇa*, *preṭhavide* (Jamālgaṛhī), *bharadu* (Skārah Ḍherī).

On the Lion Cap. we always find *tr* for *-t-*; thus *dhitra*, *matra*, *pitramahi*, *pratriṭhavitro*, *bhakravatro*, *chatru*, *niyatritro*, *ñavitrave*. Similarly we have *Śivarakshitrasa*, *bhagravatra* (Bīmarān) and apparently *pratiṭhavidra* (Swāt vase). Finally *-t-* has apparently disappeared in *preṭhavetiye* (Taxila gold plate), *preṭhavide* (Jamālgaṛhī), *niryaïde* (Mamāne Ḍherī). In all these cases it is possible to think of a kind of dissimilation.

Intervocalic *d*.

It may be of interest to compare the treatment of intervocalic *d*. It usually remains as *d*; thus *padaṇi* (Tīrath), *paṁchadaśa* (Pājā, Peshāwar, no. 20), *Khudachia* (Peshāwar, no. 20, Māṇikiāla), *sarvastivadana*, *vedana*, *uvadana*, *saṁmudae* (Kurram), *Vasudeva*, *Idradeva* (Peshāwar, no. 21), *sada* (Māṇikiāla, Wardak), *Proṭhavada* (Hashtnagar, Loriyān Tangai), *pade* (Skārah Ḍherī). In some cases, however, we find *t* instead; thus *Proṭhavata* (Fatehjang), *sarvastivatina* (Kanishka casket), *saṁmupate* (Kurram), *Theütara* (Sirkap). On the Lion Cap. we regularly find *tr*; thus *pratreśa*, *sarvastivatra*, *saman[u]motrakra*, *utraena*.

We get the impression that there was a traditional writing in accordance with the Sanskrit system, but that the actual sound of intervocalic *t* was voiced, and that *-t-* and *-d-* both tended towards a fricative sound. And in this connexion it is of interest that modern Khowār with its *r* and Kalāshā with its *l* for old *-t-* seem to presuppose a similar state of affairs.

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[1] Cf. *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 88 ff.

That intervocalic *t* was voiced might also be inferred from such cases where it becomes *ḍ* in the neighbourhood of *r*; thus *paḍi-*, *paḍri* (Māṇikiāla, Wardak). Also intervocalic *d* is apparently treated in the same way in *meriḍakha* (Taxila) side by side with *meridarkha* (Swāt). Whether the fricative sound prevailed over the whole territory and whether it was strongly pronounced we cannot say.

Intervocalic *th* is generally retained; thus *Rāthitara* (Pāṭhyār), *dharmakathi* (Sui Vihār), *yatha* (Kurram), *tathagata* (Jauliā). In the neighbourhood of *r* we find the same cerebralization as in the case of *t*; thus *paḍhame* (Panjtār), *paḍhaṁma* (Jamālgaṛhī), and perhaps *praṭhame* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *praḍhravi* and *paḍhravi* (Lion Cap.). The Dhp. has *atha* B 8, O 6, 15, *adha* B 7, 24, Cvo 21, *pradhama* O 14, *paḍhama* Cvo 5, &c. It seems probable that *th* represents the traditional writing and that the actual sound was voiced. The cerebralization was probably accompanied by a disappearance of *r* as a separate sound, so that *pradhama*, *praḍhama*, *praṭhama*, *paḍhama* are all different attempts at rendering *paḍhama*.

Intervocalic th and dh.

Of intervocalic *dh* the only example is *deyadharma* (Kanishka casket, Mamāne Ḍherī, Tor Ḍherai). In the Tor Ḍherai record the *dh* here looks like *dhy*.

Intervocalic *p* is sometimes retained; thus *kshatrapa* (Patika, Taxila silver vase, Zeda, Māṇikiāla), *devaputra* (Taxila scroll, Sui Vihār, Ārā), *Busaparo*, *Urvarapara* (Lion Cap.), *aropayata*, *upasika ṭhapaïchaṁ* (Sui Vihār), *upakachaa* (Zeda), *kupe* (Ārā), *karapaka* (Māṇikiāla), *pratistapita* (Hidda), *upajaya* (Mamāne Ḍherī), *prapa* (Tor Ḍherai). In other cases it becomes *v*; thus *Proṭhavata*, *Proṭhavada* (Fatehjang, Hashtnagar, Loriyān Tangai), *kshatrava*, *pratriṭhavitra*, *ñavitrave* (Lion Cap.), *thuva* (Lion Cap., Taxila vase), *jhava* (Māṇikiāla), *karavita*, *-da* (Kāldarra, Panjtār, Peshāwar, no. 5), *-stavita* (Taxila scroll and Meridarkh plate), *preṭhavide* (Jamālgaṛhī), *-ṭhavita* (Taxila vase), *-ṭhavedi* (Peshāwar, no. 4), *-thaveti* (Kurram, Wardak), *preṭhavetiye* (Taxila gold plate), *namaruva*, *uvadana*, *uvagrasa* (Kurram), *Kaviśia* (Māṇikiāla), *avashaḍrigraṇa* (Wardak), *kuva* (Peshāwar, no. 21, Shakardarra). In *kua* (Muchai, Mārguz, Peshāwar, no. 20, Zeda) *-p-* has apparently disappeared. In *karavhaa* (Māṇikiāla) and *Dhivhakara* (Nowshera) the *v* has become aspirated, and the same sound is perhaps intended in *Mahiphatiena* (Kurram). In *thuba* (Kurram, Hidda, Taxila Meridarkh plate, Wardak) and perhaps *tubaga* (Loriyān Tangai) *b* is written for old *-p-*.

Intervocalic p.

Intervocalic *b* occurs as *b* in *-rodhibalasa*, *atibalana* (Maira), and is perhaps changed to *v* in *savalavaḍhapitra* (Shahdaur).

Intervocalic b.

We again get the impression that the voiceless and the voiced sounds are treated in the same way, and in the Dhp. we throughout find *v*; thus *pave* B 3, *akavurusha* B 30, *avalaśa* A³ 15. We must infer that the writing *p* is traditional or, in compound words, influenced by the initial *p*, and that forms such as *thuba* owe their *b* to the fact that intervocalic *b* was pronounced as *v*, or else *thūpa* has become *thuṁpa* and further *thuṁba*.

We have not sufficient materials for judging about the treatment of intervocalic aspirated labials. We have *Utaraphaguṇe* (Zeda), *abhibhuti* (Hidda), and in the Dhp. forms such as *labho* B 21, *nabhimardadi* A³ 7; *pravhaguṇa* Cvo 3, *salavhu* B 20, *avhaï* B 7, *navishaï* O 23, *abhivuyu* B 30. From the treatment of *-p-*, *-b-* it would be natural to infer a pronunciation *vh*.

Intervocalic ph, bh.

Some of the words quoted above show signs of a weakening of the difference between aspirated and non-aspirated sounds. Cf. *gaḍigra* as against Skr. *ghaṭikā* (Wardak), *ashaḍa*, Skr. *āshāḍha* (Taxila scroll, Zeda, Skārah Ḍherī), *upajaya*, Skr. *upādhyāya* (Mamāne Ḍheri) and, on the other hand, *karavhaka* (Māṇikiāla), *Mahaphatia* (Kurram), *Dhivhakara* (Nowshera), *dha* side by side with *dra* for *drakhme* (Taxila silver plate). There are several further examples in the Dhp. They are not, however, sufficient

Deaspiration and redundant aspiration.

for judging with confidence. It is possible that they are due to the influence of the Iranian tendencies of some of the individuals who made use of the language.

N and *ṇ*. With regard to nasals the most difficult question is about the distribution between the dental and cerebral sounds. In the Aśoka inscriptions we, on the whole, find a state of things similar to that in Sanskrit. In Mānsehrā, however, we have *tini* for *trīṇi*, *aṇaṇiyaṁ* for *ānṛiṇyam*, and in Shāhbāzgaṛhī forms such as *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, and always *n* in inflexional terminations after *ṛi*, *r*, and *sh*, but, on the other hand, *prapuṇati* and, once, *devaṇa priye*.[1] It seems as if the state of things in the north-west was not any more quite the same as in Sanskrit.

In the Dhp. old *n* remains as a dental when it is an initial or doubled, while every single intervocalic *n* becomes *ṇ*.[2]

In Kharoshṭhī inscriptions the state of affairs seems to be rather complicated, and it is possible that there were local differences. We must also, *a priori*, reckon with the possibility of a certain influence exercised by Sanskrit, and also by the languages of the Middle Country, where later Śaurasenī shows that there was a tendency to cerebralize every *n*.

In distinguishing between *ṇ* and *n* I shall throughout follow Bühler's system of transliteration, which suits the state of things in the Aśoka inscriptions. It is, however, conceivable that the role of the two signs has sometimes been inverted.

Such is possibly the case in the inscription on the Swāt relic vase, perhaps the oldest of all these records, where we read *Theüdorena*, *meridarkhena*, but *śakamuṇi*, *jaṇa*. It seems probable that *ṇ* and *n*, written *n* and *ṇ*, respectively, are here distinguished as in Sanskrit. The same is perhaps also the case in the old Tīrath inscription, where *śakamuṇisa padaṇi* may stand for *śakamunisa padani*. It is, however, also possible that we have to do with a state of things as in modern Khowār, where an *r* prevents the cerebralization of intervocalic *n*.

If we leave these old records aside it is advisable to examine the various inscriptions in geographical arrangement, beginning from the east.

In Mathurā, which is situated outside of the territory where the north-western Prākrit was spoken and belongs to the Śaurasenī area, we are only concerned with the Lion Cap., because the elephant inscription does not contain any *ṇ* or *n*, while the Rāwal record is only a copy of the Shakardarra epigraph. The Capital has no *ṇ*; the dental *n* occurs both as initial (*nisima*, *nakraraa*, *Nada*) and as intervocalic, and here both corresponding to Skr. *ṇ* (*ateurena*, *parivarena*, *pagrana*) and to *n* (*sarvastivatrana*, *mahasaghiana*, *budhana*, &c.). The Capital was set up by members of the local Saka dynasty, but in connexion with Saka chiefs from Taxila and other places. The inscription may have been drafted by a Saka, and in the Saka language *ṇ* is a secondary sound. It is not, however, possible to use the forms of the Capital with confidence.

In Māṇikiāla we enter the area of the north-western Prākrit. We there find *n* as an initial in *navakarmigeṇa*, but *ṇ* in *ṇaṇa*; *ṇ* as intervocalic in *Kaṇeshkasa*, *Gushaṇa*, *daḍaṇayago*, *Veśpaśieṇa*, *Buriteṇa*, *karavhaeṇa*, *navakarmigeṇa*, *saṁveṇa*, *parivareṇa*, *eteṇa*, but *n* in *apanage*, *taena*, *Budhilena*, *Khudachiena*, *mulena*. We can apparently trace a distinct tendency to cerebralize an intervocalic *n*, and at the same time a weakening of the sense of difference between *ṇ* and *n*. The bronze casket and the silver disk only have instances of intervocalic *ṇ*: *Graṇa-*, *daṇa*, *Gomaṇa*.

In Taxila the Patika plate has *nama*, *nagare*, *navakamika*, and *utareṇa*, *śakamuṇisa*,

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[1] Cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. xcviii, lxxxv.
[2] Cf. *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 87 ff.

Rohiṇimitreṇa according to the Dhp. rule, but *Panemasa*, *mahadanapati*, *savabudhana* in accordance with Sanskrit. It is possible that an attempt was made to follow the Sanskrit rules. The form *śakamuṇisa*, however, shows that there was a tendency to cerebralize an intervocalic *n*. The volute bracket inscription has regularly *niyatito*, but *Savatrateṇa*.

The silver scroll only knows *ṇ*, both as initial and as intervocalic (thus *Iṁtavhria-putraṇa Bahalieṇa Ṇoachae ṇagare vastaveṇa*), and in the Sihila vase, the Meridarkh, the Dharmarājikā, and most Sirkap inscriptions only intervocalic *ṇ* occurs. In Jauliā̃ *n* and *ṇ* seem to be used promiscuously (*danamukho* 2, 4, 5, *daṇamukho* 7, 8, 10; *vanaea* 7).

In the Hazāra District we find only *n*, in cases where also Skr. has *n* at Shahdaur (*rajano*, *vaḍhan* . .), and throughout at Bedadi (*dana*, *acharyana*, *Kashyaviyana*). Here accordingly -*ṇ*- and -*n*- seem to have the same value.

Farther to the west we find the Dhp. rule observed at Shakardarra (*nokrame*, *droṇi-vaḍraṇa*, *daṇamukho*, *saharaṇa*). In neighbouring districts only intervocalic *n* occurs, the cerebral *ṇ* in Fatehjang (*Vadhitiraṇa*, *sahayaṇa*, *daṇamukho*), Panjtār (*Śravaṇasa*, *Gushaṇasa*, *daṇami*, *puñakareṇa*), Zeda (*Phaguṇa*, *Kaṇishkasa*, *daṇamukha*, *pujaṇe*, *daṇa*, *aṇugraheṇa*), Mārguz (-*daraṇa*), and Ārā (*kshuṇami*, *Dashavhareṇa*, *putraṇa*, *pitaraṇa*, *atmaṇasa*, *aṇugra*[*ha*]*rthae*, *sarvasa*[*pa*]*ṇa*), the only exception being in the foreign name *Kanishka* of the last-mentioned record. The distribution accordingly seems to be as in the Dhp. Yākubi has only -*n*- (*danamukhe*, *jinakumaro*), as is also the case in Uṇḍ (*kshunami*).

A similar state of things is found to the north of the Indus, where all examples are again of intervocalic *n*, which occurs as *ṇ* at Mount Banj (*daṇamukho*), Kala Sang (. . . *yaraṇa Pipalakhaaṇa*), Muchai (*sahayaraṇa Vashiśugaṇa*), Kāldarra (*putreṇa*, *Thaï-doreṇa*, *pukaraṇi*, *sapaṇa*, *śravaṇasa*), Pājā (*Śravaṇasa*, *Aṇaṁdaputreṇa*, *Saṁghamitreṇa*, *sarvasatvaṇa*), and Takht-i-Bāhī (*Boyaṇasa*, *shadhadaṇa*, *erjhuṇa*), while Loriyān Tangai (*daṇamukhe* 4901, 4860, 5059; *danamukhe* 4995) and Jamālgaṛhī (*daṇamukha*, image halo; *thuṇa*, pilaster base; *daṇamukhe*, *sa*[*tva**]*ṇa*, *dakshiṇi* . ., pedestal, but *shavaena*, *Podaena*, stone inscription) seem to use -*ṇ*- and -*n*- promiscuously.

In Hashtnagar we find *n* for Skr. *ṇ* and *ṇ* in Shahr-i-Nāpursān (*shamaṇasa*, *daṇamuhe*), -*n*- in Ghaz Ḍherī (*danamukhe*) and Pālāṭū Ḍherī (*shamanana*, *danamukhe*, *Kash*[*y*]*aviyana*), *n* and once (in *samanuyayaṇa*) *ṇ* in Mamāne Ḍherī, and -*ṇ*- at Skārah Ḍherī (*ekuṇa*, *taṇayeshu*).

From the Peshāwar District we have -*n*- and *ṇ* on the Kanishka casket (*Kanishkasa* or *Kaneshkasa*, *sarvasatvanaṁ*, *Mahasenasa*, *acharyana*, *sarvastivatina*, but apparently *ṇagrare*, *ṇavakarmia*), i. e. the state of things is the same as in the Dhp., but the role of the two signs is inverted; we find -*ṇ*- on the Shāh-jī-ki-Ḍherī brick (*Budhaseṇa*), and in the Peshāwar Museum inscriptions, nos. 20 (*Travaśakuraṇa*, *daṇaṁmukha*, *khaṇavide*), 21 (*kshuṇami*, *khaṇavide*, *Vasudeveṇa*, *Idradevaputreṇa*, *vastaveṇa*, *bramhaṇeṇa*, *daṇas*[*y*]*a*) and 1938 (*Miṇaṁdrasa*).

Still farther west we have *ṇ* both as initial and between vowels at Bīmarān (*ṇiyatide*, *daṇamuhe*, *sarvabudhaṇa*) and Wardak (*ṇaragra*, *imeṇa*, *arogadakshiṇae*, &c.), while Kurram (*namaruva*, *tanuvakaṁmi*, *acharyana*, &c.) and Hidda (*navakarmiena*, &c.) have *n* in both positions.

In the south we have the Sui Vihār inscription with its marked Sanskritization, where *ṇ* and *n* are distinguished as in Sanskrit (*Nagadata*, *Kaneshkasya*, *Damane*, &c., but *viharasvamiṇiṁ*), the Mohenjo Daro fragments (*maṇo*, i. e. probably *bramaṇo*) and Tor Ḍherai (*acharyanaṁ*, *sarvastivadinaṁ*, *pitrinaṁ*, *sarvasatvanaṁ*).

The impression left by this state of affairs is that intervocalic *ṇ* and *n* had the same sound at least over the greater part of the territory, and that the sound was probably a

cerebral. The signification of the two letters was consequently lost sight of, the traditional writing acting as a check on the development of a consistent orthography. It is probable that the Dhp. most clearly shows the actual state of things in the greater part of the Kharoshṭhī area, but it would be unjustified to correct the actual texts. I shall, therefore, stick to the transliteration used by Professor Bühler, in order to preserve the actual evidence of the records, and only occasionally add suggestions within parentheses.

Other nasals.

With regard to other nasals we may note that there is no sign for the guttural *ṅ*, which can only be expected to occur before *k* and *g* sounds. The palatal *ñ* is found both as an initial and between vowels and will be mentioned below in connexion with compound consonants.

M is used both as an initial and between vowels. In the Dhp. intervocalic *v* sometimes occurs as *m*; thus *nama*, Skr. *nāvam* B 35; *sabhamu*, Skr. *saṁbhavam* A[1] 3, O 18. Such is occasionally also the case where *-v-* is derived from *-p-*; thus *viñamaṇi*, Pāli *viññāpanim* O 23; *pramuṇi*, Pāli *pāpuṇi* A[1] 3. This is also the case with the *p* of the enclitic *punaḥ*; thus *va maṇo* B 24, cf. *no mina* in the third pillar edict of Aśoka, &c. We may perhaps draw the inference that there was a tendency to pronounce intervocalic *m* as a nasalized *v*, but no indications of such a pronunciation can be found in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

Final *m*.

A final *m* should be expected to become *ṁ*; thus *śariraṁ*, *matapitaraṁ* (Patika), *ayaṁ* (Taxila vase), &c. Very frequently, however, the anusvāra is left unmarked; thus *sarvabudhana* (Patika), *sarvasatvaṇa* (Pājā, Taxila scroll, Wardak, &c.), *prama* (Lion Cap.), &c.

Before vowels such an *m* is sometimes treated as intervocalic; thus *evam asa* (Kurram), *śarmam arthae* (Skārah Ḍherī).

The same is occasionally also the case in the Dhp.; thus *parijiṇam ida ruvu* C[vo] 3, *yam eva* C[vo] 5, *tam aho* B 3, &c. Writings such as *jiṇav iva* B 41 ff., *pushav iva* C[ro] 1, and *muhutav iva* C[ro] 21 point to the same pronunciation as in the case of *-m-*. And frequently final *am* is treated in the same way before vowels as before consonants, where it occurs as *a*, *o*, or *u*; thus *jhaṇa aprañasa* B 16, *maga alasu* A[3] 9, *kamu aṇuvichidao* B 23; cf. *lohaguḍa gili* B 34, *aho bromi* B 1, *artha dharmu ji* B 11. The last example shows that the presence of the nasal was still felt, because the *ch* of *cha* does not become *j* after vowels. It is probable that the same is the case in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, cf. *aya de*, Skr. *ayaṁ te* (Taxila scroll), *yo cha*, Skr. *yach cha* (Wardak), *imo cha*, Skr. *idaṁ cha* (Ārā), where *yo*, *imo* seem to represent *yaṁ*, *imaṁ*, respectively, with the same *o* as we have found in the Dhp. Cf. also *nisimo* (Lion Cap.).

Nasals before stops.

With regard to the treatment of compounds consisting of a nasal and a stop, our materials seem to point to a state of things of the same kind as in Sanskrit; thus *Dhivhakara* (Nowshera), if this stands for *Dīpaṁkara*; *paṁcha-* (Patika, Pājā, Peshāwar, 20, Hashtnagar), and perhaps *prachu* (Patika, Panjtār); *mahaṁtasa*, *puyayaṁto* (Patika), *ateürena* (Lion Cap.), *paryata*, *a*[*ṁ*]*tara* (Wardak); *saṁgha* (Patika, Pājā, Taxila, and Bedadi ladles, Takht-i-Bāhī, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Tor Ḍherai), *sagha* (Lion Cap., Jauliā̃, Zeda, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Sahri Bahlol, Loriyān Tangai); *muroḍa* (Zeda), *daḍa* (Mānikiāla), *a*[*ṁ*]*ḍajo*, *avashaḍrigaṇa* (Wardak), *Khaṁḍa* (Loriyān Tangai), and perhaps *Bhaḍu* (Shahdaur); *Aṇaṁda* (Pājā), *Idra* (Peshāwar, 21), *Dharmanadi* (Jauliā̃), *Balanaṁdi* (Sui Vihār); *baṁdhava* (Patika), *kadhavaro* (Lion Cap.), *dukhak'aṁdha* (Kurram); *kuṭibiṇi* (Dharmarājikā), *kuṭiṁbini* (Sui Vihār); *saṁbhatigra* (Wardak), *saṁbharae* (Hidda).

Some few instances, however, point in another direction, viz. *aya de*, Skr. *ayaṁ te* (Taxila scroll), where *t* in the enclitic *te* is treated as belonging to the accented word, and perhaps *Muṁjavaṁda*, *Muṁjaṇaṁda* (Bīmarān), if this corresponds to *Mūjavanta*; *Kamuïa* (Lion Cap.), if it represents Skr. *Kāmbojika*.

In the Dhp. the rule is to pronounce voiceless stops with voice and to nasalize voiced stops after nasals. Thus *paga*, Skr. *paṅka* A[1] 5; *saghai*, Skr. *saṁkhyāya* B 27; *paja*, Skr. *pañcha* B 37; *aṇadara*, Skr. *anantara* O 14; *sabaśu*, Skr. *sampaśyan* C^vo^ 26; *kuñaru*, Skr. *kuñjara* A[2] 4; *daṇa*, Skr. *daṇḍa* B 39; *vinadi*, Skr. *vindati* A[3] 9; *banha*, Skr. *bandha* O 29; *udumaresha*, Skr. *udumbareshu* B 40; *gamhira*, Skr. *gambhīra* B 6. In the case of *ṅg*, *ṅgh* we find a modified *g*, *gh* with a curve above or a hook below, which may signify a sound approaching *ṅ*; cf. *aṭhag'io*, Skr. *ashṭāṅgikaḥ* A[3] 4; *sagh'a*, Skr. *saṁgha* A[4] 6, with a curve above *g*, *gh*, respectively.

A similar state of things can be traced in modern north-western dialects,[1] where we have every reason for thinking of an old language of the same kind as the old north-western Prākrit, but overlaid by the vernaculars of the Middle Country, and where it is evidently old as shown by the Greek Σάγγαλα.

In such circumstances it seems probable that the Dhp. represents the actual tendencies of the dialect better than the inscriptions, where the influence of tradition has been at work. It should not be overlooked that most instances of nasal compounds occur in Buddhist terms and names and in the date portion of the records, where the influence of the east is *a priori* likely to be felt.

Anusvāra before semi-vowels and sibilants.

Before semi-vowels and sibilants the anusvāra seems to have been sounded. With *v* we find *saṁvardhaka* (Māṇikiāla), *saṁvatśara-* (Patika, Mount Banj, Pāja, Sui Vihār), and, with change of *v* to *b*, *saṁbatśarae* (Takht-i-Bāhī, Ārā, Hidda); cf. *siha ba*, Skr. *siṁham iva* Dhp. A[1] 6, &c. With *ś* we have *aṭhaviśe* (Sui Vihār), *viśami* (Shakardarra), *ekachapariśaï* (Ārā), *paḍiaśae*, *vaśa* (Māṇikiāla), but *aṭhaviṁśatihi* (Hidda), *prachaṁśae* (Hidda), *pratiyaṁśo* (Tor Ḍherai), *paḍriyaṁśae* (Wardak). In the Dhp. *ṁs* becomes *tś*, i.e. *ṁtś*, in *ahitśa*, Skr. *ahiṁsā* A[4] 8; *satśana*, Skr. *saṁsanna* A[3] 9; *satśara*, Skr. *saṁsāra* A[2] 6, &c. The same *tś* seems to occur in the Peshāwar inscription, no. 347, where I read *saṁtśare*.

Nasals after stops.

There are some few words where Skr. has a nasal preceded by a stop. *Jñ* seems to become *ñ*; thus *jaüvañae* and probably *ñatiga* (Patika), *ñati* (Taxila scroll, Dharmarājikā), *ñavitrave*, *yuvarañа* (Lion Cap.), *viñana* (Kurram), cf. *praña* Dhp. B 16. In Wardak we have *ṇatigra* for *jñātika* as in later Śaurasenī, but then there are also other indications that the Wardak inscription does not represent the local vernacular, but a more eastern language brought to the country by foreign settlers.

Tm in the word *ātman* has been preserved in Ārā (*atmaṇasa*), while it becomes *p* in Māṇikiāla (*apanage*) and *tv* in the silver scroll (*atvaṇo*) and a Dharmarājikā inscription (*atvaṇasa*); cf. *atvaṇa* Dhp. A[1] 5. On a Sirkap seal we find *ata*, and in the Tor Ḍherai inscriptions *taniya* should perhaps be restored as *ataniya*, Skr. *ātmanīya*. The *tv* in this word is already found in the Mānsehrā edicts of Aśoka. The Ārā form is a Sanskritism, and the old genuine form is evidently *atva*, which became *appa* in the east and tended to become *atta* in the west.

Y.

Y is not changed to *j* as in later literary Prākrits; thus *yuvarañа* (Lion Cap.), *ayu* (Patika), *ayaṁ* (Taxila vase), *aya* (Taxila scroll), &c. We have already seen that *-aya-*, *-ayi-* occasionally become *e*, as in other Prākrits, and also in other respects we can trace a weakening of intervocalic *y*; cf. the dative termination of *a-* and *ā*-bases (*hidasuhae*, *ṇivanae*, *puyae*, Taxila scroll), forms such as *ae* for *ayam* (Karnāl), *Apelae*, *dharmakhae* (Hidda), *Dharmapriena*, *Budhapriasa*, but *upajayasa* (Mamāne Ḍherī), *bhui* (Zeda), *Aśpaïu*, *dhamaüte*, *Uḍiliakehi* (Jamālgaṛhī). On the other hand, *prachagra*, Skr. *pratyaya*;

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[1] Cf. Bloch, JA, X, xix, 1912, pp. 331 ff.

uvagrasa, Skr. *upayāsa* (Kurram); *udakavaya*, Skr. *udayavyaya* (Dhp. B 13, C^ro 18), *dhoreka*, Skr. *dhaureya* (ibidem, C^vo 39) point to a strongly fricative sound, which may, however, have been a local feature adopted in the literary form of the language.

y-compounds.

Compounds containing a *y* are, broadly, treated as in other Prākrits.

Ky probably becomes *kk*; thus *Śakamuṇi*, *-ni* (Patika, Lion Cap., Tīrath, Jauliā̃), but Sanskritized *Śakya-* (Kurram, Wardak). *Gy* appears as *g* in *aroga* (Taxila scroll, Dharmarājikā, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Jamālgaṛhī, Wardak), and *jy* as *j* in *Jeṭha* (Ārā), *raja* (Panjtār, Zeda).

Ty regularly appears as *ch*; thus *prach[e*]ga*, *mitramacha*, *parichago* (Taxila scroll), *ṭhapaïchaṁ* (Sui Vihār), *upakachaa* (Zeda), *prachagra*, *patichasaṁmupate* (Kurram), *prachaṁśae* (Hidda), *sacha* (Yākubi). Forms such as *paḍiaśa* (Mānikiāla), *paḍriyaṁśa* (Wardak) are doublets due to the cerebralizing influence of *r*, and *pratiyaṁśo*, *parityagato* (Tor Ḍherai) are Sanskritisms.

Thy only occurs in *mithyaga* (Wardak). The Dhp. form *michha* A² 2 is, however, certainly the regular one.

Dy appears as *j* in *avija* (Kurram). If *ayasa* in the Taxila scroll represents Skr. *ādyasya*, the development has been *ādya*, *ājja*, *āja*, *āya*, as would be natural considering the connexion with *ādi*. With regard to the Pāli doublet *ādiya* cf. the treatment of *-ry-*.

Dhy is found as *j* in *upajayasa* (Mamāne Ḍherī), where we should expect *-jh-*.

Py occurs in *arupyata* (Wardak), but the Dhp. *p*, i. e. *pp*, in forms such as *lipadi* O 22, is probably more genuine.

Of nasals in connexion with *y* we have *puña*, Skr. *puṇya* (Panjtār and perhaps Takht-i-Bāhī), *raña*, Skr. *araṇya* (Kurram, Hidda, Jamālgaṛhī), and *sama*, Skr. *samyak* (Taxila scroll). Cf. from the Dhp. *puñe* B 3, *uvaśamadi* C^ro 7.

R is generally well preserved. In *palichhina* (Lion Cap.), *jalayuga* (Wardak) it has become *l* between vowels. Stray examples of this change are found in most Prākrits. In *Kharraosta* (Lion Cap.) the doubled *r* perhaps denotes a modified sound; cf. *rr* in Khotanī Saka.

r-compounds.

Also in compounds *r* shows great power of resistance, and this feature is a marked characteristic of this dialect, which distinguishes it from other Prākrits and reminds us of modern Dardic. I shall begin with such compounds where *r* is the first part.

There are no examples of *rk*; but the Dhp. has *udarka* O 5; *rkh* is found in the foreign title *meridarkha* (Swāt vase), where, however, the *r* has been transposed and has cerebralized the preceding *d* in the Taxila plate (*meriḍakha*); *rg* occurs in *s . . gapade* (Skārah Ḍherī), where we must probably read *svarga-*, and *rgh* in *dirgha* (Tor Ḍherai). Cf. from the Dhp. *mago* A³ 3 ff., *drigha* O 20.

In connexion with palatals we find *r* in the foreign loan-words *erjhuṇa* (Takht-i-Bāhī) and *marjhaka* (Zeda), where *jh* seems to denote a voiced *s*.

Rt is preserved in *Kartiya*, *horamurta* (Māṇikiāla); *rth* in *aṇugraharthae* (Ārā), *hidasuharthaṁ* (Kanishka casket), *arthae* (Skārah Ḍherī); *rd* in *Khardaa* (Lion Cap.), *chaturdiśe* (Tor Ḍherai), while it becomes *d* in *chatrudiśa* (Lion Cap.), and *chatudiśe*, *chadudiśe* (Taxila and Bedadi ladles, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Sahr-i-Bahlol). Of *rdh* we have *sardha* (Shahdaur), *vardhie* (Patika), *vardhase* (Zeda), *saṁvardhaka* (Māṇikiāla), but *sadha* (Lion Cap., Māṇikiāla), *sadaviyari* (Loriyān Tangai), *vaḍha-* (Shahdaur). The Dhp. has *nivartadi* O 16, *aṇuvatadi* C^vo 33; *artha* B 11, O 25, *atha* C^ro 7 ff., C^vo 14; *nabhimardadi* A³ 7, *abhimadadi* C^ro 35; *vardhadi* C^vo 34, *vaḍhadi* A³ 8. The *r* accordingly seems to have been weakly sounded and to have had a tendency to coalesce with *dh* to *ḍh*.

Rm is sometimes preserved; thus *dharma* (Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Hidda,

Mamāne Ḍherī, Jauliã), but *dhama* (Lion Cap., Taxila scroll, Dharmarājikā, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Jamālgaṛhī); *-karmi-* (Kanishka casket, Māṇikiāla, Hidda), but *-kami-* (Patika), *-varma* (Kurram), *śarma* (Skārah Ḍherī). Late forms such as *Bosavaruma* (Lahore, no. 255), *Budhavaruma* (Jamālgaṛhī), *Budhoruma* (Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Loriyān Tangai), *Saghoruma* (Loriyān Tangai) point to a sounded *r*. The Dhp. has both *rm* and *m*: *dharma* O 25, B 22, &c., *dhama* A¹ 5, A² 6 ff. It is difficult to judge about this state of things, but it is noticeable that the oldest inscriptions have *m*.

Ry occurs after long vowel as *ri*: *bharia* (Jamālgaṛhī), *ayaria* (Lion Cap.), but also as *ry*: *bharya* (Dharmarājikā, Ārā), *acharya* (Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Kurram, Wardak, Tor Ḍherai), and even as *y* (*bhaya-*, Taxila Meridarkh plate). After a short vowel we have *ry* in *paryata* (Wardak). Similarly in the Dhp. *ariaṇa* A³ 13, *suriu* A² 3; *virya* Cʳᵒ 17; *samaïrya* O 17, *bramhayirya* O 9; *bramhayiya* B 27, *viyava* Cʳᵒ 17, *kuya* Cʳᵒ 32, *jiyadi* Cᵛᵒ 21, &c.

Rv is usually preserved; thus *purva* (Patika, Māṇikiāla, Uṇḍ), *sarva* (Patika, Lion Cap., Pājā, Taxila scroll, Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Kurram, Hidda, Ārā, Bīmarān, Jamālgaṛhī, Wardak, Tor Ḍherai), *nirvana* (Hidda), &c. Only occasionally we find *sava* (Taxila vase and volute bracket) and *saṁva* (Māṇikiāla), *ṇivaṇa* (Taxila scroll).

The compounds *rś* and *rsh* will be dealt with below; *rh* occurs in *arahaṇa* (Taxila scroll), where it has been treated as in other Prākrits.

Also after stops *r* is usually preserved.

Kr occurs in *nokrame* (Shakardarra), *Kronina* (Lion Cap.), *Muṁjukrita*, *Miṁjukrita* (Sirkap silver plates); *gr* in *agra* (Lion Cap., Māṇikiāla, Hidda, Wardak), *-graha* (Lion Cap., Kanishka casket, Jamālgaṛhī, Zeda, Kurram, Ārā, Sahr-i-Bahlol, Wardak, Tor Ḍherai), *Vagra-* (Wardak), *grama* (Yākubi). The state of things in the Dhp. is similar; cf. *akrodhu* B 2, *gradhadi* A³ 2.

Tr is of frequent occurrence. Thus *atra* (Patika, Shakardarra, Wardak), *itra* (Dewai), *ayatra* (Sui Vihār), *etra* (Māṇikiāla), *tatra* (Panjtār), *putra* (Patika, Lion Cap., Mount Banj, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, Kāldarra, Panjtār, Taxila scroll, Sirkap vase, silver cups, and seals, Dharmarājikā, Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, Kurram, Ārā, Bīmarān, Peshāwar, no. 21, Wardak), *mitra* (Shahdaur, Pājā, Taxila scroll, Sirkap seal, Dharmarājikā, Zeda, Hidda, Wardak, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Loriyān Tangai, Jauliã), *kshatrava*, *-pa* (Patika, Sirkap vase and seal, Lion Cap., Zeda, Māṇikiāla), *-trata* (Sirkap volute, Sui Vihār), *-latra* (Sirkap seals), *Chetra* (Uṇḍ), *Travaśakura* (Peshāwar, no. 20). *Śveḍra* (Kurram) is perhaps a slip for *Śvetra*. In *tiśatimae* (Takht-i-Bāhī) and *taena* (Māṇikiāla) we can, in face of this overwhelming evidence, which is also supported by the Dhp. (*trihi*, *treviju* O 7, *ahoratra* B 7, &c.), hardly see anything else than mere slips.

Dr is found in *Idradeva* (Peshāwar, no. 21), *Iṁdraseṇa* (Dharmarājikā), *Mudrasata* (Sirkap seal), *droṇivaḍra* (Shakardarra), where the final *ḍra* perhaps also represents *dra*. Cf. *drumapatra* Dhp. B 28, *bhadraśu* A³ 15.

Pr is also quite common. Thus *prachagra* (Kurram), *prachu* (Patika, Panjtār), *pratreśra*, *prama* (Lion Cap.), *prati-*, *-di-* (Patika, Lion Cap., Taxila scroll, vase, and Meridarkh plate, Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, Kurram, Hidda, Tor Ḍherai), *praśishya* (Sui Vihār), *Proṭhavada*, *-ta* (Fatehjang, Hashtnagar, Loriyān Tangai, Shakardarra), *pria* (Mamāne Ḍherī). I have already remarked that an *r* sometimes coalesces with a following *t* and *th*; thus *paḍi-* (Māṇikiāla), *paḍri-* (Wardak), *praḍhravi*, *paḍhravi* (Lion Cap.), *paḍhama* (Panjtār) as compared with *praṭhama* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *paḍhaṁma* (Jamālgaṛhī). From the Dhp. we may compare *pridipramoju* B 13, *prañasa* B 17, *paḍi* B 18, &c.

Br is represented by *bramhaṇeṇa* (Peshāwar, no. 21), *Bramadatasa* (Sirkap seal),

bramha (Mohenjo Daro), cf. *bramhaṇo* Dhp. O 1 ff. For *bhr* we have *bhrata*, *-da* (Patika, Lion Cap., Taxila vase, Wardak, and perhaps Sirkap silver vase and Māṇikiāla), but *bhamiteshu* (Yākubi); cf. *abha* Dhp. A^2 3. *Bhr* is probably the correct writing.

l. With regard to *l* it may be noted that there are no indications of the existence of a cerebral *l*. *Lg* becomes *g* in *Utaraphaguṇe* (Zeda).

v. *V* is well preserved both as an initial and between vowels, though there are, as we have seen, instances of *m* for intervocalic *v* in the Dhp. If *Piśpasri* (Lion Cap.) has anything to do with *viśvāsa*, the change of *v* to *p* must be explained as an anticipation of the following *p* in *śp*. In the Peshāwar Museum inscription, no. 4, we seem to have *gavhra*, which perhaps stands for *bhagava*; cf. *Makavha* Dhp. A^2 1 and *Dhivhakara* (Nowshera).

v-compounds. Old *tv* is well preserved; cf. *satva* (Pājā, Taxila scroll, Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Kurram, Hidda, Wardak, Jamālgaṛhī), which is also found in the Dhp. (e.g. B 1). Only in Ārā (*ekachapariśaï*, *sa*[*pa*]*ṇa*) and Kāldarra (*sapaṇa*) we find *p* instead. The *v*-sound, however, seems to have been little pronounced in unaccented terminations. For the Dhp. has gerunds such as *pramajeti* A^2 3, *parivajeti* A^2 8, *baheti* B 27, and in *utvari* B 37 *tv* is written for *t*, cf. Pāli *uttariṁ*. A similar conclusion seems to be derivable from Dhp. writings such as *vidvara*, which apparently stands for *vidhura* (C^{vo} 18) and *udhvaradha* for *uddharadha* (A^1 5). We are therefore justified in explaining forms such as *karita*, *abhusavita*, *ayimita* (Lion Cap.), where *t* and not the modified *tr* is written so that we cannot well think of an old intervocalic *t*, as gerunds.

Sibilants. The chief peculiarity of the dialect, which distinguishes it from all other Prākrits and has its nearest parallel in the modern Dardic languages, is the preservation of the three Sanskrit sibilants *ś*, *sh*, and *s*, which are mainly distributed as in Sanskrit; thus *śarira*, *pratreśra* (Lion Cap.), *shoḍaśe* (Fatehjang), *ashaḍasa* (Taxila scroll, Zeda), *masasa* (Patika).

When Skr. *śaka* occurs as *saka* (Shahdaur, Lion Cap.), the reason is that the word is an Iranian loan-word in its indigenous form. The terminations *-isa*, *-usa* of *i*- and *u*-bases have their *s* from the *a*-bases. The *s* in *Busaparo* (Lion Cap.) is also found in Skr. *busa*, while *Bosavaruma* (Lahore pedestal) is an un-Indian name, only the last part of the compound being Indian. In *Veśpaśi* (Māṇikiāla) we have the well-known continuation of the articulation of the preceding *śp*, cf. Dhp. *viśpaśa* B 25. The apparent *h* for *s* in *mahasa* (Uṇḍ) is probably misread for *s*.

Voiced *s*. There are, on the other hand, some indications which seem to reveal a tendency towards a voiced pronunciation of intervocalic *s*. Thus we find *majh*[*e*] for Skr. *māse* (Māṇikiāla) and several other instances in the form of the dialect occurring in the Turkestan documents.[1]

Forms such as *Vajheshka* (Ārā), *erjhuṇa* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *marjhaka* (Zeda) seem to show that *jh* was used in order to render an intervocalic *z*, a sound which was foreign to most Indian languages, while *j* seems to be used for both intervocalic and initial *z* in *Kujula* (coins), *jaüvañae* (Patika), cf. Greek κοζουλο, ζαοου, and *Jihoṇika*, i.e. Zeionises (Sirkap vase). We also know of other attempts at rendering the sound, viz. *y* in *Aya*, Azes (Shahdaur and coins), *yavuga* (coins), and *s* in *Kusuluka*, *Kusulua* (Patika, Lion Cap.) as compared with the *Kujula*, κοζουλο of coins.

In addition to the form *majh*[*e*] for *māse* we also find *masye* (box lid, Hidda, Wardak),

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[1] Cf. Turner, JRAS, 1927, p. 232, where attention is drawn to a similar voicing of intervocalic *s* in some dialects of Shīnā. A similar state of things is also found in Tīrahī; cf. *spaz*, 'sister'; *azi*, 'mouth'.

and it seems probable that also *sy* was used in order to render an intervocalic *z*. The reason must then be that old *sy* in certain circumstances became *z*.

In the paper quoted above Professor Turner has tried to show that such was actually the case *inter alia* in the genitive termination *-asya*, and he has drawn attention to the fact that *-asya* is, in the Turkestan documents, frequently written *asra* or, in the transliteration of the editors, *aṣa*. The same orthograph is found in some Indian inscriptions (Wardak, once in Mamāne Ḍherī, Peshāwar, no. 1, and, alternating with *-asya*, in Tor Ḍherai). We must therefore apparently explain the *sr* in *Piśpasri* (Lion Cap.) in the same way.

In the Turkestan documents we sometimes also find the same sign *sr* as an initial, in words such as *sra*, Skr. *sa*; *sradha*, Skr. *sārdham*, *srarva*, Skr. *sarvaḥ*.[1] Similarly we find *sra* for *sa* (Wardak), *syarva* for *sarva* and *sratva* for *satva* (Tor Ḍherai). It is possible that also here the same sound is intended. In the Dhp., however, we sometimes find *sh* in similar cases; thus *sha*, where Pāli has *so* C^ro 39 (but *su* in the parallel passage A² 3), *shag'a*, *ashag'a* (B 3). It is therefore possible that the sound had a cerebral colour, but we can hardly do more, at the present state of our knowledge, than to register the facts.

The state of affairs in the Saka language of the Khotan country, which is largely influenced by the north-western Prākrit, also points to the existence of a tendency to pronounce intervocalic *s* with voice; cf. *āysana*, Skr. *āsana*; *uvāysi*, Skr. *upāsaka*. We cannot, however, decide whether this tendency was much pronounced or universal. Nor can we say whether it is due to the influence of neighbouring Iranian tongues or developed independently.

A similar voicing of intervocalic *ś* might be inferred from the regular writing *-śr-* for *-ś-* on the Lion Cap.: *iśra*, *pratreśra*, *chatrudiśra*, but *Śakamuni*, *śarira*, *Śuḍasa*.

ś-compounds.

In compounds with other letters the sibilants undergo certain changes, sometimes in accordance and sometimes at variance with other Prākrits.

Śy occurs as *ś*, i. e. probably *śś*; thus *Kaśaviya* (Taxila ladle), *Kaśavo* (Jauliã), *paśadi* (Dhp. A³ 1).

Śr becomes *sh*; thus *shamaṇa*,- *na* (box lid, Mamāne Ḍherī, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Jauliã), *shavaa* (Māṇikiāla, Jamālgaṛhī), *shadhadaṇa* (Takht-i-Bāhī). In the word *Śrāvaṇa* it is always retained (Pājā, Panjtār, Kāldarra), probably as a learned orthograph. The *śri* of the Lion Cap. is not certain. The Dhp. has *shamaṇo* B 39, *shavaka* A⁴ 4, *shutvaṇa* A³ 10; *śramaṇo* O 17, *śotria* O 5, *śeṭho* A³ 4, &c.

Also *rś* seems to become *sh*; cf. *phasha* (Kurram), *phashaï* Dhp. A³ 10, *phushamu* B 25, *saṃhashadi* B 13, but *darśaṇa* C^vo 37, *bhayadaśima* B 32.

Śv is preserved in *Śveḍravarma* (Kurram), but changed to *śp* in [*vi**]*śpasu* (Mānsehrā), *saśpa*, *Piśpasri* (Lion Cap.), *Veśpaśi* (Māṇikiāla), *Iśparaka* (Taxila ladle), *Viśpamitra* (Sirkap seal), *Aśpaïu* (Jamālgaṛhī). The Dhp. has *viśpa* B 26, &c., but *aśa* A³ 15. It seems as if the development began in the neighbourhood of *i*.

sh-compounds.

The cerebral *sh* occurs in several compounds.

Shk is found in foreign names such as *Kanishka* (Kanishka casket, Zeda, Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, Ārā), *Vajheshka* (Ārā), *Hoveshka* (Wardak). In *pukaraṇi*, *pukariṇi* (Kāldarra, Pāṭhyār, Karnāl) it becomes *k*, while the Dhp. has *pushkara* (O 22), which is evidently the genuine dialect form.

Shṭ seems to be retained in *shashṭi* (Shahdaur), where, however, the reading is uncertain. Usually it becomes *ṭh*; thus *shaṭhi* (Mānsehrā), *aṭha* (Dewai, Sui Vihār, Hidda, Uṇḍ), *yaṭhi* (Sui Vihār). In *aḍhashaṭhi* (Mānsehrā) we find the change to *ḍh*,

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[1] Cf. Turner, l. c., p. 233.

which is already found in the Aśoka inscriptions and which seems to be due to a shortening of the resultant *ṭṭh* to *ṭh*, in the same way as *ādya* seems to have become *ājja*, *āja*, *āya* in the Taxila scroll. The Dhp. has *ṭh*; thus *praviṭhasa* B 12, 14.

Shṭh also becomes *ṭh*; thus *kaniṭha* (Lion Cap.), *Proṭhavada*, *-ta* (Fatehjang, Hashtnagar, Loriyān Tangai), *Jeṭha* (Peshāwar, no. 20, Ārā), *Vaseṭha* (Jamālgaṛhī). In the base *sthā* this form is common where Skr. has *shṭh*; thus *preṭhavetiye* (Taxila gold plate), *pratiṭhavita*, *-da* (Swāt vase, Patika, Lion Cap.), *preṭhavide* (Jamālgaṛhī), *pratiṭhana* (Sui Vihār), *pradi(ti)ṭhaveti* (Kurram, Peshāwar, no. 4), *pariṭhaveti* (Wardak). Sometimes, however, the forms of the uncompound *sthā* have been preserved; thus *pratithaveti* (Patika), *pratithavito* (Taxila vase), *pratistavita* (Taxila scroll and Meridarkh plate), *pratistapita* (Hidda), *paristavida* (box lid), *pratistavayati* (Māṇikiāla). The Dhp. usually has *ṭh*; thus *śeṭho* A[3] 4, *ṭhaṇehi* O 24, *pravadaṭho*, *bhumaṭha* A[3] 16. Once, however, A[3] 6, we find . *dista* (where Pāli has *uttiṭṭhe*), which seems to represent *ātishṭha* or *ātishṭhan*.

Shth seems to occur in the foreign name *Hashthunä* (Wardak).

Shp seems to become *sh* in Dhp. *pusha* C[ro] 1, if we have not here to do with a doublet *pushya*. The name *Poshapuria* (Ārā) is probably derived from this word.

Shṇ occurs as *sh* with a curve above in *tasha* (Kurram); cf. *tasha* Dhp. B 45. In Kanhiāra we have *Krishayaśa* with a dot above the *sh*. Here the Brāhmī has *shṇ*, and it is possible that the dot is meant to mark *ṇ*. It seems, however, more probable that *shṇ* became a modified, perhaps aspirated, *sh*. I shall transliterate *sh'*.

Shy seems to become *ś* in the Dhp.; thus *manuśaṇa* B 4. The form *maṇusha* C[ro] 6 is shown by the metre to stand for *mānusha*. Forms such as *eshidi* B 35, *karishadi* A[2] 6 may be due to a change of *ya* to *i* before *shy* became *ś*. In the inscriptions we have *Kashyava* (Bedadi, Pālāṭū Ḍherī) for *Kāśyapa*, which seems to prove that *shya* was felt and pronounced as *śa*. The writing *śishya* in the Sui Vihār inscription seems to be due to the marked Sanskritization of this record.

Rsh occurs as *sh*; thus *vasha* (Muchai, Takht-i-Bāhī, Kāldarra, Skārah Ḍherī). The Dhp. has *vihashidi* A[2] 6, but *sarshava* O 22. The word *kahapana* (Shahdaur) shows a different treatment in all Prākrits. It is a technical term, which seems to have been borrowed from one source.

s-compounds.

The dental sibilant occurs in several compounds.

Sk occurs as *k* in *kadhavaro* (Lion Cap.), *kanhaṇa* Dhp. B 13. In *saṁk'ara* (Kurram, Lahore school scene), *dukhak'aṁdha* (Kurram) there is a vertical above the *ka*, which may point to a slight aspiration. And the Dhp. has *sakhacha*, i. e. probably *satskṛitya* O 4, *saghara*, i. e. *saṁghara*, Skr. *saṁskāra* A[3] 1, which point in the same direction.

Ksh is usually preserved, though we cannot say exactly how it was pronounced. It is written with a sign which is different from the palatal *chh* and is used for *ksh* in Sanskrit texts from Niya. We have *kshatrapa*, *-va* (Patika, Lion Cap., Sirkap vase, Zeda, Māṇikiāla), *kshaharata* (Patika), *Śivarakshita* (Shahdaur, Bīmarān, Taxila ladle and seal), *Budharakshita* (Jauliã, Jamālgaṛhī, Loriyān Tangai), *Saṁgharakshita* (Bedadi), *Rakshila* (Lion Cap.), *Kshema* (Patika), *Takshaśila* (Taxila scroll and ladle, Dharmarājikā), *dakshiṇa* (Taxila scroll and Meridarkh plate, Dharmarājikā, Jamālgaṛhī, Naugrām, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Wardak, Mamāne Ḍherī), *pakshe* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *kshuṇa*, *kshuna* (Zeda, box lid, Kurram, Hidda, Ārā, Uṇḍ, Mamāne Ḍherī, Peshāwar, no. 21), *bhikshu* (Sui Vihār, Jauliã). Occasionally we find the Śaurasenī *kh*; thus *khaṇasa* (Dewai), *Takhaśila* (Patika, Taxila vase), *bhikhu* (Lion Cap.), *akha* (Mathurā lion), *dharmakhae* (Hidda). The state of things in the Dhp. is similar; thus *kshaya* A[1] 3, *chakshuma* A[3] 3, *kshiravayo* B 54, *bhikshave* A[2] 5, B 53, &c., but occasionally *khaṇo* A[1] 4, *pradimukhe* B 17, *chakhuma* A[3] 4,

bhikhu B 9, 17, and even *aveha* Cᵛᵒ 31, which presupposes an uncompound *kh*. These exceptions may find their explanation in the Ardhamāgadhī original from which the text was translated, and it is perhaps probable that the *kh* of the inscriptions is due to the influence of more eastern vernaculars, which was sure to be felt in the north-west and especially in Taxila, the old seat of learning.

Also *khs* occurs, in the local name of the Taxila country, *Chukhsa* (Patika, Sirkap vase), where the modern *Chachh* points to an old compound sound.

Ts occurs as *tś* in the common *saṁvatśara*, *saṁbatśara* (Patika, Mount Banj, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, Sui Vihār, Hidda, Ārā). In the Dhp. this development has taken place where *ts* was followed by *y* (*matśa* Cxviiiᵛᵒ 6, *bhetśidi* Cᵛᵒ 3), and also, as already stated, where *t* had been inserted between a nasal and *s* (*ahitśai* A[4] 8, *satśana* A[3] 9, *satśara* A[2] 6, *bhametśu* B 34). It is not found where *t* belongs to a postposition; thus *abhusavita* (Lion Cap), *usua* (Dhp. Cᵛᵒ 27).

St seems to become *th* when initial and to be retained between vowels. Thus *thuṇa* (Jamālgaṛhī), *thuva* (Taxila vase, Lion Cap.), and, with deaspiration, apparently *tuva* (Jamālgaṛhī lamp), *thuba* (Kurram, Hidda, Wardak), and apparently *tubaga* (Loriyān Tangai), while the apparent *ṭhuva* (Mount Banj) seems to be influenced by the base *sthā*; further, *sakrastana* (Lion Cap.), *sarvastivadi*, *-da* (Lion Cap., Kanishka casket, Kurram, Tor Ḍherai), *vastava* (Taxila scroll, Peshāwar, no. 21, Yākubi), *śasta* (Mathurā elephant), *Kharraosta* (Lion Cap.), *sasta* (box lid, Hidda, Wardak). Similarly the Dhp. has *astagachhadi* O 15, *hasta* B 10, &c.

Of *sth* most examples belong to the base *sthā* and have been mentioned above. Other examples are *stitiye* (Swāt vase) and *śivathala* (Panjtār).

Of *sp* the only example is *phasha*, Skr. *sparśa* (Kurram), where it occurs as an initial. The Dhp. has *phashaï* A[3] 10, *phushamu* B 25, but *svihao* B 20.

In the Dhp. *sm* seems to become *sv* and further *s*; thus *svadi*, Skr. *smṛiti* A[2] 5, A[4] 2, Cʳᵒ 42, *pradisvado* A[2] 9, *aṇusvaro* B 22 f.; *sadaṇa* Cʳᵒ 43, *tasa*, *yasa*, Skr. *tasmāt*, *yasmāt* O 16, 17; *asvi*, *parasa*, Skr. *asmin*, *parasmin* A[3] 6, *imasa*, Skr. *imasmin* A[2] 6. In *samhashadi* B 13 we apparently have *mh* for *ṁsm*.

In Kharoshṭhī inscriptions we have only examples of the locative termination *asmi*. We find *asi* (written *isa* and *ase*) in *hasasi* (Taxila gold plate) and *khaṇasa* (Dewai); *ami* in *ima[mi]* (Patika), *rajami* (Panjtār, Zeda), *gahami* (silver scroll); *raṁñaṁmi*, *viharaṁmi*, *parigrahaṁmi*, *thubaṁmi* (Kurram); *kshuṇami*, *kshunami*, &c. (Zeda box lid, Kurram, Peshāwar, no. 21, Hidda, Ārā, Mamāne Ḍherī), *Khavadamri*, *viharamri* (Wardak), &c. The reading *aṭhaviṁśatihi* (Hidda) is suspect. If it is correct, it points to an aspiration, which is apparently also indicated in the writing *mri*. It seems to be difficult to explain the forms *asi* and *ami* as belonging to one and the same dialect and period.

Sy is common in the termination of the genitive singular. In Sui Vihār we apparently have the Sanskrit form. In other cases *sy* in such forms seems to have become *ss* and, as already remarked, apparently further *z*.

H is on the whole well preserved; cf. *hasasi*, *deha* (Taxila gold plate). In *Kharraosta* (Lion Cap.) an *-h-* seems to have been dropped. The late *sadaviyari* (Loriyān Tangai) may represent *sārdhaṁvichārin* and cannot prove any tendency to drop intervocalic *h*. *Hm* seems to become *mh*; thus *bamhaṇeṇa* (Peshāwar, no. 21). Also *bama-*, however, occurs (Sirkap seal, Mohenjo Daro ?), and the Dhp. has both *bramhaṇa* and *bramaṇa*.

Inflexion of nouns.

The materials at our disposal are not sufficient for a complete sketch of the inflexional system, and I can only draw attention to some characteristic features.

There are no traces of a dual, if we abstract from *dva* Dhp. O 13. The plural is used instead; thus *padaṇi* (Tīrath). There are some indications to show that the neuter

had a tendency to be replaced by the masculine. In the Dhp. we still have the nominative in *aṁ*; thus *niratha ba kadigaru* Cvo 14, *sahasa bi* Cro 7, where the ensuing *b* shows that the anusvāra was sounded or felt. Other forms end in *o* (*paramo suha* Cvo 24), and occasionally perhaps in *e* (*puñe, pave* B 3). In the plural we have *pavaṇi kamaṇi* Cro 26, *pavaṇa aṇuthulaṇi* O 1, and probably *astiṇi* Cvo 16.

In the inscriptions there seems to be a tendency to confound the neuter with the masculine. In Yākubi and Panjtār we can apparently distinguish between the nominative singular neuter, which ends in *e* (*daṇamukhe*, Yākubi; *karavide śivathale*, Panjtār), and the masculine in *o* (*jinakumaro rachito*, Yākubi; *prachu deśo* Panjtār). In most inscriptions, however, the form is the same in both genders; thus the frequent *danamukha* is not distinguished in form from male bases. In the plural we have *padaṇi* in Tīrath, but *pratiṭhavidra ime śarira* in the Swāt vase.

a bases. Most examples belong to the *a*-declension, which shows the usual tendency to influence the inflexion of other bases.

The nominative singular of neuter bases in the Dhp. has already been mentioned. The corresponding masculine form ends in *o*, *u*, or *a*, and the metrum shows that the termination was long; thus *akrodhu aṇuvayasa vipramutu* B 2, *kaeṇa savrudo bhikhu* B 8. In the inscriptions the state of things is as follows:

We find *o*, alone or together with *a*, in the following inscriptions: Kanhiāra (*aramo*), Patika (*Liako Kusuluko*, *putro*, *Patiko*, *prachu deśo*, *navakamika*, *kshatrapa Liaka*), Lion Cap. (*avarajo*, *Naüludo*, *Kharraosto*, *niyatritro*, *thuva*, *sagharama*), Mount Banj (*kuo*), Kala Sang (*kuo eḍuo*), Taxila silver scroll (*parichago*), gold plate (*loo*), vase (*thuvo pratithavito*), Meridarkh plate (*thubo pratistavito*), Jauliā̃ (*Kaśavo*, *tathagato*), Peshāwar, no. 1, from the Khudu Khel country (*tubo*, doubtful), Māṇikiāla (*gushaṇavaśasaṁvardhaka Lala dadaṇayago*, *horamurta*, *horamurto*), Shakardarra (*kuvo*, *khadao*), Wardak (*putra*, *Vagramaregra*, *aṁḍajo*, *jalayuga*, *parivara*, *agrabhaga*, *vihara(ṁ)*, *parigraha*, *kadalayigra*), Tor Ḍherai (*pratiyaṁśo*, *deyadharmo*), Mohenjo Daro (*-maṇo*).

To the neuter may belong *daṇamukho* (Fatehjang, Mount Bhanj, Taxila ladle, Jauliā̃, where inscription 2 seems to have both the *e* and the *o*-mātrā, Peshāwar, no. 4, from the Khudu Khel country, Māṇikiāla, Shakardarra), *daṇamuho* (Dewai), *śarira pratriṭhavitro*, *dhamadana* (Lion Cap.).

E-forms are found in a series of records: Muchai (*kue*), Pājā (*kue karite*), Peshāwar, no. 5 (*karavide*), no. 20 (*kue khaṇavide*), no. 21 (*khaṇavide*), Kanishka casket (*deyadharme*, *dasa Agiśala ṇavakarmia*), Zeda (*khade kue*), Kurram (*saṁmudae*, *pratichasaṁmupate*, *phasha*, *bhava*), Hidda (*dharmakhae*), Ārā (*khade*, *kupe*), Mamāne Ḍherī (*niryaïde ime deyadharme*). Cf. the neuter bases *daṇamukhe* (Peshāwar, no. 20, Loriyān Tangai, Jamālgaṛhī, Zeda), *danamukhe* (Dharmarājikā, Pālāṭū Ḍherī), *daṇamuhe* (Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Bīmarān), *daṇamukhe*, *-kha* (Jamālgaṛhī, Zeda), *danamukha* (Pālāṭū Ḍherī), *preṭhavide dhamaüte oke* (Jamālgaṛhī), *uta*, *viñana*, *namaruva*, *shaḍrayadana*, *uvadana* (Kurram), *śarira pratistapita* (Hidda), *ṇiyatide* (Bīmarān).

In Panjtār and Yākubi we have, as already stated, *o* in the masculine and *e* in the neuter; Mārguz has no neuter form, but a masculine in *o* (*kuo*), and only *a*-forms occur in Bedadi (*dana*) and Takht-i-Bāhī (*parivara*, *shadhadaṇa*).

It will be seen that the *o*- and *e*-forms are distributed according to locality. The *o*-area in the north extends to the Indus, including the Mahāban range beyond the river, and in the south it comprises Mohenjo Daro and Tor Ḍherai. In Panjtār, Yākubi, and probably in Mārguz we have *o* in the masculine and *e* in the neuter. The districts to the west of the Indus have, with the above exceptions, *e* throughout. Only Wardak has *o*, another indication of an eastern origin.

We can accordingly distinguish between an eastern *o*-dialect and a western *e*-dialect. The *e*-forms cannot therefore be considered as Māgadhisms, but rather as links connecting the north-western Prākrit with Iranian forms such as we find in Sakish *ä*, *i*, and comparable with the pronominal *e*-forms in modern Dardic.

The accusative singular of *a*-bases need not be further discussed after the remarks made above on the treatment of final *aṁ*; cf. *śariraṁ*, *saṁgharamaṁ* (Patika), *Khalamasa kumara*, *Maja kaniṭha*, *nisimo*, *pratreśro*, *kadhavaro*, *Busaparo* (Lion Cap.), *śarira* (Peshāwar, no. 4, Kurram, Wardak), *jhava* (Māṇikiāla), *pratiṭhanaṁ*, *parivaraṁ* (Sui Vihār), &c.

The instrumental is of frequent occurrence and ends in *-ena*, *-eṇa*; thus *utareṇa* (Patika), *Sihileṇa*, *Siharakshiteṇa* (Taxila vase), &c. Only in two inscriptions we find a shortened form in *e*, i. e. probably *ĕ*, viz. *Śuḍase kshatrave* (Lion Cap.), *Moike Urumujaputre* (Panjtār). Lüders[1] thought of a pluralis majestatis. The form *alasie* in the Dhp. (A³ 9), where the instrumental usually ends in *-eṇa*, shows, however, that we have to do with the singular.

The dative ends in *ae*, where the metre in the Dhp. shows that the *a* was long; thus *hitae* (Shahdaur), *suhae* (Pājā), *ṇivaṇae* (Taxila scroll), *saṁbharae*, *prachaṁśae* (Hidda), *hitae*, *aṇugraharthae* (Ārā), *bhagae*, *paḍriaśae* (Wardak). The Sanskritized Sui Vihār plate has *sukhaya*, and in Zeda we seem to have *upakachaa*.

The only example of an ablative is *bhavagra* (Wardak); cf. from the Dhp. *sadharma* B 22, but also forms such as *padaṇado*, *maraṇado* Cᵛᵒ 7 f., *suhadu* Cʳᵒ 39.

There are numerous examples of the genitive, which usually ends in *asa* as in the Dhp., where the metre shows that the syllable before *s* was long. A few examples will be sufficient: *Śivarakshitasa* (Shahdaur), *masasa* (Patika), *Proṭhavadasa* (Hashtnagar). In the Sanskritized Sui Vihār record we have *-asya*; thus *maharajasya*. Here we may have to do with the Sanskrit form. In Tor Ḍherai, where *asya* is used side by side with *-asra* (e. g. *Mirasya* and *Mirasra*), which is the common form in Wardak (e.g. *Vagramaregrasra*) and occurs once in Mamāne Ḍherī (*margaśirasra*), we may be faced with a change of *sy* to *z*, as already remarked. And if *daṇasa* and not *daṇasya* stands in the Sanskrit passage in Peshāwar, no. 21, this pronunciation was perhaps also prevalent in the local Sanskrit.

The usual form of the locative ends in *e*; cf. the common *saṁvatśare*, &c. In addition to this we also have the pronominal termination *asmin*, which partly appears as *asi*, *asa*, partly as *ami*, *aṁmi*, *amri*, i. e. probably *amhi*, as already stated. Forms such as *paṁchami* (Hashtnagar), *aṭhami* (Uṇḍ) have been influenced by this termination, which may also be found in *aṭhaviṁśatihi* (Hidda), if the reading is correct. *Ekachapariśaï* (Ārā) and *ma*[*si*] (Mamāne Ḍherī) perhaps are mere slips.

In the nominative plural we have *pradistavita* (Taxila scroll), *prachagra*, *saṁk'ara*, *uvagrasa* (Kurram); *padaṇi* (Tīrath), *śarira pratiṭhavidra* (Swāt vase).

Of the accusative plural we find *bhratara sarva* (Patika), *saman*[*u*]*motrakra* (Lion Cap.).

The instrumental plural ends in *ehi*; thus *sahaehi Uḍiliakehi* (Jamālgaṛhī), *budhehi*, *shavaehi* (Māṇikiāla), *sastehi* (box lid, Hidda, Wardak). The form *śarirehi* in the Bīmarān inscription is perhaps a dative.

The genitive plural usually ends in *aṇa*, *ana*; thus *budhaṇa* (Taxila scroll and vase, Bīmarān), *budhana* (Patika, Lion Cap.), &c. Only in the Kanishka casket, the Sui Vihār, and the Tor Ḍherai inscriptions we have *anaṁ*.

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[1] SBAW, 1913, p. 418².

The locative plural ends in *eshu*; thus *sachabhamitesh*[*u*] (Yākubi), *taṇayesh*[*u*] (Skārah Ḍherī).

ā-bases. Feminine *ā*-bases form their nominative in *a*; thus *karavita* (Kāldarra), *upasika*, *Balajaya* (Sui Vīhar), *vedana*, *tash'a* (Kurram), *thuṇa* (Jamālgaṛhī), *prapa* (Tor Ḍherai). Other forms are, Accusative: *prama* (Lion Cap.); Instrumental: *Abuholae* (Lion Cap.), *jaüvañae* (Patika); Dative: *puyae* (Patika, Lion Cap., &c.), *dakshiṇae*, *dakshiṇiae* (Taxila scroll, Dharmarājikā, Jamālgaṛhī, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Naugrām, Wardak, Mamāne Ḍherī); Genitive: *Śirae* (Taxila gold plate), *Śivae*, *Saphae*, *bhariae* (Jamālgaṛhī); Locative: *purvaye* (Patika), *purvae* (Māṇikiāla), *Takhaśilae* (Patika, Taxila vase), *Takshaśilae* (Taxila scroll and spoon), if these forms do not represent Skr. *Tākshaśilake*; Locative plural: [*vi**]-*śpasu* (Mānsehrā).

i-bases. Of *i*-bases we have, Nominative: *jati* (Taxila gold plate), *jadi* (Kurram), and in the Sanskrit portion of Peshāwar, no. 21, *avaptir*; Accusative: *yaṭhiṁ* (Sui Vihār); Instrumental, apparently *abhibhuti* (Hidda); Dative: *stitiye* (Swāt vase), *vardhie* (Patika); Genitive: *muṇe* (Wardak), but usually the *a*-base termination, thus *munisa*, *muṇisa* (Tīrath, Swāt vase, Patika, Lion Cap., Kurram), *Svarabudhisa* (Māṇikiāla), *Dharmabhutisa* (Jauliã, uncertain), *Mevakisa* (Lion Cap.).

ika-bases. Old *ika* or *iya*- bases have partly been confounded with the *i*-bases; cf. *Kalui* (Lion Cap.); *Veśpaśisa*, side by side with *Veśpaśiena*, *Khudachie*[*na*] (Māṇikiāla); and Locative: *Arthamisiya* (box lid, Wardak), perhaps influenced by feminine *ī*-bases.

in-bases. The case is similar with old *in*-bases; thus *Balasamisa* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *svamisa* (Peshāwar, no. 1), *Dharmanadisa* (Jauliã), *sadaviyarisa* (Loriyān Tangai), *dharmakathisya* (Sui Vihār).

ī-bases. Of feminine *ī*-bases we have Nominative: *pukariṇi* (Pāṭhyār), *pukaraṇi* (Kāldarra), *kuṭiṁbini*, *viharasvamiṇi*(*ṁ*) (Sui Vihār); Instrumental: *pitramahi Piśpasria* (Lion Cap.); Genitive: *preṭhavetiye* (Taxila gold plate).

u-bases. Of *u*-bases we find, Accusative: *dhatu* (Taxila gold plate); Genitive: *bhaḍusa* (Shahdaur), *bhikhusa* (Lion Cap.), *bhikshusa* (Jauliã), *bhikshusya* (Sui Vihār), *Aśpaïusa* (Jamālgaṛhī, where an old consonantic base has been transferred to the *u*-class); Nominative plural: *dhatuo* (Taxila scroll).

ṛi-bases. Most examples of *ṛi*-bases belong to the compound *mātāpitṛi*, which is often treated as a singular. Thus Accusative: *matapitaraṁ* (Patika); Genitive: *matapitu* (Taxila scroll, Meridarkh plate, volute), *madu pidu* (Takht-i-Bāhī), and, with transition into the *ā*-class, *matapitae* (Pājā). Plural forms are *matarapitaraṇa* (Ārā) and *matapitrinaṁ* (Tor Ḍherai), the latter a clear Sanskritism. Of other instances we have the Nominatives *dhitra*, *matra* (Lion Cap.); Instrumental: *matra*, *bhratra*, *dhitra* (Lion Cap.) *pitra* (Shahdaur); Genitive: *bhratara* (Māṇikiāla), *bhradara* (Wardak); Accusative plural: *bhratara* (Patika).

an-bases. Of *an*-bases we have Nominative: *yuvaraya* (Lion Cap.), *Śveḍravarma* (Kurram); Genitive: *rajano* (Shahdaur), *yuvarañа* (Lion Cap.), *atvaṇo* (Taxila scroll).

Other consonantic bases. An *as*-base is perhaps contained in the dative *vardhase* (Zeda). Of *nt*-bases we find Instrumental: *bhagravata* (Kurram); Genitive: *bhakravatro* (Lion Cap.), *bhagavata* (Patika), *bhagravato* (Swāt vase), *bhagavato* (Taxila scroll), *bhagravatra* (Bīmarān), *bhagravada* (Wardak), *aropayata* (Sui Vihār). In consonantal bases we can, however, trace the common tendency towards vocalic inflexion; thus *oke* (Jamālgaṛhī), *śarmam* (Skārah Ḍherī), *atvaṇasa* (Dharmarājikā), *atmaṇasa* (Ārā); *puyayaṁto* (Patika), *mahaṁtasa* (Patika), *bhagravatasa* (Kurram), *araha*[*ṁta**]*ṇa* (Taxila scroll).

In connexion with the inflexion of nouns we may note the tendency to string names and titles together into a quasi-compound, with only one case suffix at the end;

thus, *pitramahi Piśpasria, Hana dhitra, putra Śuḍase* (Lion Cap.), *mahadanapati Patikasa* (Patika), *erjhuṇa Kapasa, Mira Boyaṇasa* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *Gushaṇavaśasaṁvardhaka Lala daḍaṇayago* (Māṇikiāla), *maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkasra* (Wardak). Note also the double genitives in *Nagadatasya aropayata* (Sui Vihār), *Śirae preṭhavetiye* (Taxila gold plate).

Pronouns.

There are only a few pronominal forms in the inscriptions.

Of personal pronouns we have the genitives *mahiya* (Wardak), enclitic *me* (Panjtār, Ārā, Wardak) of the first, and *de* (Taxila scroll) of the second person.

The demonstrative bases *sa, ta* are represented by Nominative *sa* (Māṇikiāla, Wardak, Uṇḍ) and once with the modification of the initial mentioned above, *sra* (Wardak); Instrumental: *teṇa* (Taxila scroll); Genitive: *tasa* (Taxila gold plate, Patika, Māṇikiāla); Genitive plural: *tesha* (Hidda). Cf. from the base *esha* Nominative: *esha* (Wardak); Instrumental: *edeṇa, -na* (Māṇikiāla, Hidda); Locative feminine: *etaye* (Patika).

Of the nearer demonstrative we have Nominative: *ayaṁ* (Taxila vase), *aya* (Taxila scroll, Kurram), *yaṁ*, i. e. *'yaṁ* as in Sanskrit after *o* (Tor Ḍherai), *ae* (Karnāl), *ime* (Mamāne Ḍherī); Accusative: *imaṁ* (Sui Vihār), *imo* (Lion Cap., Ārā); Instrumental: *imeṇa* (Wardak); Genitive: *asa* (Kurram); Locative: *imami* (Patika). The forms *iśa* (Lion Cap., Taxila scroll, Hidda, Wardak, Uṇḍ), *iśe* (Zeda, box lid, Kurram, Peshāwar, no. 21, Ārā) are used in the same sense; Nominative plural: *ime* (Swāt vase, Taxila scroll).

Of the relative we find *ya* (Mānsehrā), *yo* (neuter, Taxila gold plate, Wardak); Genitive plural: *yesha* (Hidda).

The word *atman* is, as in other dialects, also used as a pronoun. Another word meaning 'own' is *tanuvaka*; cf. *taṇuvae* (Taxila scroll); *tanuvakaṁmi* (Kurram).

Numerals.

Only a few numerals occur: *e[ka]* (Jamālgaṛhī), *praṭhame* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *praḍhame* (Panjtār), *paḍhaṁmaṁmi* (Jamālgaṛhī), *taeṇa* (Māṇikiāla), *chatru-* (Lion Cap.), *chadu-* (Bedadi, Pālāṭū Ḍhēri), *chatu-* (Taxila ladle, Takht-i-Bāhī, Tor Ḍherai), *paṁchame, -mi* (Patika, Hashtnagar), *aṭhame, -mi* (Dewai, Uṇḍ), *daśahi* (Hidda), *ekadaśe* (Sui Vihār), *paṁchadaśe* (Pājā, Peshāwar, no. 20), *shoḍaśe* (Fatehjang), *viśami* (Shakardarra), *athaviśe* (Sui Vihār), *aṭhaviṁśatihi* (Hidda), *ekachapariśaï* (Ārā), *shashṭi*.. (Shahdaur), *aḍhashaṭhi*.. (Mānsehrā), *aṭhasatatimae* (Patika), *ekaśitimaye* (Muchai), *tiśatimae* (Takht-i-Bāhī), *ekadaśa[śa*]timae* (Pājā), *ekuṇachaduśatimae* (Skārah Ḍherī).

Conjugation.

Only a few verbal forms occur in the inscriptions. The Present, 3rd person singular, is represented by *bhavati* (Kurram), *pratithaveti* (Patika), *pratiṭhaveti* (Peshāwar, no. 4, Kurram), *pratistavayati* (Māṇikiāla), *pariṭhaveti* (Wardak). Of the middle we have the 1st person, *arthae* (Skārah Ḍherī), and the 3rd plural, *dadariṁ* (Sui Vihār).

The Optative is represented by *siati* (Taxila gold plate, Mānsehrā), and the Imperative by *hotu* (Taxila scroll), *bhavatu* (Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, Hidda, Wardak), *bharadu* (Skārah Ḍherī), and, in Sanskrit, *astu* (Peshāwar, no. 21).

A Preterite is, perhaps, *abhu* (Shahdaur).

Of Present participles we have *puyayaṁto* (Patika) and *aropayata* (Sui Vihār), and of Past participles passive *kata* (Zeda), *karavita, -da* (Panjtār, Kāldarra, Peshāwar, no. 5), *karita* (Pājā, Nowshera), *khada* (Ārā), *khadaa* (Shakardarra), *khaṇavida* (Peshāwar, nos. 20, 21), *pratiṭhavita* (Patika), *pratiṭhavidra* (Swāt vase), *pratithavita* (Taxila vase), *pradistavita* (Taxila scroll), *pratistapita* (Hidda), *pratriṭhavitra, niyatritra* (Lion Cap.), *ṇiyatida* (Bīmarān), *likhida, uta* (Kurram) *niryaïde* (Mamāne Ḍherī).

The Gerund is represented by *karita, abhusavita, ayimita* (Lion Cap.), *ṭhapaïchaṁ* (Sui Vihār), and *likhiya* (Ārā); and the Infinitive by *ñavitrave* (Lion Cap.).

CONTENTS OF KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

If we abstract from coins, seals, and seal-dies, almost every Kharoshṭhī inscription records some donation or pious act.

Objects of donations.

The digging of wells is frequently mentioned. Sometimes it is dedicated by an individual person (Pājā, Mount Banj, Peshāwar, no. 21, Zeda, Ārā), in other cases by some association (the Vashiśuga *sahayaras*, i. e. *sahacharas*, Muchai; the Pipalakhaa [*saha**]*yaras*, Kala Saṇg; some undefinable association, *sahayas* or *sahayaras*, Mārguz; the Travaśakura *sahayaras*, Peshāwar, no. 20; the Droṇivaḍra *saharas*, i. e. probably *sahayaras*, Shakardarra). To the latter class we must probably reckon the Fatehjang inscription with its mention of a donation of the Vadhitira *sahayas*.

Of a similar kind is the dedication of tanks (*pushkariṇī*) mentioned in the inscriptions from Pāṭhyār, Karnāl, and Kāldarra.

It is less clear what is meant with the 'water-giver', *toyaṁda*, mentioned in the Dewai and Zeda inscriptions, in the latter one in connexion with a well (*kue*). We should perhaps think of some appliance for drawing water from the well or some vessel for drinking. In the Tor Ḍherai records a *prapa* is spoken of as the pious gift (*deyadharma*). These inscriptions were written in ink on pots or vessels, of which now only fragments remain. *Prapa* corresponds to Skr. *prapā*, which is usually rendered as 'drinking saloon', 'a shed on the roadside containing a reservoir of water for travellers'. In the Tor Ḍherai inscriptions such a place would be exceptionally appropriate, because the Loralai district is an extremely arid land.

In one inscription, from Kanhiāra, there is the question of an *ārāma* or grove; the object of donation in the Takht-i-Bāhī record is a *parivāra*, i. e. probably an enclosure, and in the Sui Vihār inscription we hear about the raising of a staff (*yaṭhi*), the foundations of the staff, and an enclosure, while the Jāmālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359 speaks of some sort of religious building (*dhamaüte oke*).

Some religious building is apparently also meant in the Panjtār inscription, which speaks of a *śivathala*, and the dedication of a stūpa is mentioned in the Patika plate and other Taxila inscriptions (Sihila, Meridarkh), and in the Lion Capital inscriptions, together with a Saṁghārāma and adjoining ground.

Several utensils are the objects of donations: lamps (Jāmālgaṛhī), ladles (Bedadi, Taxila), jars (Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Sahr-i-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bāhī), silver vases, plates, and dishes (Taxila), volute brackets (Taxila), &c., and we occasionally get information about the value of such gifts, reckoned in staters and drachmes (Taxila).

Images and sculptures are often dedicated, especially in later records: Kumrahār, Peshāwar, nos. 21, 347, 1938, Lahore, no. 255, Jāmālgaṛhī, Yākubi, Hashtnagar, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, Ghaz Ḍherī, Pālāṭū Ḍherī, Takht-i-Bāhī, Loriyān Tangai, Nowshera, Skārah Ḍherī, Jauliā, Mamāne Ḍherī.

Buddhist relics are frequently mentioned: Swāt vase, Patika plate, Taxila gold plate and silver scroll, Lion Capital, Māṇikiāla, Box lid, Peshāwar, no. 4, Bīmarān, Kanishka casket, Kurram, Hidda, Wardak, and perhaps Uṇḍ. Also the footprints mentioned in the Tīrath inscription may be classed with relics.

Aim of donations.

We often also hear about the aim which the donor had in mind.

Of a general kind is the initial *sidhi* of the Karnāl inscription. More definite is the statement that the donation is made for the purpose of *pūjā*. This *pūjā* may be

directed towards all the Buddhas (Patika, Lion Capital, Bīmarān, Sihila vase, Silver scroll), the Pratyekabuddhas and Arhats (Silver scroll), the Dharma and Saṁgha (Lion Capital), or towards venerable persons: the parents (Patika, Taxila silver scroll, Meridarkh plate, volute bracket, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, Ārā, Wardak), a brother (Patika, Wardak), relatives and friends (Patika, Silver scroll), a teacher (Mamāne Ḍherī), some dignitary (the mahākshatrapa Kusulua Patika, the kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika, &c., Lion Capital; the erjhuṇa Kapa, Takht-i-Bāhī; the kshatrapa Liaka, Zeda). More general is the *pūjā* of the home country (*sarvasa Sakrastanasa puyae*, Lion Cap.), or of all beings (Taxila scroll, Kāldarra, Kurram, Jāmālgaṛhī, Wardak).

The donor's purpose is sometimes stated to be to ensure increase of life and strength: *kshatrapasa saputradarasa ayubalavardhie* (Patika), *sarvastivadativardhase, vardhase Saṁghamitrarajasa* (Zeda); or health: *atvaṇo arogadakshiṇae* (Silver scroll), *atvaṇasa ñatimitrasalohidaṇa arogadakshiṇae* (Dharmarājikā), *matapitu . . aghadakshoṇayae* (Taxila Meridarkh plate), *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa arogadakshiṇae* (Silver scroll), *sāmiasa arogadakshiṇi* . . (Jāmālgaṛhī), . . . *lae arogadakshiṇae* (Naugram), *Budhorumasa aroga* . . . (Shahr-i-Nāpursān), *samanuyayaṇa arogadakshinae* (Mamāne Ḍherī); or luck and happiness: *Mitravaḍhanaputrahitae* (Shahdaur), *sarvasapaṇa jatish[u hi]tae* (Ārā), *sarvasatvaṇa hidasuhae* (Pājā), *sarvasatvanaṁ hidasuharthaṁ* (Kanishka casket), *sarvatvanaṁ hitasukhaya* (Sui Vihār), cf. *bahujaṇastitiye* (Swāt vase); *dirghayu* . . (Tor Ḍherai).

More general terms are also used, thus *atmaṇasa sabharyasa saputrasa aṇugraharthae* (Ārā), *upakachaa madu* (Zeda).

On the other hand, the aim can be of a special nature, e. g. to ensure protection to children (Skārah Ḍherī), perhaps one's own children in special dangerous circumstances.

A more religious colouring has the wish for the chief lot or sharing in the chief lot: *maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkasra agrabhagrae bhavatu* (Wardak), *mithyagasra cha agrabhaga bhavatu* (ibidem), *rajasa agraprachaṁśae* (Hidda), *bhratara Svarabudhisa agrapaḍiaśae* (Māṇikiāla), *mahiya agrabhagrapaḍriyaṁśae, sarviṇa avashaḍrigaṇa agrabhagrapaḍriyaṁśae* (Wardak), *agre matapitrinaṁ pratiyaṁśo sarvasatvanaṁ agre pratiyaṁśo* (Tor Ḍherai).

In the Taxila gold plate we hear of a sacred relic deposited in a crystal *haṁsa*, a symbol of the souls of the donor's parents, in order to ensure Buddhahood for them, and in a similar way the aim is sometimes stated to be to lead on towards Nirvāṇa (*ṇivaṇae hodu aya de samaparichago*, Taxila silver scroll; *sarvasaṭvanaṁ nirvanasaṁbharae*, Hidda).

Buddhism.

There cannot be any doubt that we have throughout to do with Buddhist donors, and in several cases (Lion Capital, Takht-i-Bāhī potsherds, Taxila and Bedadi ladles, Pālāṭū Ḍherī jars, Sahr-i-Bahlol potsherds, Tor Ḍherai) the gift is offered to the Buddhist Order of the four quarters.

Nor can it be doubted that it is the Hīnayāna which is represented. The wish for Nirvāṇa does not, of course, prove that. But the names of the Buddhist schools mentioned in the inscriptions do not leave any doubt. The Sarvāstivādins are mentioned on the Lion Capital, the Kanishka casket of Peshāwar, at Zeda, Kurram, and Tor Ḍherai, and the Kāśyapīyas in records from the *Uttarārāma* in Taxila, from the *Uraśarājya* (Bedadi), and from Pālāṭū Ḍherī. The Mahāsāṁghikas had a settlement in Wardak, and they are also mentioned on the Lion Capital, but not as being in possession of the Vihāra.

About the state of things in the Buddhist monasteries we do not get much information. We learn about the existence of a *mahādānapati* (Patika), and he is evidently

also called *horamurta* (Māṇikiāla), clearly a Saka translation of *dānapati*. On the Lion Capital a *horakaparivara*, i. e. probably a 'hall' or 'chapter' of alms-lords is mentioned. A *navakarmika*, or superintendent of works and repairs, is repeatedly mentioned (Patika, Kanishka casket, Māṇikiāla, Hidda), and we sometimes (Patika, Māṇikiāla) get the impression that he himself took care to have his name entered in the record.

The Kurram inscription points to the existence of canonical writings in the north-western Prākrit of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, and it is possible that similar indications may be found in the Wardak record.

The Mamāne Ḍherī inscription enables us to date a Gandhāra sculpture in the 89th year of the Kanishka era, and the palaeography of inscriptions on other sculptures shows that they broadly belong to the same period. This fact is of importance for the history of Gandhāra art.

Charms.

It is of interest to note that the aim is sometimes indicated in a sentence which does not fit into the ordinary context, or even in a stanza or in a rhythmic sentence. In the Taxila silver scroll the donor is in the last sentence spoken of in the second person, i. e. the sentence contains a separate blessing by a different person; in the Ārā inscription some special results seem to be hoped for in consequence of the writing down of the record; in Peshāwar, no. 21, the final blessing has been added in Sanskrit; in the Skārah Ḍherī inscription the blessing is clearly metrical, and in the Taxila gold plate it is distinctly rhythmical, with rhymes.

It is perhaps possible to draw the inference from such indications that the inscriptions were more or less considered as a kind of charm. And it is hardly possible to explain the Rāwal inscription unless we assume that such was the case. That record is a clumsy copy of the Shakardarra epigraph, executed by a person who did not understand the original. His only reason for copying what he could not read was evidently his belief in the magic efficacy of the letters he tried to imitate in order to achieve some desired object.

Such charms can be conceived to act in different ways. In the case of the Tīrath inscription it is perhaps to be assumed that the footprints became footprints of the Buddha in consequence of the magic spell contained in the letters. Usually, however, the inscriptions are intended to secure blessing for the donor from the higher powers.

Such records are not, therefore, historical documents or proclamations in the ordinary sense. To quote M. Barth,[1] they are 'pious works which indeed admit of a certain amount of publicity, but a publicity intended especially for the next world'.

It thus becomes intelligible that the inscriptions are sometimes dug down in stūpas or placed in such a way that it is evident that they were never meant to be seen by mortal eyes. And we understand the care which was taken in order to have the names of the donors written and to include many of their friends and relatives, and also why the navakarmika seems to have added his name subsequently in the Patika and Māṇikiāla records. This was, as says M. Barth,[2] something more than a gratification of vanity, and a mystic efficacy was attributed to the recording of such names.

Such considerations must be kept in mind when we want to judge of the nature of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. And that is also the case when a date is added. It is not intended for historical purposes, but to assure the particular pious act recorded against being neglected by the eternal forces that regulate the mystic results: it is particularly this very deed, executed at such and such a moment, which should lead to bliss, and the date is then just as good a way of identifying as the mention of a name or of other circumstances.

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[1] *Comptes rendus*, 1907, p. 387; *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 246; *Œuvres*, v, p. 282.

[2] *Journal des Savants*, 1906, p. 548; *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvi, 1907, p. 121; *Œuvres*, v, p. 267.

VARYING SHAPES OF THE LETTERS

The period covered by the inscriptions published in this volume extends over five or six centuries, and the area within which they have been found is large. We should therefore expect to find both local and chronological differences in the shape of individual letters. Already in the inscriptions of Aśoka there is a considerable variety, bearing witness to a rather prolonged use of the alphabet.

We know from somewhat later sources that Kharoshṭhī was not only used in monumental records, but also in manuscripts and in official or semi-official correspondence.[1] We may accordingly reckon with the possibility of finding cursive and monumental forms side by side. And, as a matter of fact, cursive forms are already met with in old inscriptions, such as those on the Mathurā Lion Capital, and, on the other hand, monumental forms, of an earlier type, are sometimes to be found in late records, such as the Jauliã inscriptions.

It is hardly possible to state the existence of local varieties, the differences found within the same locality and sometimes in the same record, e. g. in Kāngrā and Taxila, in Wardak and Tor Ḍherai, being more marked than where we have to do with different parts of the Kharoshṭhī area.

With regard to the gradual development of individual letters it is not always easy to arrive at certainty. Several aksharas, such as *a*, *i*, *ga*, *gha*, *ksha*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *ra*, *va*, show little or no difference in the various records, and there are only some few where we seem to be able to trace a certain chronological evolution.

We are not here concerned with the origin and earliest history of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, all our records being posterior to the Aśoka inscriptions, where the alphabet is already fully developed. We must be content to draw attention to some features which seem to be of a later date.

In the Aśoka inscriptions a small stroke is frequently added at the foot of many letters. We find similar bottom-strokes, in varying forms, in the Pāṭhyār and Kanhiāra inscriptions and perhaps in the *śra* of Kāldarra, a short sloping stroke below the *ma* of the Bajaur seal, and a bend of the vertical of some letters in Bīmarān, but in other old inscriptions they are absent. The dot at the termination of several letters in the Taxila gold plate and some Taxila seals cannot be compared, because it is also found at the top. In later inscriptions, however, especially in such as have a cursive appearance, we find these strokes again, and we have no right to assume that they have ever gone quite out of use. In the Taxila ladle, silver cups, and silver sieve inscriptions we have something approaching an angle, similar to the bottom-stroke in Kanhiāra, and in Māṇikiāla we partly have a right angle, partly a protruding, sloping line (*ṇa*, l. 2), partly a straight bottom-stroke (*sa*, l. 12). In other late inscriptions, the Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Zeda, Kurram, Wardak, Mamāne Ḍherī, Tor Ḍherai, we have a forward bend as in Bīmarān, and it is possible that the apparent anusvāras in some aksharas in Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, and Wardak are in reality such misdrawn bends.

With regard to initial vowels only *u*, *e*, and *o* call for any remark. In the Swāt vase and apparently in I 4 on the Lion Capital *u* has the old shape, where the *u*-mātrā consists of a short line sloping forwards from the bottom. In I 1 of the Lion Capital a loop has been added to the right of this stroke. Elsewhere we find a loop or, in the Bajaur seal, a triangle attached to the left of the bottom.

[1] Cf. the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada, the birch-bark fragments found in Afghanistan and mentioned in the *Ariana Antiqua*, and the documents recovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan.

With *e* there is much greater variety. In the oldest records the *e*-mātrā is added near the head, and similar forms are found at all times. Already in the Taxila scroll, however, we also find the *e*-stroke at the bottom, and in Ārā, Wardak, and other late records this has become the rule. In two instances in the Wardak vase the letter is still more cursive, being devoid of the usual head-curve. In Bīmarān the *e*-mātrā is slightly rounded downwards, and in some of the *e*'s of the Māṇikiāla stone and the last one in Mamāne Ḍherī it has become a rounded downward angle, the result being an akshara resembling the compound *śpa*.

O is fairly constant. Only in Mount Banj and Kala Sang we find slightly different forms, the bottom of the vertical having a gentle backwards bend in the former and a sharper one in the latter record, where the *o*-stroke is almost continuous with the upper part of the vertical.

No difference is usually made between long or short vowels, initial or post-consonantic. Only in the *rā* of Pāṭhyār, the *kā* of Shakardarra, and the *sā* of the Jamālgaṛhī pedestal it is possible that length has been marked.

Post-consonantic *i* is usually indicated by means of a line crossing the head, generally on the left side of the letter. In the case of *na* and *ha*, however, the *i*-stroke crosses the upright. With *ṭa*, *ṇa*, and *da* both devices are found. The *ṭi* of Dharmarājikā has the stroke through the head, that of Sui Vihār, if my reading is right, through the vertical. With *ṇa* the *i*-mātrā crosses the head-curve or angle in the oldest records: Pāṭhyār, Swāt vase, Tirath, Patika plate; the vertical in Bīmarān and Shakardarra, and is placed just at the edge of the head in Kāldarra, Sui Vihār, Zeda, Peshāwar, no. 7, and the Jamālgaṛhī pedestal. Also in *di* we find the *i*-stroke at the edge of the head in Sui Vihār. Elsewhere it crosses the upper hook or curve or, where the letter has a more or less regular *s*-shape, the middle. In the case of *li* we occasionally, in Zeda and Kurram, find the *i*-stroke at the edge of the head instead of across the limb, and in Ārā and Naugrām it is placed just to the left of the head.

The old shape of the *u*-mātrā is still found in Pāṭhyār (*pu*, *yu*), Karnāl (*pu*), and the Swāt vase (*hu*), occasionally also later, on the Lion Capital (*nu*), apparently in the *shu* of Ārā, Yākubi, and Skārah Ḍherī, and perhaps in the *hu* of Wardak. In *mu* there is a great variety of shapes, which will be mentioned in connexion with *ma*. The common *u*-mātrā, however, is a loop or, occasionally, a triangle, with some late varieties.

The *e*-stroke usually rises from the head, on the left side in case of aksharas such as *tha* and *ye*. The *the* of the Bajaur seal is, in this respect, irregular. In *ne* and *he* the *e*-stroke protrudes from the upright, and in the *ṇe* of *pujaṇe* on the Takht-i-Bāhī stone it is a curved downwards angle, like some of the *e*'s of Māṇikiāla and Mamāne Ḍherī. In *de* we find a characteristic shape in several inscriptions, beginning with the Bīmarān vase, viz. in Sui Vihār, Zeda, Kurram, Ārā, Tor Ḍherai, Peshāwar, nos. 5 and 21, Skārah Ḍherī, where the *e*-mātrā is added at the bottom, while the akshara itself is reduced to an upright, bent to the right at the top. In the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168 this *de* has a forward slope and is devoid of the upper bend.

In the case of *o* the rule is to let the stroke protrude from the upright. The apparent *ksho* in the Taxila Meridarkh plate, with an *o*-stroke running down from the upper curve, is probably a mutilated *kshi*. Occasionally, however, the *o*-stroke has a different position. Thus it runs down from the head of *kho* in Fatehjang and Mount Banj, and usually from the upper curve of *ta*; from the horizontal of *pa* in Karnāl, Fatehjang, Shakardarra, and Loriyān Tangai. It protrudes from the foot of *da* in the Swāt vase; from the left leg of *ya* and backwards in the Taxila gold plate, in Shahdaur, and partly in Tor Ḍherai, where we, however, also find instances where it is attached to

the right leg. Where *ya* has a more or less horizontal head, as in Wardak, the *o*-stroke runs down from this horizontal. With *ra* the mātrā is attached to the horizontal in the oldest records: Patika plate and Lion Capital, and also in Mamāne Ḍherī; to the point of jointure with the vertical in the silver scroll, and to the vertical in Dharmarājikā, Sui Vihār, Zeda, Wardak, and other late records. In *sto* the stroke runs down from the horizontal.

With regard to vowels we may still note the double dot above the *ṇa* of *Hashthuṇä* on the Wardak Vase.

Among consonants some few may be considered as test letters.

Ka has a square shape, with distinct angles, in all old records, and frequently also in later inscriptions. A tendency to round the upper horizontal can be traced in the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168 and becomes fully established in the Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Kurram, and Yākubi. The side limb shows a similar development. It becomes more or less rounded and sloping in some of the *ka*s of the Lion Capital, in Kala Sang and Takht-i-Bāhī, the inscriptions just mentioned, and late records such as Shakardarra and Wardak. In Kala Sang it is raised up to the top stroke, and similar cursive forms, where the top stroke and the limb form one continuous curve, are found in the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168, the Kanishka casket, Shakardarra, Wardak, and Nowshera.

In the Kurram casket and the inscription on the Buddha's writing-board, Lahore Museum, no. 206, we have a *ka* with the vertical protruding above the head, in words where Skr. has *sk*, evidently marking a modified, probably slightly aspirated, *ka*.

Kha retains the old shape, without any bend of the head, in the oldest records: the Swāt and Taxila Meridarkh inscriptions, the Lion Capital (where the head is angular), Kala Sang, Mount Banj, Takht-i-Bāhī, Taxila ladle and Sihila vase, and occasionally in late records. On the Mathurā elephant the head is angular and the top bent back into a long horizontal. In Fatehjang and the Patika plate the head curve is rounded downwards at the top, and this broad head curve is found in the Taxila silver scroll and silver vase, in Dharmarājikā, Shahr-i-Nāpursān, the Māṇikiāla bronze and Wardak, while the bottom of the head is angular in the Peshāwar Museum inscriptions no. 20 (of saṁ 168) and 21, and Dewai. In late inscriptions, such as Jauliā̃, the Pālāṭū Ḍherī and Jamālgaṛhī pedestals and once in Zeda, the head is quite angular, the upper stroke being a vertical bent downwards in a sharp angle at the top.

The akshara which corresponds to Skr. *ksha* has the same shape throughout, if we except two Loriyān Tangai inscriptions where the vertical almost touches the right termination of the head curve.

In the oldest records, in Maira, Mānsehrā, the Patika plate and Pājā, the lower limb of *cha* is curved down below the jointure with the vertical which connects it with the head: an obtuse angle in Maira, a curve in the other records. Already in Shahdaur the downward continuation is almost absent, and in the Sihila vase we almost have the later cursive shape, where the connecting vertical is immediately continued in the lower limb; cf. the Kanishka and Kurram caskets. In the scroll the connecting vertical also runs into the right end of the head, and this shape is common in later records: Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, Ārā, Wardak, &c. In the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168, the head has become flattened, and once in Māṇikiāla and once in Wardak it is a straight line. This same form also seems to occur in Yākubi, while Skārah Ḍherī has a still more cursive form, where the damaged head is connected with the lower limb by means of a large loop.

Chha is only found in Mānsehrā and the Lion Capital. The lower cross-bar has become a downwards curve, which on the Lion Capital touches the angle of the head.

Ja usually has an angular head. A tendency to round it is noticeable in Shahdaur,

in Bīmarān, where we once, on the cover, find the limb connected with the vertical by means of a narrow loop, in the Taxila scroll, and, fully developed, in Wardak and Yākubi. The vertical is once bent backwards, from the point of jointure with the limb, in Ārā, and likewise in Jauliā̃ and Yākubi.

The oldest instance of *jha* is in Takht-i-Bāhī, where the lower horizontal of the limb protrudes to the left of the point of jointure with the short upright. In the Sirkap silver sieve and seals, in Māṇikiāla and Ārā (where the connecting horizontal cannot be seen), the limb has still an outwards curve, while in Zeda it has become a right angle.

Ña has always the vertical to the left; in the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, the vertical has a backwards curve at the top.

Ṭa is only found in two inscriptions, in Dharmarājikā, where the left bar is placed as the limb of *ja* and the right at the bottom, and in Sui Vihār, where the top is damaged and the right bar seems to be missing. The cross-shaped *ṭa* given in Bühler's plate is a *tha*.

The lower horizontal of *ṭha* is always without the vertical which rises from its termination in the Aśoka inscriptions. It is long and sloping in the Swāt vase and in Mānsehrā, but elsewhere of the same length as the top-line. The head is rounded in Mount Banj, Takht-i-Bāhī, Dewai, Kurram, and Ārā.

The cerebral nasal *ṇa* has two different forms, which occur side by side during the whole period: one with a rounded, the other with an angular head. The former can be traced from Pāṭhyār and Tīrath down to Wardak, the latter from Karnāl and the Swāt and Taxila Meridarkh inscriptions down to Wardak and Jauliā̃. Sometimes the head is almost rectangular; cf. Fatehjang, Kala Sang, sometimes in Māṇikiāla, &c.

In *ta* the leg has a forward slope and about the same length as the horizontal or curve in old records: Pāṭhyār, Swāt vase, Maira, Shahdaur, Mānsehrā, Patika, Muchai, Pājā, Kāldarra, Taxila scroll and other Taxila inscriptions, &c. Occasionally, as in Kāldarra and the Kanishka casket, the head is curved backwards. Already in the Meridarkh plate we can trace a tendency to lengthen the leg and do away with the forward slope, the result being a letter resembling *ra*. On the whole, however, the two signs are easily distinguished.

The oldest *da* shows a shallow upper curve, opening to the right, and, partly, a forwards slope of the leg; cf. the Swāt and Taxila Meridarkh inscriptions, &c. The jointure between curve and leg is more or less angular, and the bottom of the leg bent forwards, in the Patika plate, Bīmarān, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, while this bend is missing in Mount Banj, Taxila gold plate, Zeda (*di*), Māṇikiāla, &c. Frequently all edges are rounded; thus already in Tīrath, the Meridarkh inscriptions, Fatehjang and Mānsehrā, and the result is a more or less sloping *s*-shape, which we find in numerous records, from the Taxila scroll and onwards. This *s*-shape is flattened in Kāldarra, and in the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168 we find a vertical bent backwards at the top and forwards at the bottom, which we can also trace elsewhere, especially in connexion with an *i*- or *e*-mātra. Thus in the *di* of Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, Skārah Ḍherī; in the *du* of Takht-i-Bāhī and Kurram, and in the *de*, with the *e*-stroke at the bottom and usually no forward bend of the vertical, in Bīmarān, Sui Vihār, Zeda, Kurram, Peshāwar Museum, no. 21, Ārā and Skārah Ḍherī. In the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168 this *de* seems to be mutilated, having a forwards slope and being devoid of the upper bend of the upright.

In the oldest records, such as Tīrath, Shahdaur, Patika plate, and other Taxila inscriptions, *dha* has an angular shape, and the lower limb protrudes to the right. A more cursive, rounded shape is found in the Lion Capital, Bīmarān, Ārā, &c.

Na is comparatively rare. The upper curve is shallow in the Swāt vase, Shahdaur, and, sometimes, the Lion Capital, but deeper in Maira, the Patika plate and other Taxila records, Pājā, &c.

Pha only occurs in Zeda, Kurram, where it is once replaced by *pa*, and the Jamālgaṛhī halo, and *vha* only in Takht-i-Bāhī, the Taxila scroll, Māṇikiāla, Ārā, and perhaps Peshāwar Museum, no. 4, and Nowshera.

The oldest *ba*, in Tīrath and the Swāt vase, is not much different from *ra*, only showing a forward slope of the vertical. This form is traceable in records such as the Lion Capital, the Taxila and Bīmarān vases, &c. In the Patika plate, Takht-i-Bāhī and the Taxila scroll, there is a deep indenture in the curved head, which becomes a narrow angle in Sui Vihār and some Loriyān Tangai records. The *ba* of the Wardak vase is evidently misdrawn.

Bha has a distinct top-stroke protruding on both sides of the vertical in most inscriptions where it occurs, from the Swāt vase to the Kurram casket. In Bīmarān, Sui Vihār, and sometimes in Wardak we find a cursive *bha* where the right termination of the top-stroke is continuous with the vertical. Here the letter becomes similar to *ka*, which, however, in these records has a rounded head.

Ma has almost the same shape throughout, if we abstract from minor details such as the lengthening of the right bar above the line in Mānsehrā, Mount Banj, and Khalatse, the inwards bend of both bars in the Bajaur seal and Hashtnagar, and the short stroke below in the Paris cornelian. It is only in connexion with the *u*-mātrā that we find considerable variety. The oldest shape is represented by the *mu* of the Swāt, Tīrath, and Patika inscriptions, and is formed by raising the right bar and adding the *u*-bar at the left extremity. In so doing the *ma*-curve has become a sharp angle in Swāt, and the akshara slopes backwards in Tīrath, where the left bar has, besides, become considerably shortened. This shape is evidently cursive, and is found in several records. It may be described as a raised upright, sometimes sloping backwards, rounded forwards and then downwards at the bottom. We find this shape, in addition to the older one, on the Lion Capital, and further in Bīmarān, Fatehjang, Peshāwar Museum of the year 168, Taxila ladle and silver plate, and, with a backwards opening of the bottom-curve, in Zeda, Māṇikiāla, Wardak, and several pedestal inscriptions.

In Mount Banj, Dewai, Yākubi, and apparently Ghaz Ḍherī we have a *ma* with the right bar above the line and the *u*-stroke added below the termination of the left bar. This *mu* differs from *mo* only in the raising of the right bar. It is apparently this shape which is at the base of the square *mu* in Kurram, where the left bar is vertical and bent forwards at the top and the *u*-mātrā is a downwards continuation of the vertical. Similar forms are also found in Dharmarājikā, where the akshara seems to be turned round, and in Jauliã, where the downwards continuation is missing, and where we also find other peculiar forms. Also in Loriyān Tangai the shape of *mu* is very different, as will be seen from the plates.

Ya has a distinctly angular form in the oldest inscriptions, a broad angle in Pāṭhyār, Mānsehrā, Shahdaur, Patika, Kāldarra, Muchai, Mount Banj, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, Mārguz, Taxila scroll and other Taxila inscriptions, a narrow one in Karnāl, Fatehjang, and later records, such as Sui Vihār and Zeda. In the Lion Capital, Kala Sang, and partly in Takht-i-Bāhī the head is slightly rounded, and in Kanhiāra we have two almost parallel uprights connected by a top-bar. In Bīmarān, and later in Mānikiāla, the left bar consists of a line forming an upper angle with the right bar and bent or curved downwards about the middle. Similar forms are also met with in other, undated records. In the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168 this shape has developed to an akshara

resembling *śa*, and more or less *śa*-like forms are met with in the Kanishka casket, Kurram, and Wardak, and, with the left upright rising above the head, in Ārā and Loriyān Tangai.

Ra is fairly constant. In Kāldarra the top-stroke is slightly rounded backwards, and in Loriyān Tangai it is sometimes continued below the horizontal.

In *la* the limb is usually rounded, and in a cursive shape, which already begins to appear on the Lion Capital, it is raised up to the top of the vertical.

Va retains its angular head in most inscriptions and is only rounded in such records as Kurram, Ārā, Wardak, Loriyān Tangai.

The old rectangular *śa* is used throughout, occasionally with a shortening of the left leg (*paṁchadaśe* Pājā, *śri* Lion Capital, *śru* Mānsehrā, *śe* Taxila ladle, *śve* Kurram). Already in the Lion Capital we also find a cursive form, with rounded angles, and by narrowing the head the result is sometimes, in the Takht-i-Bāhī pot-sherds and some of the *śa*s of the Wardak vase, a letter resembling *ya*.

With *sha* we may note the rounding of the head-curve towards the vertical in Kurram, Yākubi, and the Pālāṭū Ḍherī jars and the occasional break in the middle of the head curve in Māṇikiāla and perhaps also in Shahdaur. In Kanhiāra there is a dot and in Kurram a curve about the head, where Skr. has *shṇ*. As the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada has *sha* in such cases, and as the curve seems to be used elsewhere as a sign of aspiration, I assume that an aspirated *sha* is meant.

The oldest form of *sa*, with a closed head, is found in the Pāṭhyār, Tīrath and Swāt inscriptions, in the first with a rounded, in the others with an angular, head. In Kanhiāra, Shahdaur, Fatehjang, Mānsehrā, Patika plate, Lion Capital, Muchai, partly in Takht-i-Bāhī, in Pājā, Mārguz, Taxila scroll and other old Taxila inscriptions, &c., we find an intermediate shape, where the leg is prolonged in a straight or bent line, without however reaching the head, and this form is occasionally also met with in late inscriptions, e.g. in Jauliã.

Already in the Lion Capital a more cursive form, without the prolongation, begins to be used and it gradually becomes the common one. There are several varying shapes of this *sa*, down to quite cursive forms, where head and leg is only one wavy line, which is sometimes met with in Wardak, Tor Ḍherai, the undated Peshāwar inscription, no. 1, &c.

Ha has an angular base in several inscriptions, beginning with the Patika plate and extending down to late records such as the Jamālgaṛhī inscriptions, side by side with a rounded *ha*, which is first met with in the Swāt vase, and later on, partly together with the angular *ha*, in several inscriptions, down to Wardak and other late records. No chronological or geographical distinction can be traced. In Shahdaur we seem to have one instance of the shape, known from the Aśoka edicts, with the upright bent back and down about the middle. In Ārā the bottom-stroke twice appears to be missing.

The anusvāra is frequently omitted. Where it is marked, it consists of a curve running backwards from the bottom of the vertical and opening to the left. Sometimes, as in Mount Banj, the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168, Khalatse, the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, and some uncertain cases, the curve immediately continues the vertical. In the *yaṁ* of the Sihila vase it is apparently replaced by a short sloping stroke.

Compound consonants are comparatively numerous, as is to be expected in a dialect like the old north-western Prākrit. The increasing influence of Sanskrit in the Kanishka period even leads to an increase in the number of such compounds.

Ya usually seems to coalesce with a preceding consonant, if we abstract from the compound *rya*, where it regularly remains. Three instances of the writing of a post-consonantic *ya* are known from the Aśoka inscriptions, viz. in *ibhyeshu* v. 23 and *samya* ix. 4, xi. 12 of the Mānsehrā version. Here the subscript sign seems to be a flattened *ya*.

It is possible that this same device is used in the Māṇikiāla bronze, where a *ya* seems to be attached to the vertical of *vha*. In all other cases the subscript *ya* is a loop attached to the bottom. Thus in *ṭhya* in Wardak, apparently in *dhya* in Tor Ḍherai, in *pya* and *lya* in Wardak, in *shya* in Sui Vihār and in *sya* in Sui Vihār, Wardak and apparently also in some Taxila inscriptions and in Tor Ḍherai. In Sui Vihār we even find this *ya*-loop attached to the bottom of an *a*. We get the impression that this device is a later development.

A subscript *ra* is indicated by a curved or straight backwards stroke attached to the foot. In Shakardarra it occasionally also protrudes in front of the vertical. In some cases, viz. in the *kra* of the Lion Capital, the *gra* of Bīmarān, Kurram, and Wardak, the *ḍra* of Kurram and Wardak, the *ḍhra* and *tra* of the Lion Capital, the *dra* of the Swāt vase, the *mri* of Wardak, the *śra* and *shra* of the Lion Capital, and the *sra* of the Lion Capital, some Taxila records, Wardak, Tor Ḍherai, &c., the *r*-stroke seems to indicate a modification of the consonant, as mentioned in the grammatical sketch. In such cases its shape sometimes differs from the usual *r*-stroke, being added in an angle, while the ordinary *r*-stroke has a rounded joint. The various shapes of *tra* in the Lion Capital and Zeda have been noted in the edition of those records.

Ante-consonantic *r* is marked by means of a downwards curve in all old records: the Swāt vase, Shahdaur, Patika plate, Lion Capital, Bīmarān, Pājā, Takht-i-Bāhī, and Kāldarra. From the Taxila silver scroll onwards, it becomes a loop attached to the bottom, the first examples being the *rva* of the scroll and the *rya* of Bedadi. In *rma* the old shape, with the curve above or crossing the right bar, which is usually raised, is found in the Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār (where the letter is misdrawn), Kurram, and Jauliā, while the later loop is attached to the *i*-stroke of *rmi* in Māṇikiāla. In Mamāne Ḍherī ante-consonantic *r* is a double curve, resembling the symbol for 20, added in front of the other consonant.

A *va* enters as the second part of a consonantal compound in *tva* in Pājā, Taxila scroll, Dharmarājikā, Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, Kurram, Wardak, &c., in *śva* in Kurram, and *sva* in Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, &c. It is everywhere denoted by a narrow rounding of the vertical backwards, continued in an upwards slope. *Tva* has formerly sometimes been rendered as *tma*, but the certain *tma* in Ārā is a regular *ta* above a *ma*.

Some few stops are used in compounds with other letters, especially with *s*-sounds. Thus we find *khsa*, with both letters easily recognizable, in the Patika plate and the Sirkap vase, and *tśa* in slightly varying shapes in the Patika plate, Mount Banj, Takht-i-Bāhī, Pājā, Sui Vihār (where it looks like *chśa*), and Ārā, perhaps also in a mutilated akshara in Shahdaur and on the Peshāwar writing-board. An *s*-sound is the first component in several compounds. Thus we have *śpa* in Mānsehrā, the Lion Capital, the Taxila ladle, and Māṇikiāla always in a shape resembling a *ka*, with a downwards bend of the top-stroke. We further find some *sha*-compounds. In Shahdaur we perhaps have *shṭa*, in Wardak apparently *shtha*. The most frequent *sha*-compound is *shka*. The vertical of *sha* is broken and continued in a *ka* in the Kanishka casket, Sui Vihār, once in Ārā, and in Wardak. In Zeda and the first *shka* of the Ārā inscription the *ka*-limb is simply attached to the vertical, wherefore the compound has sometimes been considered to be a *shpa*.

Finally we find *sta* : an akshara resembling *tha*, but with a forwards bend of the top,

in the Lion Capital, the Mathurā elephant, the Taxila silver scroll, the Kanishka casket, perhaps in Zeda, in Māṇikiāla, Kurram, the Peshāwar inscription no. 21, and Wardak. In the Swāt vase the shape is irregular, as mentioned in the edition of the record. In Tor Ḍherai and perhaps in Hidda, an upright rises from the right end of the cross-bar, as often in the Niya documents, where it is, in such cases, customary to transliterate *stha*.

In the *pta* of the Peshāwar inscription no. 21 and perhaps in the *khta* of Nowshera we have compounds consisting of two stops, a late development due to the increasing influence of Sanskrit. The curious compound which I have tentatively rendered as *vtha* in Khalatse is not clear to me.

In addition to the aksharas some few other signs are occasionally used. Some of them, such as the svastika in Pāṭhyār, Kanhiāra, and the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168, the diagram or nandipada on the silver scroll and some Taxila seals, the Buddha footprints in Tīrath, the Mathurā elephant, the curious illustrations in Shakardarra, &c., can only be mentioned in passing. More closely connected with the alphabet are certain strokes and signs which are sometimes attached or added to the letters.

In Mount Banj there is a flourish above the left extremity of the initial *ma*, and in Sui Vihār and Ārā a dash across the right bar of *ma*, which I take to mark the beginning of the record. Similarly I take the flourish at the end of the Takht-i-Bāhī record to mark the termination.

Some signs of interpunction seem to occur. Thus the short dash after the figures of the year and the sloping line with a projection after the day figures in Fatehjang; the St. Andrew's cross after the figures in Muchai; the curious *cha*-like sign after the figures in Kala Sang, the hook after the figures in Pājā, the blurred sign after the figures in the Peshāwar inscription of the year 168, and perhaps the traces of a sign visible after the date in Hashtnagar.

In the Lion Capital and in Māṇikiāla we apparently find signs corresponding to the later Kākapada and indicating that something should be inserted. Thus there are some bars, on the right side of *ksha* in B 1; below the *tra* of B 2; before the *ka* and connected with the *jo* of B 2; at the left side of *ksha* and across the head of *ḍa* in M 1 of the Capital; and one bar on each side of the *tra* of *etra* in l. 1 in Māṇikiāla, which I have considered as signs of omission.

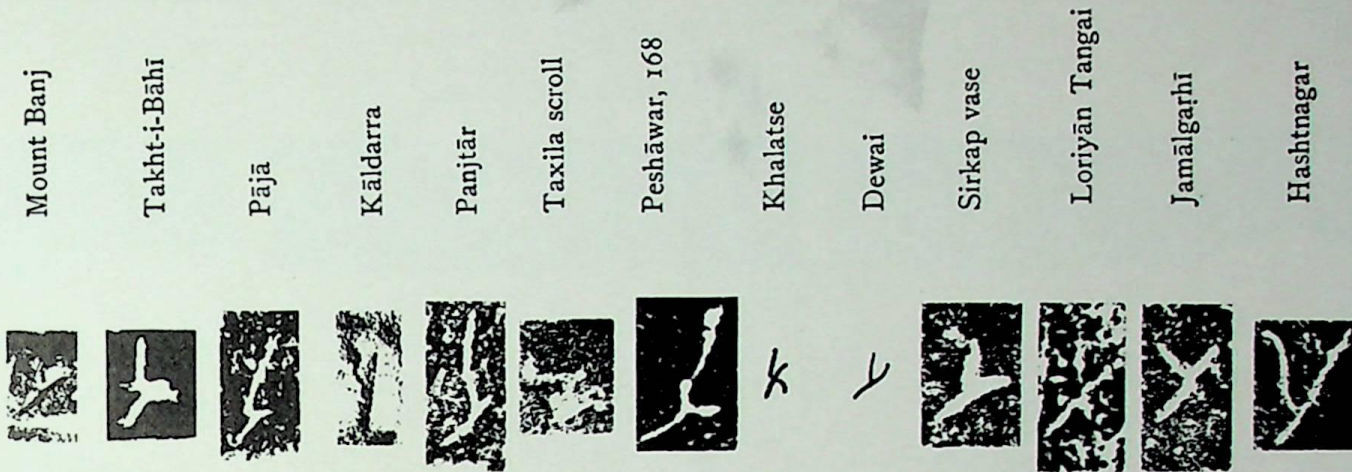
Abbreviations are sometimes found in the dates. Thus we have a curious *ka* at the beginning of the Taxila silver vase, perhaps an abbreviation for *kala*; *saṁ* in Maira, Shahdaur, Fatehjang, Panjtār, Peshāwar, no. 20, Khalatse, &c., *sa* on the Taxila scroll and in Loriyān Tangai, and perhaps *saṁva* in Kala Sang, all standing for *saṁvatśare*. Similarly we find *di* for *divase* in Takht-i-Bāhī, Panjtār, Loriyān Tangai, Sui Vihār, Zeda, Kurram, Peshāwar, no. 21, Shakardarra, Ārā, and Kāniza Ḍherī. Other abbreviations are *dra* and *dha* for drakhme, *sa* or *sya* for stater in the Taxila silver plates, and perhaps *li* for *livi* on the Peshāwar writing-board.

The numeral symbols occurring in our inscriptions are: one to three vertical strokes for 1, 2, 3, respectively; a St. Andrews' cross for 4; a sign similar to the letter *a* for 10; a double curve which Bühler thought might be a cursive combination of two 10 for 20, and a symbol of varying shape for 100.

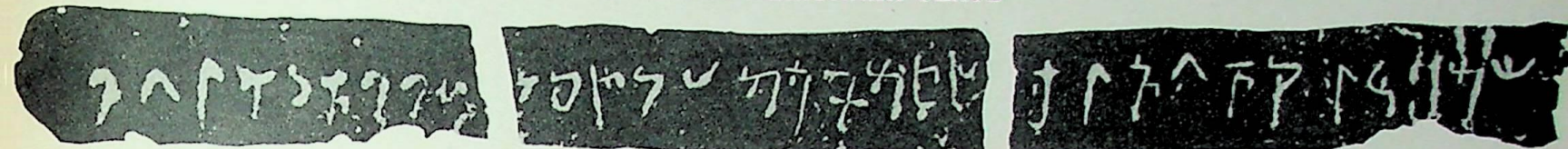
Other numbers are expressed by groups, which should be added, or, in the case of the hundreds, multiplied from right to left. Thus 6 = 1 1 4; 8 = 4 4; 9 = 1 4 4; 15 = 1 4 10; 78 = 4 4 10 20 20 20; 384 = 4 20 20 20 20 100 1 1 1.

When two or more verticals follow each other, they are usually of equal length, but in Fatehjang the last is longer and in Loriyān Tangai shorter than the rest.

The figure 20 presents some variety in the shape, the fundamental form is, however, everywhere the same. The sign for 100 has different forms:

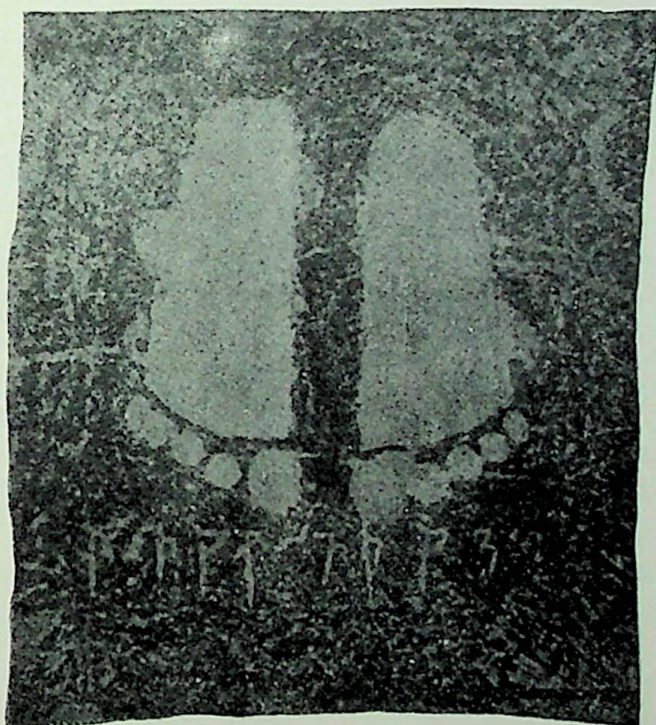
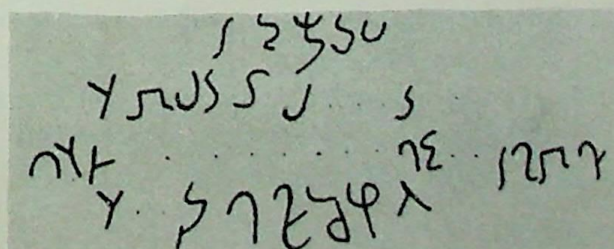
Mount Banj	Takht-i-Bāhī	Pājā	Kaldarra	Panjtār	Taxila scroll	Peshāwar, 168	Khalatse	Dewai	Sirkap vase	Loriyān Tangai	Jamālgaṛhī	Hashtnagar

1. SWĀT INSCRIPTION OF THEÜDORA

Scale 0·5

2. TAXILA MERIDARKH PLATE

Full Size

3. BAJAUR SEAL. SENART

4. PARIS CORNELIAN

5 TĪRATH INSCRIPTION. BÜHLER

6. SADDO INSCRIPTION. CUNNINGHAM

A. INSCRIPTIONS OF GREEK CHIEFS AND UNCLASSED NORTH-WESTERN RECORDS

ONLY two Kharoshṭhī records have been found which have been executed by or by the order of Greek chiefs. We are unable to tell to what extent the Greek rulers made use of Kharoshṭhī. They employed it, in addition to Greek, in coin legends, and it is possible that they went on using Greek in administration and business. We cannot tell. The only thing we know is that some of them at least made use of Kharoshṭhī and the north-western Indian vernacular for the purpose of recording pious acts and donations connected with Buddhism.

We are in possession of two such epigraphs, which we shall now proceed to discuss.

I. PLATE I. 1: SWĀT RELIC VASE INSCRIPTION OF THE MERIDARKH THEODOROS

No. L. 4 of the Lahore Museum is a Buddhist steatite relic vase, 5 in. high and 5 in. in inner diameter, which was discovered by Mr. C. G. M. Hastings in a Pathan village in the Swāt Valley, where it was employed by the local banya as a money-box.

Round the upper part of the box runs a Kharoshthī inscription, plate 1, no. 1, which has been edited by Professor F. W. Thomas[1] from an inked tracing and two rubbings supplied by Professor J. Ph. Vogel.

The letters are well engraved, but the vase has been painted black, and some of the lines have become indistinct through the paint.

The characters are, as stated by Professor Thomas, archaic, and the general ductus of the writing is stiff.

U has the same shape which we find in the Aśoka inscriptions, with a forward bend of the lower part of the vertical instead of the usual loop. *Kha* is almost identical with the *kha* of the Aśoka inscriptions and has not the backward bend, which we already find in the Patika plate. We may also note the shape of the pre-consonantic *r*, without the loop of later records. The central bar of *th* is longer than in the Patika plate, but devoid of the upward bend which we find in the Aśoka edicts. *Na* has a pointed head, and the *i*-mātrā crosses the head as in the Asoka, Patika, and Tīrath inscriptions. As in the last-mentioned record it perhaps denotes the dental *n*, but I shall write *n* for consistency's sake. *Ta* and *da* are very similar, but *da* is more curvilinear than *ta*. In the third akshara an *o*-stroke has been added at the bottom. *Bha* has about the same shape as in the Patika inscription. The head of *sa* is closed, and the akshara has the same shape as in some of the Aśoka edicts. It seems to point to an earlier date than the Tīrath inscription. The *u* of *hu* is a line and not a loop, just as in the Aśoka inscriptions.

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[1] *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 362 ff., with plate; cf. Vogel, *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, iii, no. 2, p. 151, and Majumdar, List, no. 65.

† B

On the whole there can be no doubt that our inscription is one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest of all Kharoshthī inscriptions, with the exception of those of Aśoka, and it can hardly be later than the middle of the first century B.C.

With regard to reading and interpretation I agree with Professor Thomas in most details. I think, however, that he begins his reading in the wrong place. There is a longer interval than usual before the akshara *the*, and it seems certain that this interval marks the beginning of the record.

The first word is evidently *Theüdorena*, i.e. perhaps *Theüdorena*. The *u* has, as already mentioned, the old form with a bend of the vertical instead of the loop of later records. Professor Thomas says that the akshara may conceivably be *o*, but I do not know any instance where the *o*-mātrā is not a separate line added to the vertical of *a*. Mr. Majumdar maintains that we must read *a*, but he has evidently overlooked the distinct bend of the leg.

The name *Theüdora* is Greek. Professor Thomas says that *Theudoros* is no less Greek than *Theodoros*. So far as I can see, however, *Theüdora* is a correct writing of the usual Θεόδωρος, the Greek ο having been rendered as *u*, just as the Indian *u* is written *o* in Greek in words such as κοζουλο, *kujūla*, Βοδδο, *Buddha*, &c.

The next word is, as seen by Professor Thomas, evidently *meridarkhena*, i.e. perhaps *meridarkheṇa*. All the letters are absolutely certain. Nor can there be any doubt about Professor Thomas's explanation of the word *meridarkha*: it is the Greek title μεριδάρχης, which belongs to the Hellenistic and Roman period.

Professor Thomas says: 'The lexicons of Hesychius and Photius gloss it (or rather the form μεριδαρχίας) as μεριτίας. It is known to occur, along with the abstract μεριδαρχία, in Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* xii. 5. 5 and xv. 7. 3), where it is applied to Apollonius and Soemus; and in the first of Maccabees, x. 65, the same title is bestowed by Ptolemy Philometor upon Alexander Balas. μερίς in the sense of "arrondissement" is also found in various inscriptions belonging to the Seleucid age and sphere: see Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeciae Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig, 1903–5), index. The compound μεριδάρχης occurs also in the various papyri procured from Egypt. . . We may add that it does not seem certain that in Egypt μεριδάρχης was part of the normal official terminology.'

'From the tenor of the present inscription it is clear that Theudoros was officially a μεριδάρχης, or "District Officer", and that his district included the site of the deposit which is commemorated. He was, therefore, most probably in charge of a part of the Kabul territory (the Paropamisadae), or of Arachosia or Gandhara. As regards his date, nothing precludes the supposition suggested by the age of the writing, that he belonged to the period of Greek rulers preceding the Parthians and even the early Śakas.... That a different person from the donor of the casket is indicated by "Thaïdora, son of Datia" (of the Kāldarra inscription) is abundantly evident from the forms of the aksharas which he employs and from the year (113) in which he dates.'

These statements are no doubt unobjectionable. We cannot, however, say whence the vase originates. It is just possible that it has been originally found in Swāt, which may, for anything we know, have been dependent on the Greek rulers in Taxila.

The next word is *pratiṭhavidra*, with a comparatively large interval between *pra* and *ti*. The *r*-stroke under *da* is added in a sharp angle, and Professor Thomas refers us to Bühler, who mentions [1] two cases in the Aśoka inscriptions where *di* shows 'a curve to the right of the foot, which is probably nothing but an attempt to clearly distinguish *da* from *na*'. Professor Thomas adopts this suggestion and reads *pratiṭhavida*. It seems to me, however, that this bottom-line must be compared with the apparent *r*-mātrā, which occurs in con-

[1] *Indische Palaeographie*, para. 11, 8.

nexion with intervocalic *t* on the Lion Capital, with intervocalic *k* in the same epigraph, and with *g* in several inscriptions, &c. I have discussed such writings in the chapter about grammar and suggested that it is meant to indicate a fricative pronunciation. It seems to me that such is probably also the case here, and, if we bear in mind the change of intervocalic *t* to *r* in modern Khowar, we become inclined to think that our vase actually originates from the Swāt country, and that there was, in the local dialect, a tendency to fricative pronunciation. It cannot be objected that *-t-* is preserved elsewhere in the inscription, even in *prati* in the same word. The occasional writing *padi* for *prati*, which has been mentioned in the grammatical introduction, shows that here there was a tendency towards cerebralization, and words such as *bhagravato*, *stitiye* belong to the more formal part of the record, where traditional writing was bound to exercise a certain influence. The whole state of things seems to me to point to a voiced pronunciation of *-t-* with a tendency towards a fricative sound. I therefore read *pratithavid*(*r*)*a*, indicating the sound-modifying function of *r* through the parenthesis.

The next word is *ime*, which Dr. Thomas takes to be the neuter singular, corresponding to Māgadhī *imaṁ*, Skr. *idam*. The form can also be the masculine nominative plural, as in the Taxila silver scroll. The decision depends on the reading of the ensuing word. Dr. Thomas read *śarire*, stating that the *e* of *re* is clearly visible on one of the rubbings. His plate shows a faint *e*-stroke above *ra*, but a similar stroke is also seen in front of the letter. In my materials, an excellent photograph and three rubbings, there is no trace of it, and, I therefore read *śarira*. This can correspond to Skr. *śarīrāḥ*, and then *ime* would be the plural form. It should be borne in mind that we find neuter plural forms in *-a* already in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā versions of the Aśoka edicts,[1] while on the other hand the neuter forms in *-āni* are widely used in the masculine accusative plural.[2] Lüders has found [3] that the nominative plural of *a*-bases in Old Ardhamāgadhī ended in *-ā*, the accusative in *-āni* and that this state of things is also found in Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī. The neuter forms in *-a* mentioned above bear witness to a beginning fusion of the masculine and neuter, which has resulted in the disappearance of the neuter gender in many of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. As stated in the grammatical introduction, the only other neuter plural of *a*-bases which is found in Kharoshthī inscriptions is *padaṇi*, in the Tīrath epigraph. In the Dhammapada manuscript we have several forms in *-aṇi*, but they are all accusatives, and the isolated *padani* does not prove that the regular nominative was formed in *āni*. I therefore read *ime śarira* and take this to be the common masculine-neuter form of the nominative plural.

Then follows *śakamuṇisa* (i.e. perhaps *śakamunisa*) *bhagravato*. The *r*-stroke of *gra*, which Professor Thomas does not transliterate, evidently indicates a fricative pronunciation of intervocalic *g*.

The last word of the inscription was read *bahujatishṭitiye* by Professor Thomas. The fourth letter is, however, certainly *ṇa*, i.e. perhaps *na* and not *ti*. Professor Thomas was misled by the fact that the vertical of *ṇa* had been filled up through the painting of the vase. The fifth akshara is not an ordinary *sti*. The head consists of a curve and not of a straight line. The bottom of the vertical is bent backwards, and the *i*-stroke crosses the vertical, parallel to the top-stroke. It seems as if the engraver had originally misread his draft and read *hi*, but subsequently tried to make *sti* out of it. The ensuing aksharas are certainly *tiye*, and we must therefore read *stitiye*, though *hitaye* would be more in accordance with the usual formulas.

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[1] Cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. xc.

[2] Cf. Lüders, SBAW, 1913, p. 992.

[3] l. c., p. 994.

The whole inscription accordingly runs :

TEXT

Theüdorena meridarkhena pratithavid(r)a ime śarira śakamunisa bhag(r)avato bahujanastitiye.

TRANSLATION

By Theodoros, the meridarkh, were established these relics of the Lord Śākyamuni, for the purpose of security of many people.

II. PLATE I. 2: TAXILA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF A MERIDARKH

To the west of the Dharmarājikā stūpa in ancient Taxila is the village of Shāhpur, which is surrounded by remains of eight small stūpas, numbered 9–16 by Cunningham.[1] They have all been opened long ago by the villagers, and, according to Cunningham, no. 17, to the west of Shāhpur, yielded 'a copper plate inscription, in three or four pieces, which was given to Major Pearse eight years ago, or about A.D. 1855'.

The first fragment of the plate, containing the beginning, has subsequently disappeared, while the remaining three pieces have found their way to the Calcutta Museum.

The first notice of the inscription was given by Rajendralala Mitra,[2] who stated that the plate was found by Major Pearse himself and that Mr. E. Thomas thought that he could read the words *śayanachandra*, *viveka* and *viphala*. Then follows the note by Cunningham, in whose plate the inscription is reproduced as originating 'from Stupa in Jhaoli,' wherefore it has become known as the Jhaoli copper plate. Jhaoli is apparently the village called Jaoli in Cunningham's Report,[3] and described as 'situated in a gorge between two hills, about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of Bādarpur, and upwards of four miles to the east-north-east of Shah-Dheri'.

A new edition and reproduction was published by Haraprasād Śāstrī.[4] Then follow a note by R. D. Banerji[5] and an edition by Professor F. W. Thomas.[6] It is no. 70 in Majumdar's List.

Rajendralala Mitra describes the plate as a narrow strip of copper $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{6}{8}$ in., broken into four fragments. The three pieces which remain are 3 in., $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, respectively. The inscription has been reproduced in plate I. 2.

The characters are of a fairly early type, but not so old as those of the Swāt vase. The *u*-mātrā is intermediate between the short stroke of the Swāt vase and the loop of later records; cf. *tu* and *thu*. *Ka* has the same angular shape as on the Swāt vase, the Patika plate, the Lion Capital, &c. *Kha* agrees with the *kha* of the Swāt vase, and still more closely with that of the Lion Capital. *Ṇa* has the pointed top which we find on the Swāt vase, the Muchai and Pājā records. It only occurs in such cases where also Sanskrit has *ṇ*, and there is no instance of a dental *n*. *Ya* has the angular shape which we know from the Patika plate and other old inscriptions. The head of *sa* is not closed as in the Swāt vase, but the top of the leg is continued in a straight line upwards from the point of jointure as in the Mānsehrā inscription of the year 68, the Muchai record of the year 81, the Pājā epigraph of the year 111, &c. On the whole the palaeography points to a date in the second half of the first century B.C.

The opening word of the inscription has disappeared with the first fragment. Cunningham read *saṁvatsara*, but admitted that the first letter looks more like *a* than *sa*. In his plate it looks like *ta* or *ra*, while Rajendralala's plate distinctly gives *a*. The second

[1] ASI, ii, pp. 124 ff.; cf. plate LIX, no. 3.

[2] JASB, xxiv, 1855, pp. 328 ff., and plate XV, no. 3.

[3] l. c., p. 146.

[4] JPASB, iv, 1908, pp. 362 ff. with plate.

[5] ibidem, vi, 1910, p. 486.

[6] JRAS, 1916, pp. 279 ff.

is a distinct *va* in the former, while the latter shows a short vertical below the left-hand termination of the horizontal, so that we might think of a defective *la*. The third looks like the head of *dha* in Cunningham's plate, while the other reproduction shows a letter which might be read as *tśa*, though the usual vertical top-stroke is missing. It is also conceivable that we have before us *ska* or a compound of *ka* and another letter, such as *śa*. Then there is room enough for two more aksharas.

Nothing can be made out of such a state of affairs. The only thing that we can say is that the first word contained a name in the instrumental singular, agreeing with the ensuing word. As a mere guess I may mention *Alakśadreṇa* or *Alaskadreṇa*.

The next word was read *miti* 10 *tena* by Cunningham and *metiakhena* by Haraprasād Śāstrī, while Professor Thomas recognized that we have here the same title as in the Swāt vase inscription and read *meridakheṇa* = *meridrakhena*. There can only be doubt about the third akshara. I abstract from the apparent *u*-mātrā, which is evidently due to what Haraprasād Śāstrī describes as 'the twistings and indentations on the plate'. There remains what looks like *do* or *le*: a vertical, from which a horizontal protrudes towards the left, being terminated by a vertical rising above and continued below the horizontal. It seems probable that either the upper or the lower part of this vertical is due to a mistake of the engraver and I accept Professor Thomas's reading *da*, as there cannot be any doubt that the word is a rendering of the Greek μεριδάρχης. It should be noted that the ante-consonantic *r* is omitted in this word, while the Swāt vase reads *meridarkhena*.

The same is the case in the next word, *sabhayakeṇa*, which certainly represents a Skr. *sabhāryakena*, together with his wife. We have no right to infer that the *r* was not sounded, the less so as its influence can be seen in the cerebralization of the *d* of *meridakha*.

Then follows *thubo*, where *bo* comes in the break between the fragments, so that the vertical has disappeared. Moreover, there is a similar downward prolongation of the top-stroke as in *da* of *meridakha*, which fact makes it still more probable that our reading of that letter is the right one.

The next word is clearly meant for *pratistavito*, though it looks more like *praristavito*. The apparent prolongation of the vertical of *ti* above the horizontal is accidental. The top of the letter is bent backwards, but this bend does not show in the estampage.

Then comes *matapitu puyae*, where *pu* comes in the break and has, consequently, become damaged.

The last word of the record was read *agharachapuyaye* by Cunningham, *aghasa cha nayae* by Haraprasād Śāstrī and *aghadakshoṇayae* by Professor Thomas. There can be no doubt that the last reading is right, and Professor Thomas's explanation of the word must also be accepted, that it represents a Sanskrit *arghadakshināyai* or is an error for the usual *arogadakshinayae*, Skr. *arogyadakshiṇāyai*; cf. the apparent *aro*[*gha*]*dakshini* in the Jamālgarhī Pedestal inscription and *arughadakshinae* in inscriptions found at Miran in Chinese Turkestan.[1]

We thus arrive at the following:

TEXT

. . . . . meri[ḍa]khena sabhayakena thubo pra[ti]stavito matapitu puyae aghadaksho-(i)nayae.

TRANSLATION

By . . . . , the Meridarkh, together with his wife, the stūpa was established, in honour of (his) mother and father, for the presentation of a respectful offering.

---

[1] Cf. Boyer, JA, x, xvii, 1911, pp. 413 ff.

III. Plate I. 3: BAJAUR SEAL INSCRIPTION OF THEODAMAS

In the village of Miankilli in Bajaur, south-east of Jalālābād, some engraved stones have been found, which were acquired by the Assistant Commissioner of Mardan, Captain, later Major, Sir Harold Deane and transmitted to M. Émile Senart, who published them with a plate in 1889.[1]

One of them, M. Senart's no. 1, contains a short Kharoshṭhī legend, reproduced in plate I. 3.

The stone itself seems to have disappeared. According to the reproduction, which is stated to be in double size, it is ⅝ in. high and ½ in. broad, and is slightly damaged on the right side and at the bottom. It shows a standing figure, facing towards the right. The right arm is bent, with the hand inclined towards the face, while the left hand holds a branch or a corn-stalk, or perhaps a sceptre. A line following the back is, according to M. Senart, probably meant to indicate the dress.

Behind the figure and along the left rim runs the legend, beginning behind the head and ending behind the middle of the leg. Five aksharas are visible, but M. Senart states that he thinks he can see traces of a *sa* in the damaged portion at the bottom.

The characters are well cut and clearly legible, but do not allow any certain inferences about the age of the seal. The *u*-mātrā has the shape of a triangle, a form which is found in isolated cases in the Zeda and Ārā inscriptions. The *e*-stroke in the second akshara *the* is irregularly placed at the right end of the horizontal. *Ma* has a curious indenture on both sides, which has its nearest parallel in the Taxila gold plate. The *sa* shows a slight prolongation of the leg above the juncture and reminds us of the shape of this letter in Fatehjang, Muchai, Pājā, and, especially, Mārguz.

If any inference can be drawn from the characters, we may assign the seal to the first half of the first century of the Christian era, but such a dating can only be approximative.

The reading is not subject to doubt. It gives *su Theüdama* or, if M. Senart is right in seeing a *sa* after *ma*, *su Theüdamasa.*

I have discussed the meaning of *su* in the Introduction, where I have suggested that it may represent an attempt at rendering the Saka word *shau*, king. At all events, it seems necessary, as M. Senart says, to compare it with the syllable συ occurring in the coin legends of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises, and it is *a priori* probable that Theüdama was a contemporary of those rulers.

His name shows that he was a Greek, for Theüdama evidently represents Greek *Θεοδάμας*, *Θειοδάμας* or *Θεόδημος*, with the same *u* for Greek *o* as on the Swāt vase. We do not know who this chief was, but it may be surmised that he lived in the Kābul country at the time when the Greek dominion was overthrown by the Parthians and, subsequently, by the Kushānas.

Text	Translation
su Theudama[sa]	of King Theodamas.

[1] JA, viii, xiii, 1889, pp. 364 ff.

IV. Plate I. 4: PARIS CORNELIAN INSCRIPTION

In the cabinet of medals in Paris is found a cornelian, of unknown origin, with a Kharoshthī legend. It was brought to the notice of M. Senart by M. Babelon and edited together with the Bajaur seal.[1] I reproduce it in plate I. 4 from a cast, which has kindly been provided by the Paris authorities at the request of the Foreign Office. It is published in this place, because it seems to be broadly contemporaneous with the Bajaur seal of the Greek Theüdama.

The stone is oblong and rounded, $\frac{6}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. broad. It shows a standing person, facing towards the right. The right hand is stretched out in front of the figure, the left carries a knotted stick or sceptre. The head-dress is provided with two long bands streaming backwards. The dress is fastened round the waist by means of a girdle.

M. Senart is of opinion that it is impossible to separate the stone by a long interval from the period of the Parthian rulers Gondophernes and Abdagases. With regard to the figure, he thinks that it must be some divine being. The corresponding figure on the coins of Gondophernes and Abdagases was described as representing Zeus by Professor Gardner,[2] while M. Senart follows Wilson in leaving the question open.

In front of the standing figure, from the feet and upwards, runs a legend consisting of five Kharoshṭhī letters, $\frac{3}{32}$ to $\frac{4}{32}$ in. high. They have been read by M. Senart as *Puñamatasa*.

The characters seem to be slightly older than those of the Bajaur seal. The *u* of *pu* consists of a short stroke projecting from the bottom of the vertical and provided with an upward bend. The *sa* has a rounded head and the lower vertical projects slightly towards the head. The nearest parallel seems to be the *sa* of the Pājā inscription of the year 111, and this agrees with M. Senart's approximate dating.

The reading of the two first aksharas is absolutely certain, viz. *puña*. The third is a rather square *ma*, and below is a short horizontal stroke, which is well known from the coins of the Greek rulers, and which Professor Bühler was no doubt right in explaining[3] as a rudimentary indication of the vertical standing originally on the right. The fourth akshara is an angular *ta*. In M. Senart's plate it seems to be provided with a short horizontal running backwards at the bottom. The cast from which the new plate is prepared shows that the original has no such stroke. The whole is, accordingly, *Puñamatasa*, representing a Sanskrit *Puṇyamatasya*.

We have no means for settling the question about the identity of Puñamata. It is even possible that the word is not a name but a title. We can do no more than to give the reading and translation of the legend.

Text	Translation
Puñamatasa.	of Punyamata.

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[1] JA, VIII, xiii, 1889, pp. 364 ff.
[2] *Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, pp. 103 and 107.
[3] *Indische Palaeographie*, para. 9 A, no. 12.

In connexion with the epigraphs which seem to have some connexion with Greek rule in India I shall deal with two inscriptions from the north-west, which cannot be assigned to any definite period. In the first place there is a short inscription from Tīrath, of a comparatively early date. In the second we know of the existence of a rock-inscription from Saddo in Swāt, which it has proved impossible to copy, owing to the inaccessibility of the country.

V. Plate I. 5: TĪRATH ROCK INSCRIPTION

The village of Tīrath is situated on the border of the Swāt Kohistān. Near the village is a rock or boulder, showing two large *pādukās* and below them a Kharoshṭhī inscription of eleven letters.

We are able to identify these footprints with absolute certainty.

In his account of Udyāna Fa-hien[1] mentions a spot where the Buddha coming to Udyāna 'left a print of his foot, which is long or short according to the ideas of the beholder'. Hüan-tsang[2] also speaks of the large flat stone with the Buddha's footprints, the size of which varied with the religious merit of the measurer. He locates it on the north bank of the Swāt river thirty li to the south-west of the spring of the Nāga Apalāla, the reputed source of the river, about 250 li to the north-east of Mêng-chieh-li, i. e. Manglaur.

Sir Harold Deane recognized[3] that the locality must be looked for in the neighbourhood of the present head of the Swāt river near Kalām. At Tīrath he discovered the footprints and the inscription. Two estampages of the latter were prepared and forwarded on Sir Harold's behalf to the late Professor Bühler by Sir Aurel Stein.[4]

Professor Bühler, who was under the impression that there are two inscriptions, published a facsimile of one of the estampages, reproduced in plate I. 5, with his reading of the inscription in 1898.[5]

The characters are of ancient type. *Ka* has the short straight top-stroke of the Aśoka and Saka inscriptions and points to the same time as the Shahdaur epigraph. *Ni* has a more pointed head than in the Aśoka and Patika records, and stands between the forms occurring in the Swāt vase and the Taxila silver-scroll. The *i*-stroke crosses the curve of the head, as in the Swāt vase, the Pāthyār and Patika inscriptions. *Dha* stands between the Aśoka and Patika forms, being less curvilinear than the former and less sloping than the latter. Similar forms are found in the Taxila gold plate, the Taxila vase, and the Fatehjang stone. *Pa* has almost the same shape as in the Patika plate. *Ba* has a less pronounced bend of the top than in the Patika plate and reminds us of some of the Aśoka forms and those of the Swāt and Taxila vases. *Mu* stands in the upper line, and the right top-stroke is short as on the Lion Capital. The nearest parallel is, however, the *mu* of the late Jauliã inscription no. 10. The most

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[1] See James Legge, *A record of Buddhistic kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese monk Fâ-hien of his travels in India and Ceylon* (A. D. 399–414) *in search of the Buddhist books of discipline*. Translated and annotated, with a Corean recension of the Chinese text. Oxford, 1886, p. 29.

[2] See Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629). London, 1884, vol. i, p. 123.

[3] JRAS, 1896, p. 656.

[4] Cf. his *Serindia*, p. 8.

[5] Cf. *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Historisch philosophische Classe*, xxxv, Wien, 1898, pp. 12 ff.; Majumdar's List, no. 91.

characteristic letter is *sa*, which has its nearest parallels in the Pāṭhyār and Swāt vase inscriptions, the lower vertical being prolonged upwards in a straight line and almost touching the top.

On the whole there cannot be any doubt that the record is old, and especially the shape of *sa* seems to show that it is older than the Patika plate. We may tentatively assign it to about the middle of the first century B. C.

Reading and interpretation do not present much difficulty. It is possible that the akshara which is used for the cerebral *ṇ* in the Aśoka inscriptions here and on the Swāt vase stands for the dental *n*. As stated in the chapter about grammar I shall, however, transliterate the letter as *ṇ*, leaving the question about the actual pronunciation open.

In one of Bühler's reproductions there is a short vertical hanging down from the head of the first akshara. It is evidently an *o*-mātrā, of the same kind as in the Aśoka inscriptions,[1] and Bühler was no doubt right in reading *bo*. In the Taxila meridarkh plate and in the Lahore inscription no. 25 the *o* of *bo* is differently placed, and projects from the vertical. The form *bodhasa* is in accordance with a tendency which is well known in Indian Prākrits, where *o* is sometimes used instead of *u* before consonantal compounds.[2]

TEXT

Bodhasa Śakamunisa padaṇi.

TRANSLATION

Foot-prints of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

VI. SWĀT ROCK INSCRIPTION

Sir Aurel Stein[3] writes about another Kharoshṭhī inscription from Swāt: 'Among the paper estampages which had been brought to Colonel Deane by his native agents, and which he handed over to me early in 1898, there was one which showed a rock surface curiously cut up by natural cross lines, recalling the threads of some woven fabric. There were traces of some Kharoshṭhī characters also. Some place in the Upper Swāt Valley was vaguely indicated as the provenance. The publication of the estampage was prevented by the death of Professor Bühler, for whom it was reserved, and subsequently by the doubts which (justly enough) arose about the genuineness of the many "inscriptions in unknown characters" supplied to Colonel Deane by the less scrupulous of his agents.'

Sir Aurel thinks that the impression has been taken on the rock where the Buddha was stated to have dried his clothes, referring us to Hsüan-tsang (l. c.), who says that the lines of the robe were still distinct like carving.

No further information has been forthcoming about this inscription.

VII. PLATE I. 6: SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION

The village of Saddo is situated on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road leading from Swāt to Chitrāl. On a rock is found a Kharoshṭhī inscription,[4] engraved in large letters.

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[1] Cf. no. 27 iii in plate I of Bühler's *Palaeography*.

[2] Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, para. 125.

[3] *Serindia*, p. 8[22].

[4] Majumdar's List, no. 57.

The only information we possess about this record is a notice by Cunningham,[1] who publishes a copy, reproduced in plate I. 6, made by his servants 'under great difficulties, and not without danger'. 'It is therefore much less distinct than it would have been if taken under more favourable circumstances.'

Cunningham goes on to remark: 'Enough has been copied to show that the record is not later than the first century of the Christian era', and gives a reading of the record, so far as it has been copied, stating that the letters 'are too scattered to yield any intelligible sentence'.

The plate shows remnants of four lines, but no sense can be made out.

Cunningham read the first line as *masa Chetra di*, supplying *vase* after *di*. His reading cannot, however, be maintained. The plate seems to give *matumiṁtrana*, but it is possible that the apparent *miṁ* is misdrawn for *dhi*, so that we should read *matudhitrana*, cf. the doubtful *dhitiraṇa* in the Fatehjang inscription.

L. 2 was read as *ru . . mudetama śamja*, but looks like *da . . [mukha] damasvoja*.

" 3 was read as *eśa haṇa . . . traa . . . ñajoya*, and

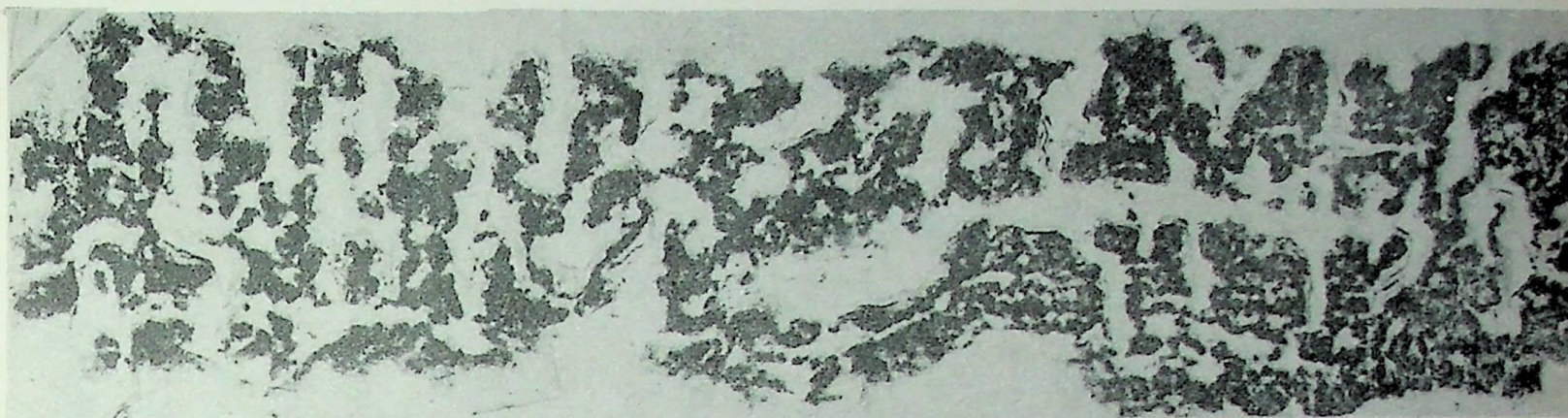
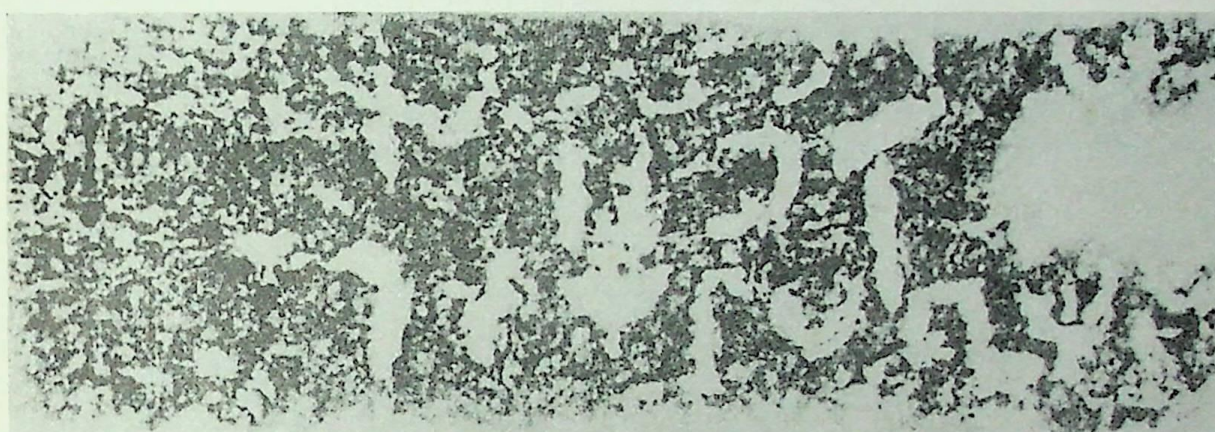
" 4 as *yegatuheasa . . . ja*.

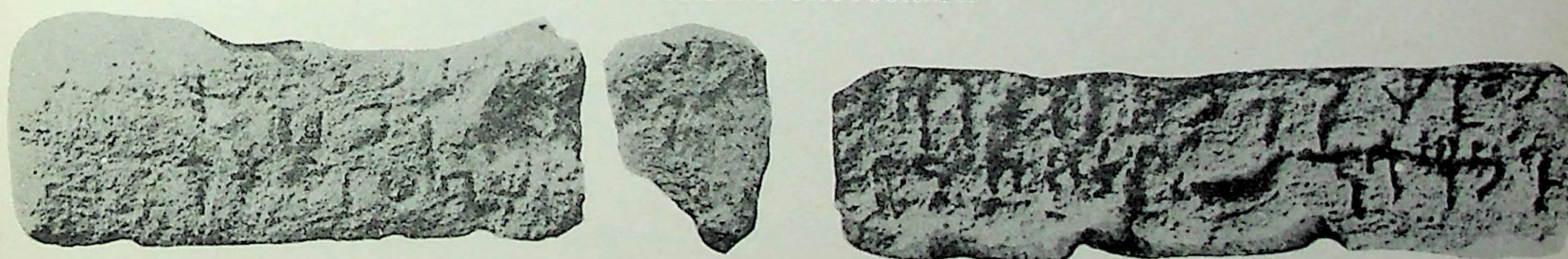
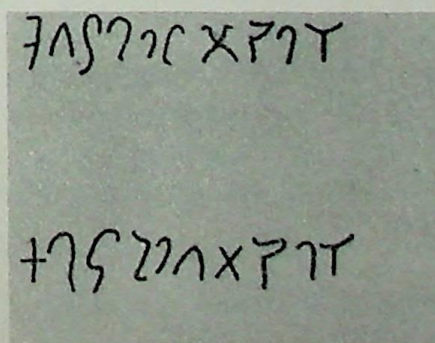
I refrain from attempting to improve on this reading, though I cannot accept it in all details.

[1] ASI, v, pp. 62 f., and plate XVI, no. 5.

MAIRA WELL INSCRIPTION

A. FROM ESTAMPAGES

East Side

North Side

Scale 0·3

B. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

C. CUNNINGHAM

B. INSCRIPTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD SAKA ERA

THE bulk of Kharoshthī inscriptions belongs to the period of Indo-Scythian conquest, and the Indo-Scythians were, as we have seen in the introduction, the first to mark their founding of an Indian empire by introducing eras of their own.

There are, as stated above, two such eras, and the older one goes back to those Sakas who invaded the Sindh country in the first century B. C. and also established themselves in the western Panjāb. They were here succeeded by the Parthians, but the Saka era remained in use and was later on taken over by the Kushānas, who restored the Scythian empire. In the northern districts it was even continued after the rise of a new and still more powerful Kushāna dynasty in the second century A. D.

In the following we shall discuss the records dated in the old Saka era, and some undated inscriptions found in the same neighbourhood or otherwise connected with them.

VIII. PLATE II: MAIRA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 58

Maira is a small village in the Salt Range, Jhelum District, ten miles to the west of the Kallar Kahār Lake, in 32° 43′ N. and 72° 40′ E. In an old well at Maira Colonel Robinson discovered a Kharoshthī inscription, and both he and Colonel Bristow sent copies to Cunningham, who published them together with two more copies, prepared by himself and a native servant from paper impressions.[1]

The inscription was engraved on three slabs of kankar stone, on the east, north, and west sides of the well. The two slabs on the east and north sides have since been removed to the Lahore Museum, where they are now as no. I. 109. The north slab has been broken into two pieces, one 1 ft. 8 in. long. and 8 in. high, the other only 5 in. long. The east slab measures 2 ft. 2 in. by 7 in. The third slab seems to have disappeared, and the part of the inscription which it contained is only known from Cunningham's rough plate. The remaining portion is reproduced in plate II from estampages and from a photograph.

The height of individual letters varies between $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. The state of preservation is not good, and it has not been possible for me to give a satisfactory reading and interpretation. I am indebted to Professor Thomas for some valuable suggestions.

Nor have I been able to form a clear idea about the age of the inscription. Some of the characters are, however, so similar to those of the Patika plate of the year 78 that it seems impossible to refer the record to the Kushāna period. The mutilated *cha* has the distinct lower curve which we know from the oldest Kharoshthī records; *da*, *dha*, *na*, *ba*, and *la* remind us of the Patika plate, and there seem to be traces of the upward continuation of the leg of *sa* which is characteristic of old inscriptions.

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[1] ASI, v, 1875, pp. 93 f., with plate XXVIII; cf. Majumdar, List no. 35.

The east slab, A, contains two lines of writing.

L. 1. The first akshara seems to be a mutilated *saṁ*, though Cunningham may be right in reading *su* and Professor Thomas in reading *sa*. The second may be *kra* or *pra*, as read by Cunningham, the third and fourth ones are apparently *mi* and *sa* respectively. The most probable reading seems to be *saṁkramisa*, which may be the genitive of *saṁkramin*. *Saṁkrāmayitum* can mean 'to conquer' and *saṁkrāmin* may mean engaged on an expedition of conquest', 'conquering'.

Then come the lower part of a *cha*; a damaged *ta* or *tu*, a mutilated *pu* or *ku*, two aksharas which may be *ra* and *ro*; traces which point to a *dha* of the same shape as in the Patika plate; something which may be *ba*; and a fairly distinct *la*, whereafter there is room enough for one letter. Cunningham read *dhainavadasa-cha la*, but his materials were much less satisfactory than mine. I think it possible to read *chatupurarodhibalasa*, whose army obstructs four towns, but that is little more than a mere guess.

L. 2 was read by Cunningham as *apadalacha . . . nanayapa dana*. The first word is, however, clearly *atibalana*. Then follows a deep groove, and two or three letters seem to have disappeared entirely. After the break comes a damaged letter which may be *ṇa*, but there are traces of a line crossing the vertical, and one might think of *rna*. The next letter may be *di* or *ni*; the last ones of the line may be *yapadana*. We might guess at *saṁvarnaniyapadana*, but Professor Thomas may be right in reading . . . *niyatida* . . .

The north slab, B, is in a still worse condition. It contains remains of three lines.

L. 1. The first two aksharas, which are found on the small fragment, seem to be *śata*. Cunningham read *savasa*. Then there is a gap followed by signs which Cunningham seems to have been right in reading as *saṁ 20 20 10 4 4*.

The record accordingly seems to be dated in the year 58, and if this date is referred to the same era as that of the Patika plate, it would correspond to the year 27–26 B.C. Though I feel great misgivings, I do not think that such an early date is impossible. It should be borne in mind that Maira is situated between the probable starting point of the Saka conquest of the Panjāb in Sindh and Taxila, and that the district of Chachh, which is probably the Chukhsa of the Patika plate, is in the immediate neighbourhood.

L. 2 was not read by Cunningham and is much damaged. Of the first akshara only faint traces remain, which cannot be made out. The second may be *spa*, and the third again is hopelessly damaged. One might think of *aśpayusa*, but I shall not try to restore the word. Then comes a defaced spot, followed by an illegible akshara and three signs, which may stand for *10 1 1*, in which case we should have the day of the month, perhaps the 12th Aśvayuj.

L. 3. Cunningham read the first word as *amami*. I can only read the final *mi*, or perhaps, *mami*, which Professor Thomas proposes to restore as *saṁgharamami*. Then Cunningham read *nama namathava*. I can see *sramanami*, though the third akshara might also be *ṇe*. Professor Thomas takes *mi*, for which we might also read *ga*, as the beginning of some Sramaṇa's name. The last two aksharas may be *diva*, after which there is room for about four aksharas.

The next slab, C, was read by Cunningham as *chhatrasa 4ya atra kha atta*. His plate is too unreliable to make it advisable to attempt to read the line. It may only be noted that the first word might be *moasa*, i. e. 'of Moga'.

Professor Thomas thinks that the inscription begins with the west slab, running on in the order of a pradakshina. He proposes to read the last two letters of the west slab *atha*, i.e. *athapaṁchaśe*, whereof perhaps the *śe* is to be seen in l. 1 of the north slab.

The initial *sa* of the east slab might, finally, be the termination of the Śramana's name. I do not venture to do anything more than suggest a reading of A and B, without attempting to give a connected translation.

A

L. 1 saṁ[k]ramisa [chatupurarodhiba]la[sa*].
,, 2 atibalana . . . . . yapadana.

B

L. 1 . . [śa[ta] . . . [saṁ 20 20 10 4 4].
,, 2 [śpa] . . . 10 1 1 . . . . .
,, 3 . . . mi śramanami[di]va . . . .

IX. Plate III. 1: SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTION OF DAMIJADA

Two Kharoshṭhī inscriptions found in the Agror valley point to the conclusion that the Hazāra country belonged to the old Saka empire.

The name Agror is derived from *Atyugrapura*, which is mentioned by Kalhana, Rājataraṅginī viii, 3402, and in his translation of that work Sir Aurel Stein has shown that a Prākrit form of this name, *Aityugura* may be at the bottom of Ἰθάγουρος, mentioned by Ptolemy vii. 1, 45 as one of the towns of Ἄρσα or Οὔαρσα, i.e. Uraśā, Urasā, which is already mentioned in the ganas to Pāṇini.

In the Oghi Kanungo circle in the Agror valley, two miles east of Shamdhara and about four miles due east of Oghi, is the hamlet of Shahdaur, shown as Shodaur on the half-inch to the mile sheet 43 F., N.W., of the Indian Atlas, in 34° 30′ N. and 73° 4′ E.

One mile south-east of the hamlet there is a narrow glen, descending from the Tanglai hill and containing some terraced fields. In one of these is found a rock or boulder of irregular shape, overlooking a small spring in a contiguous gorge. The boulder, which measures 13 ft. by 16 ft., marks the southern edge of a small field and is of grey friable sandstone with a rough surface.

It bears two Kharoshthī inscriptions, one in two lines on the perpendicular side facing to the north, and another with remnants of five lines, on the top. According to Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiuddin, who examined the site in 1924, the latter must have extended further to the south, where the surface is stated to be greatly disfigured from age and other causes. The estampages, however, do not lend support to this supposition.

In the hot weather of 1924 a villager of Shamdhara gave information about the inscriptions to Mr. T. B. Copeland, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Hazāra District, who informed the Director General of Archaeology of the matter in October and forwarded some photographs and rough tracings. A fuller report was submitted in November by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiuddin, who had found by excavation that there is no continuation below the surface to the inscription on the perpendicular side. Nor did an examination of the neighbourhood bring to light any further evidence or coins, but only some glazed fragments of coarse pottery. Local inquiries about coins were also in vain. Every patch of level space in all directions has been brought under cultivation, and no ancient walls are said to be in evidence anywhere. 'Burjs', however, are said to have existed before Government occupied the valley.

Estampages of the inscriptions were taken, and a paper was prepared for the Epigraphia Indica.[1]

Since then I have received new and better materials from Mr. Hargreaves, and the plate which is now published shows that the inference drawn from the old estampages must be modified in some respects.

The state of preservation is not good throughout. There cannot, however, be any doubt that the inscriptions are fairly old. We may note the *cha*, which reminds us of the Mānsehrā and Sihila vase inscriptions; the angular *bha*, which has almost the same shape as in the Patika plate; the *la*, which has its nearest parallels in the Sihila and Lion Capital inscriptions, and the distinct prolongation of the leg of *sa*, which slopes upwards and forwards as in the Patika record.

The inscription on the perpendicular face consists, as already mentioned, of two lines. The first is apparently complete, is 6 ft. 2 ins. long and contains aksharas varying in size from 3 to 4 ins. The second, with aksharas 2 to 3½ ins. high, seems to have been of about half the length, and the last aksharas are badly defaced.

L. 1. The first akshara is evidently *ra*, of the same shape as in the Sihila vase inscription, and the second seems to be *ja*. There is, it is true, an apparent cross-bar, but the photographs which Mr. Hargreaves has placed at my disposal make me inclined to think that it represents an unevenness in the stone.

Then come two aksharas connected by a horizontal bottom-stroke. The first is apparently a *na*, and it is possible that the bottom-stroke connecting it with the ensuing letter is meant to represent an *o*-mātrā. If *rajano* should not be read as *rajino*, we may compare the instrumental *rāanā*, mentioned by Siṁharāja.[2]

The photographs show that the head of the ensuing letter has become damaged. The reading is not certain, both *na* and *da* being possible.

The next akshara is certainly *mi* and not *ga*. Also here there is an apparent bottom-stroke, and such apparent strokes are also found elsewhere, e. g. both in the ensuing *ja* and in the following akshara, which I originally took to be *na*, but which is clearly identical with the first akshara of l. 4 of the second Shahdaur inscription, where the reading *da* seems to be certain.

Then comes *sa*, and the second word must accordingly be read as *Namijadasa*, or *Damijadasa*.

We do not know of any such ruler as the *rājan* Namijada or Damijada. The title *rājan* is also used by the Western Kshatrapas, where we also find a royal name ending in *jada*, viz. *Dāmajada*, also written *Dāmaysada*, where *ys* has been recognized by Professor Lüders[3] as denoting a voiced *s*. It seems probable that *jada* is identical with the *jada* or *ysada* of *Dāmajada*, and that the name is, consequently, Iranian. *Damijada* may even have something to do with *Dāmajada*, wherefore I prefer to read the fourth akshara as *da*, and it is perhaps worth remembering that the syllables *dami* are sometimes found on the coins of Maues.[4] At all events it seems probable that Damijada was a Saka ruler in the Agror valley.

The ensuing passage is not intelligible to me. The first akshara is *sa*; the second may be the lower part of a *ka*, assuming the lower horizontal to be the continuation of the flaw represented by the two strokes to the left of the akshara; the third again is *sa*; the fourth is quite uncertain. It reminds me of the *la* which stands later on in the same line, and if the lower projection is an *o*-stroke, we might read *lo*. The head is, however,

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[1] Not yet published.
[2] *Prakritarupavatara*, ed. Hultzsch, London 1909, vii, 24.
[3] SBAW, 1913, pp. 406 ff.
[4] Gardner, pp. 68, no. 4; 69, no. 9; 71, no. 18.

rectilinear, while it is rounded in the ensuing *la*, and if the stroke about the head and the projecting horizontal are due to the roughness of the stone, we might think of reading *va*. The fifth akshara might be the bottom of *kä*, but also a *śa*. It is placed lower down than the surrounding letters, and it is possible that we have to do with the compound *tśa*. The sixth letter has disappeared. If we assume that it was *re*, we might think of restoring the whole as *sakasavatśare*, in the Saka year, in which case our inscription would prove that the era used in the oldest Kharoshṭhī inscriptions is a Saka institution. If the fourth akshara is a *l*, *sakasala* might be a compound of *saka* and middle Persian *sāl*, year. The whole passage is, however, so defaced that I shall abstain from further attempts.

Then follow some aksharas which look very clear in the estampage, but which I cannot make out. The first looks like *a*. The photographs before me make me, however, inclined to think that the head is damaged. If there was another curve on the other side of the vertical, it would be possible to read *sha*. The second letter does not look like anything I have seen elsewhere. One might think of reading *kri*, but the upper horizontal is much too long and the right-hand hook much too small. The long horizontal reminds me of *ṭha*, and the short bar to the right of *ṭa*. The only thing I can suggest is to read *shti*. The third akshara looks like the *ha*, no. 37 II of plate I, of Bühler's Palaeography, might, however, also be a mutilated *aṁ*. With the utmost reserve I therefore read *shashtihae*, taking *-haa* to represent the suffix *tha* of *chaturtha*, *pañchatha*, &c., + *-ka*. In that case the ensuing three signs, the last of which is mutilated, would be the figure twenty thrice repeated.

I feel so little confident about the reading, however, that I do not venture to assert that our inscription is one of the year 60, i. e. 25–24 B. C. The only thing which seems to be comparatively certain is that the passage following after *Damijadasa* has contained a date.

Then follows *sabhadusa savalavadhapitrasa*, an akshara which seems to be *rdha*, and an unmistakable *cha*. The genitive *sabhadusa* must apparently be connected with the preceding *Damijadasa* and indicate some person associated with him. *Bhadu* may stand for *Bhaṁdu*, in which case we might think of the word *Bhandu*, which occurs in the Gana to Pānini IV. ii. 77 after *Suvāstu* and *Varnu* and may be the name of a country in the neighbourhood. *Sabhadusa* would then mean 'together with the ruler of Bhandu'. *Savalavaḍhapitra* might represent Skr. *sa-* (or *sva-*) *Balavardha* (or *Vyālavardha*) *-pitrā*, or *Svabalavardhapitrā*. We may compare names such as *Nandivardha* and *Mitravardha*, and, with regard to the compound, *sadha Hanadhitra*, together with his daughter Hana, on the Mathurā Lion Capital.

If the reading of the akshara following after the ensuing *sa* as *rdha* is correct, *sardha* can hardly be anything else than Skr. *sārdham*, which is sometimes used at the end of compounds.

L. 2 opens with *mitravadha*, followed by an akshara which seems to be *na*. I take *Mitravadhana* to be a name; cf. *Valavadha* in l. 1 and Sanskrit doublets such as *Mitravardha*, *Mitravardhana*; *Nandivardha*, *Nandivardhana*.

Then follows an akshara which seems to be *pa* or *pu*, and further apparently *trah*[*i*]*ta*. I tentatively read *p*[*u*]*trah*[*i*]*ta*[*e*].

The remaining portion of the line seems to be written in somewhat smaller letters. If we assume that the *ta* was followed by an *e* of about the same size, the next akshara would be represented by a horizontal crossed by an *i*-stroke, and remnants of a vertical, i. e. it was perhaps *vi*. Then comes a curved line, which reminds me of the *pra* of the Taxila silver scroll; further *ma*, *ta* and something which may be a damaged *bhra*. The

apparent bottom-stroke is in some of my photographs separated from the vertical and of the same kind as the traces seen below the preceding *ta*. The following aksharas may be *ta* and *ra*, and with great reserve I read *vipramatabhratara*, thinking that this may have been followed by some such word as *puyae* or *puyayaṁto*, cf. *matapitaram puyayaṁto* in the Patika plate.

This account of an important inscription I feel to be very unsatisfactory. This much seems to follow: that the Saka empire at a comparatively early date extended as far as the Agror valley.

Text

L. 1 ra[ja]n[o] Damijadasa sakasa . . . . . . [shashtihae 20 20 20] sabhadusa savalavadhapitra sardha cha

" 2 Mitravadhanap[u]tra[hita][e*] [vipra]mata[bhratara].

Translation

Of the rājan Damijada (in the Saka . . . sixty –60)– together with Bhaḍu, and together with (his) father Valavardha, for the welfare of his son Mitravardhana, . . . Brahmans, his mother, brother.

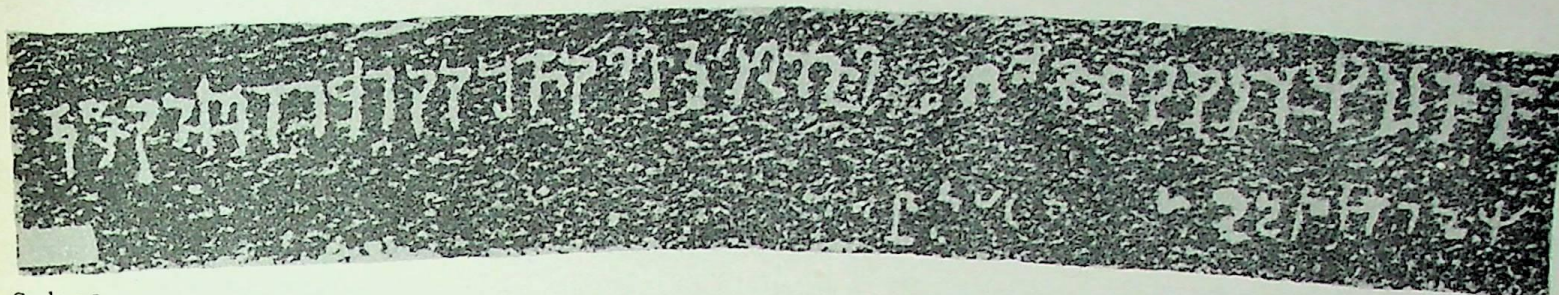
X. Plate III. 2: SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTION OF ŚIVARAKSHITA

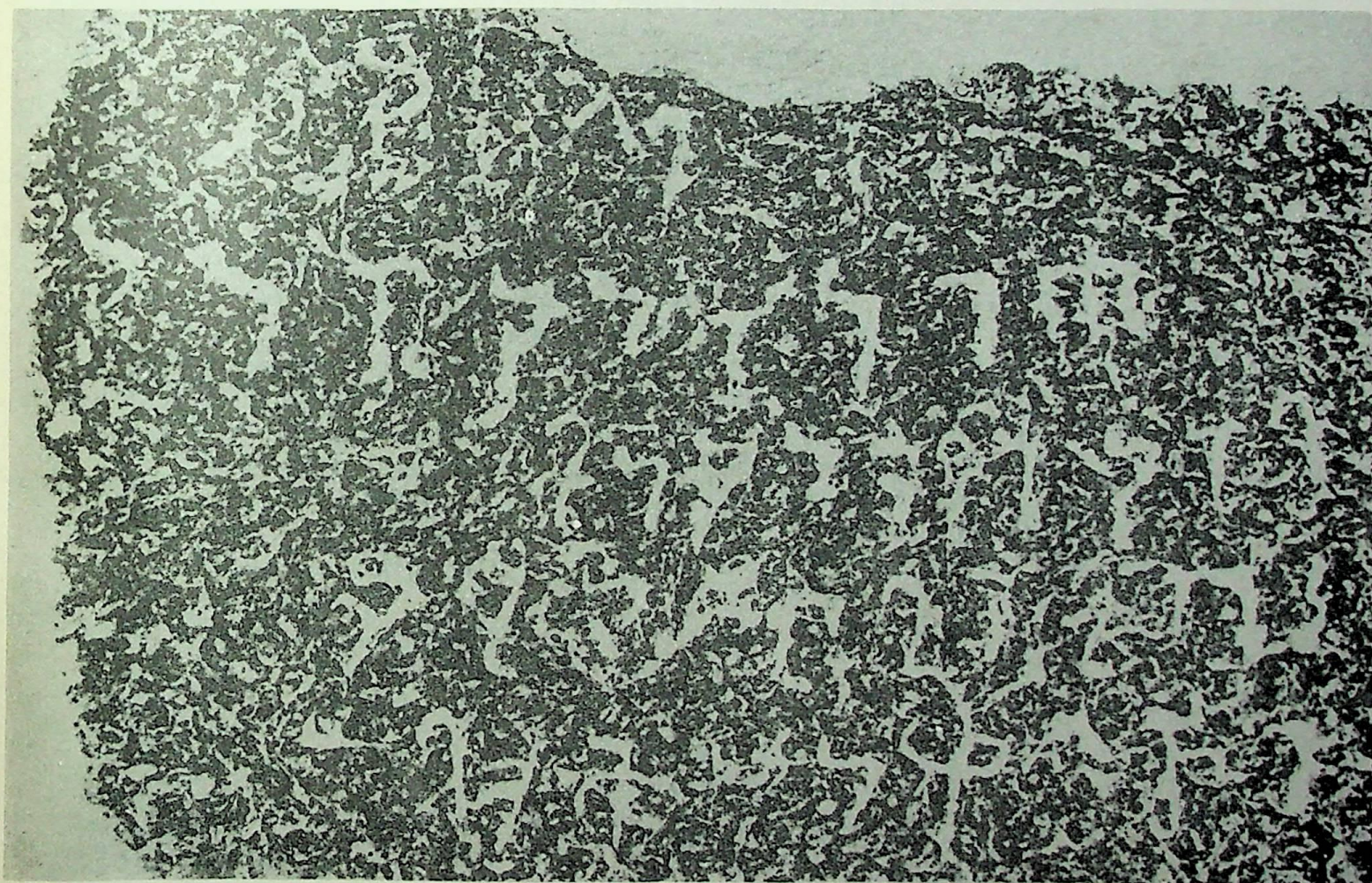
The second Shahdaur inscription, on the upper surface of the boulder, is much damaged and perhaps incomplete. There are altogether five lines, and I can see no traces of there having been more lines, as surmised by Mian Wasiuddin.

L. 1. The beginning is quite illegible, and four or five syllables have disappeared. What can be read is *ayasa saṁ*, followed by traces of four or five signs. *Saṁ* is probably the usual abbreviation of *saṁvatsare*, and the ensuing signs must in that case have been numerical figures. It would be possible to read them as *1 100 1 1*, i.e. 102, but also as *20 20* . . . e.g. as 80 and something or 90. If I am right in my explanation of *saṁ* the preceding *ayasa* must be the name or part of the name of a ruler, and it is tempting to think of *Aya*, Azes, in which case the defaced aksharas at the beginning of the line might be restored as *maharayasa* or *maharajasa*. *A priori* there is no objection to assuming that our inscription belongs to the time of Azes, and some year between 80 and 102 would not be unlikely, if my explanation of the double dating of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, as referring to the 103rd year of the Saka era and the 26th after the accession of Azes, is accepted. Nor would there be any serious difficulty in assuming that our record is about forty years later than the Damijada inscription. The date of the latter is, moreover, quite uncertain. In view of the general uncertainty as regards the reading of the first line I cannot, however, do more than state that I think it probable that our inscription belongs to the reign of Azes, and I publish it in this place, in connexion with the other Shahdaur inscription, without attempting to arrange it chronologically.

L. 2. The first word is *Śivarakshitasa*, where the *ta* in the estampage looks like *tva*. There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt that the apparent *v*-curve is simply a groove in the stone.

We do not know who this Śivarakshita was. During his excavations at Sirkap Sir John Marshall found a copper seal with the figure of Śiva in the centre and the legend

1. SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTION OF DAMIJADA

Scale 0·1

2. SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTION OF ŚIVARAKSHITA

Scale 0·2

Śivarakshitasa both in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī letters.[1] The Kharoshṭhī aksharas are of the same type as in our inscription, but it is impossible to say anything about the possible identity of the Śivarakshita of the two records.

The ensuing akshara is not intelligible to me, and some of the strokes visible in the estampage are evidently due to the roughness of the stone. The vertical is evidently part of the akshara, and the same seems to be the case with the curve to the right of the top. The most likely reading is therefore *sha* or *shu*. The two ensuing aksharas are *ta* and *sa*, and *shutasa* might represent Skr. *śrutasya*. The reading is, however, quite uncertain.

L. 3. The first word seems to be *adhasa*, which may represent Skr. *ādhyasya*, from *ādhya*, rich, wealthy.

The next three aksharas are uncertain. The first may be *dha*, with its head protruding above the line, or *va*; the second seems rather to be *na* than *a*, and the third reminds me of later forms of *ṭha*, with traces of an *e*- or *i*-mātrā. Then follows *tasa*, and as a mere guess, I read *dhanaṭhitasa*, or *vanathitasa*. Then comes an akshara which seems to be *cha*, of a later type than in the Damijada inscription and more like the *cha* of the Taxila silver scroll.

The ensuing letter seems to be *i*, but might be a mutilated *hi*. The rest of the line is quite defaced.

L. 4 opens with a comparatively clear *daśahi*, evidently followed by *kahapa* and an akshara which may be *na*, but is made unrecognizable through several irregular strokes which are clearly due to the roughness of the surface. Then come fairly clear traces of a *sa*, an akshara which may be a blurred *ha*, but also a *ña*, and finally a *sa*, with traces of an *e*-stroke and perhaps also a *r*-stroke. I therefore read *daśahi kahapanasahasre[hi]*, for ten thousand kārshāpaṇas, and infer that the inscription records a donation by the rich and wealthy Śivarakshita. The character and purpose of the donation must have been mentioned in the missing portion of l. 3 or of l. 4.

L. 5. The first akshara is probably *a* and the second *bhu*. *Abhu* may be the aorist of the base *bhū*, Skr. *abhūt*, Ardhamāgadhī *abhū*, or else *bhu* may, as pointed out to me by Professor Thomas, belong to the ensuing *yo*, *bhuyo* corresponding to Skr. *bhūyah*.

Then comes *yo Gotama*, and three blurred letters and traces of at least one more. The first one may be *sta*, though the cross-stroke seems to run out in a long curve. If all the cross lines are accidental, we should have a *va*. The second looks like a sloping *lo* or *la* and the third like *a* or *o*. We might think of Skr. *sthalaja* or *sthālaka*, the latter being a designation of some bones on the back. But I am unable to find any satisfactory explanation.

Reading and explanation are, accordingly, only tentative:

Text

L. 1 . . . . . . Ayasa saṁ. . . .
2 Śivarakshi[ta]sa [shu ?]tasa
3 adhasa [dhanathi]tasa cha i . . . .
4 daśahi kahapa[na]sa[ha]s[re] . . . .
5 abhu yo Gotama[stalao ?] . . .

Translation

(During the reign) of . . . Azes, anno . . . , (a donation) of Śivarakskita, the renowned (?) rich and wealthy one, took place . . . with ten thousand kārshāpanas . . . which . . . of Gotama.

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[1] ASIAR, 1914–15, p. 35, and below, p. 102, no. 11.

XI. Plate IV. 2: MĀNSEHṚĀ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 68

No. 5558 of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is a slab, broken into two pieces, 4 ft. high and 4 ft. 5 in. broad. It was brought from Mānsehrā by Mr. Caddy and entered in the Museum's journal on February 1, 1898.

It contains a fragmentary Kharoshṭhī inscription,[1] which has not been published before. The state of preservation is not good. The whole right-hand portion is missing, and the upper left-hand corner has broken off. There are eight drilled holes on the inscribed surface, and several letters are defaced. The size of individual letters is, on an average, 3 in.

The characters are of the Saka variety. Attention may be drawn to *cha* in l. 2, which has the same shape as in the Shahdaur and Patika inscriptions; to the distinct *chhi* in l. 10; to the straight angle of the head and the forward slope of the leg of *ta*; to the broad angular shape of *ya*; to the slight upward slope of the head of *la*; to the square shape of *śa*; to the angular head and the straight upward prolongation of the leg of *sa*, and to the compound *śpa* in l. 8. The palaeography of the inscription seems on the whole to assign it to about the same time as the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78.

The beginning of the lines is missing, and this circumstance considerably adds to the difficulty of reading and interpreting the record.

L. 1. The three first aksharas are certainly *adhasha*, and the fourth and fifth seem to be *ṭhi* and *a*, respectively. *Adhashathia* can hardly be anything else than some form or derivation of the numeral 68, cf. Ardhamāgadhī *adhasaṭhi*, where we find the same double treatment of old *shṭ*. The form *adha* for *ashṭa* is already found in the Aśoka inscriptions[2] in the word *aḍhakosikya*, at intervals of eight kos, but does not seem to have been used unless *ashta* occurs in the beginning of a compound.

A numeral at the beginning of an inscription can hardly mean anything else than a date, and the inscription accordingly seems to belong to the year 68. If we refer this to the old Saka era, the corresponding year will, according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, be 17–16 B.C., and there does not seem to be any serious objection to such a dating.

The missing portion at the beginning of l. 1 may have contained the name of a ruler and some word for 'year', but it is impossible to make any reliable estimate of its length.

What follows after *aḍhashaṭhi* cannot be made out.

L. 2. The three first aksharas are *eśao* and the fourth seems to be *ja*. The fifth has almost disappeared in the hole excavated at this place. There seem to be traces of a lower vertical and of a head, and the reading *sa* is possible, but far from being certain.

Even if the reading *eśaojasa* were certain, the interpretation would be extremely doubtful. In the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359 we find *aśpaiu* for Skr. *aśvayuj*. But we are not justified in assuming that *y* might disappear in this word in an old record like the Mānsehrā one. Moreover *śa* for Skr. *śva* would make difficulties, and *o* for *u* would be as difficult to explain as *e* for *a*. If we read *eśaojasa* it would be simpler to think of Skr. *aiśa* and *ojas*, and explain 'through the strength of Śiva', or *sa* should be separated from *eśa oja* and taken together with the following. If the indistinct strokes following after the damaged letter represent a *mu* of the same shape as in the Fatehjang inscription, such must be the case. The next akshara is also damaged, but the lower part looks like the bottom of *chha*. Then follows a distinct *cha*. If we read *samuchha-cha*, we must probably restore *samuchhicha*, corresponding to Skr. *samuchchhittya*, having

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[1] No. 40 in Majumdar's List.

[2] Cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 135.

cut off, having exterminated. *Eśa oja samuchhicha* might accordingly mean: 'having exterminated the strength of Śiva, or, the royal strength'

After *cha* there are traces of one or two letters ending in *u*, and room for still another akshara.

L. 3 begins with a distinct *li*. The second akshara is quite uncertain. What is seen at the same level as the surrounding letters is a distinct *a*. But then the akshara seems to be continued in a narrow curve and then down to the bottom of the line below, so that the whole makes the impression of a huge *dh*. Such an akshara, extending over two lines, would be unprecedented, and, moreover, *dh* has not elsewhere such a round head. I therefore read *lia*, and connect this with the ensuing letter which is certainly *sa*. *Lia* is either the end of a name or the whole name, and it would be tempting to think of the kshatrapa *Liaka* of the Patika copper-plate. But it is impossible to arrive at certainty.

Then comes a fairly distinct *śu*, further what looks like a shortened *śru*, standing above a small hole, which may have existed when the inscription was executed. After *śru* stands a curve, which may be the upper part of *sha*, though it is much narrower than in the unmistakable *sha* of l. 1. The next akshara looks like the *ña* of the late Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359. Then follows a fairly distinct *e*, and I tentatively read the whole as *liasa śuśrushañae*, at . . . lia's order of obedience.

The two last aksharas of the line seem to be *dada*, but both are provided with a short line protruding backwards from about the middle, so that they look like *dede*. In the last one, however, this stroke is straighter and longer and has perhaps crossed the letter. With great hesitation I therefore read *dedi*. It should be remembered that forms such as *deti*, *deï* are old both in Pāli and in other Prākrits.

L. 4 opens with a break, which is continued into the first remaining akshara, so that the shape has become distorted. We must, however, evidently read *a*. The next letter is *ṭha*, and then follows a long vertical which runs up into the akshara standing above. There are, however, faint traces of a curve in line with the head of the preceding *tha*, and if we can assume that the upper part of the long vertical is due to a later damage to the stone, we may think of reading *athana*, which might correspond to Skr. *ashṭānām*. It is quite conceivable that *ashta* only became *adha* in compounds such as *adhashathi*, and also in the Aśoka edicts and elswhere in Kharoshthī inscriptions *atha* is the common form.

Then follows a fairly distinct *ha*, something which may be *ya* and some blurred lines, which may perhaps be *nana*. With great hesitation I read *athana hayanana*, Skr. *ashṭānāṁ hāyanānām*, of eight years. The remaining portion of the line is much defaced. The first akshara is illegible, the second looks like *e*, and the third is certainly *sa*.

L. 5. The first akṣhara is perhaps *dha* of the same shape as in the Patika plate. Then follows *ma*, with the right extremity rising higher than the left and crossed by an upward curve. The nearest approach is the *rma* of the Jauliã inscription 1. The next letter is evidently *ra*, and then follows an akshara which looks like *tha*, or rather *va*, and further an almost certain *e*. One might think of *Dharmaravae* as the name of a female person, but there cannot be the question of more than a mere guess. Then comes a distinct *su*, followed by two aksharas, which I cannot read, and two more, which seem to be *yae*.

L. 6 begins with *ya veha arame*, where *ya* is the relative pronoun, *veha* probably Skr. *vā iha* or *va iha*. *Ārāma* in Pāli also means 'a monastery', &c., and some such meaning is perhaps intended. Then follows perhaps *na* and *mi* or *miṁ*, whereafter there

is a big hole, followed by traces which may belong to a *na*. What follows may be *varena*.

L. 7 opens with *siati ya me* and seems to end in *yave*. The intervening letters are illegible, though the second after *me* seems to be *ha*, perhaps the end of *iha*. *Siati* is the optative of the base *as*, to be, cf. *siyati* in the Taxila gold plate and the Niya documents.[1]

L. 8. The first two aksharas are *śpasu*, which can be restored as *viśpasu*, Skr. *viśvāsu*. Then follow two letters which I cannot make out and then *su*. With every reserve I read *imasu*. The second, third, and fourth aksharas after *su* seem to be *yaraya*, the remaining letters cannot be read. We can only say that the second *ya* was apparently followed by *su*.

L. 9. The first akshara is doubtful. It may be *ki* or *ve*. Then comes a damaged spot, followed by *pa* or, perhaps, *pra*, *tha* and *vi*, one illegible letter, an apparent *sa*, another illegible letter, *siati*, and, finally, *ya*.

L. 10. The beginning is quite hopeless, about four aksharas being absolutely defaced. Then comes *prachhi*, which may be some form of *prachchhid* or of *prachh*, further an akshara which I cannot identify, a hole, three letters which look like *vehaa*, and, finally, some strokes which I cannot make out.

It will be seen that reading and interpretation are throughout uncertain, and I am unable to make out any connected sense. There seems to be some mention of donations in connexion with an ārāma, but the only certain information which we can gather is that the record is dated in the year 68, evidently of the old Saka era, and in this fact we can see an indication that the Mānsehrā country was included in the Saka empire.

Text

L. 1 adhashaṭhia . . .
2 eśa o[ja samuchhicha] . u . . .
3 liasa śu[śrushaña]e ded[i]
4 aṭha[na hayanana] . . sa . .
5 [dha]rmaravae su . . . . [yae] . . .
6 ya veha [arame] na . . varena
7 siati ya me . ha . . . . ya [ve]
8 [vi*]śpasu [ima]su . . [yarayasu]
9 . . . prathavi . [sa] . siati ya
10 . . . . prachhi . . . . . vehaa . . .

Translation

L. 1 in sixty-eight . . .
2 having destroyed the royal strength (?)
3 at the order of obedience of . . . lia gives
4 of eight years
5 with Dharmarava
6 what here in the ārāma
7 may be, what by me . . . . or what
8 in all these
9 . . established (?) . . . may be, what
10 . . . cut off (?) . . or here.

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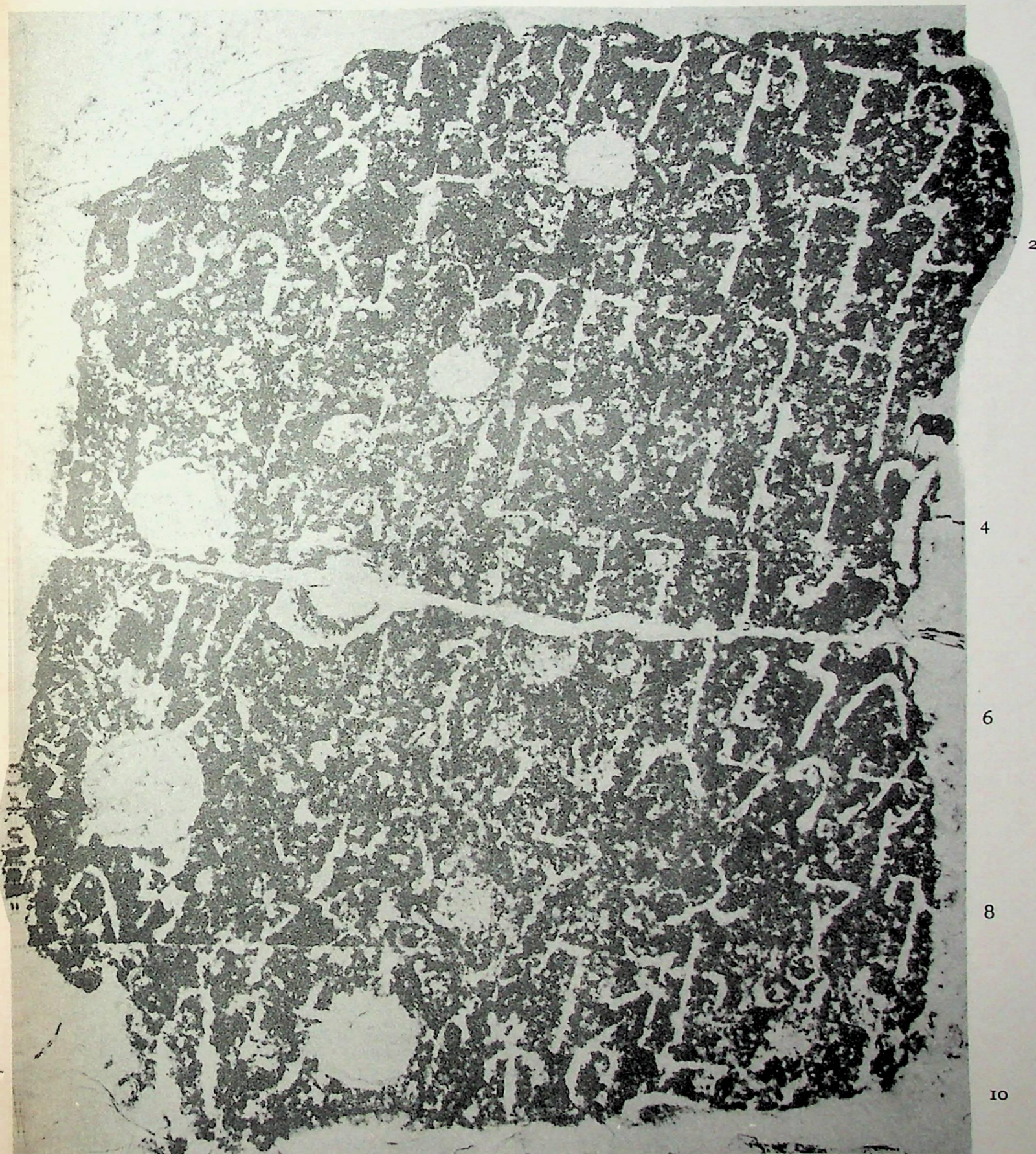
[1] Cf. *Khar. Inscr.*, nos. 3, 5, 7, 11, &c.

1. FATEHJANG. YEAR 68

Scale 0·3

XII. Plate IV. 1 : FATEHJANG STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 68

Fatehjang is the easternmost tahsīl of the Attock District and of its head-quarters, a village which is also known under the Hindu name Chāsa.[1] It is now a station on the Rāwalpindī-Kohat railway.

Four or five miles south of Fatehjang is the village Mahjia, situated in 33° 29′ N. and 72° 39′ E. No. I, 3 of the Lahore Museum is a stone, bearing a Kharoshthī inscription in one line, which was for some time left unregistered as presented by Cunningham from Máji, i. e. Mahjia.[2]

According to a letter from Cunningham to Vincent Smith of June 17, 1892, the stone 'may have been inserted in a wall, but could not have been the base of a statue'. It was 5 ft. 9 in. long and from 3 ft. to 1 ft. 9 in. broad and weighed 12 maunds 7 seers (1,008 lb. avoirdupois or 457 kg.), but was cut down to 4 maunds 3 seers before it was sent to Lahore. It is now 5 ft. long and 4 in. high, and has been broken into two pieces. The inscribed portion is 3 ft. 1 in. long, and the size of individual letters varies from 1 to 2 in.

The inscription has been published by M. E. Senart,[3] and M. Boyer[4] has made a contribution to its interpretation.

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of the Saka variety. *Kha* has the backward bend which we already find in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, and the *o*-mātrā is suspended from the bottom of the head as in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102. The lower horizontal of *tha* is slightly longer than the upper one, as in the Mānsehrā and Taxila copper-plate inscriptions. The head of *ṇa* is slightly rounded, but not continued so far downwards to the right as in the old Swāt inscriptions and on the Patika plate. The letter occurs three times, always between vowels, and in the final word *danamukho* it has a bend of the vertical, so that we might think of reading *ṇa*, but it seems to me that *na* is preferable. *Mu* has the same shape as on the Mathurā Lion Capital, and the same is the case with *ya* and *sa*, which latter, however, also reminds us of the Shahdaur inscription.

On the whole the alphabet, as maintained by Mr. R. D. Banerji,[5] points to a fairly early age.

The opening portion containing the date does not admit of any doubt. It runs *saṁ 20 20 20 4 4 Prothavatasa masasa divase shodaśe 10 4 1 1*. We may note the *t* for intervocalic *d* in *Prothavatasa*. The *ṭha* of this word stands in the break between the two pieces into which the stone has been broken, but is perfectly clear. The *e* of *divase* is not visible in the estampage, but can be clearly seen in a photograph before me. The last figure of the date is longer than the preceding one, just as the corresponding 1 in the last date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

After the figures denoting the year there is a short dash, which evidently marks a stop. M. Senart explained the curious hook following after the final figure of the date as a similar dash. M. Boyer, on the other hand, read it as *de*, and this reading was accepted by Mr. Majumdar. What stands on the stone is, as will be seen, a sloping

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[1] Cf. Cunningham, ASI, xiv, pp. 24 f.

[2] Cf. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 37 ; Vincent Smith, JASB, LXI, i, 1892, p. 56 ; LXII, i, 1893, pp. 84 f. ; R. D. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 46 ; J. P. Vogel, ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 249, 251 ; Majumdar's List, no. 10.

[3] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 129 ff., with plate.

[4] JA, X, iii, 1904, p. 465

[5] JRAS, 1920, p. 205.

vertical, with a horizontal protruding from the middle towards the right. A somewhat similar *de*, without any horizontal or bend of the top, is found in the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168, but here the *e*-stroke joins the sloping vertical near the bottom. Moreover the distance between the sign and the next letter is unusually small. In such circumstances I am inclined to accept M. Senart's explanation and to follow him in thinking that the stroke has become enlarged by a flaw in the stone.

The reading of the remaining aksharas is quite certain: *vadhitiraṇa sahayaṇa danamukho.* M. Senart thought that the natural division of the words would be *vadhitiranasa hayana danamukho*, but, failing to find any likely explanation of *hayaṇa*, he finally treated *Vadhitiraṇasahayaṇa* as a compound meaning 'of Vadhitirana and his companions'. M. Boyer explained *Devadhitiraṇa* as a name meaning 'pious to the devas' and *hayana* as Skr. *hayana*, which occurs as a various reading instead of *dayana*, a covered carriage or palanquin, Amarakośa II, viii, 52. Mr. Majumdar, finally, translated 'gift of Sahaya, daughter (*dhitira*) of Deva'.

It seems to me that there cannot be any doubt about the explanation of *sahayana*. It corresponds to Skr. *sahāyānām*, of the companions, of the associates. We have four other Kharoshthī records of the Saka period mentioning wells of, or presented by various associations of *sahayas* (*sahāyas*) or *sahayaras* (*sahacharas*), viz. the Muchai (*sahayarana kue Vashiśugana*), Mārguz (*kue sahaya . . . daraṇa*), Kala Sang (. . *yaraṇa Pipalakhaana kuo*) and Peshāwar Museum, no. 20 (*sahayara Travaśakuraṇa daṇamukhe kue khanavide viharami*) inscriptions. I am unable to make any suggestion about the nature of such associations or fraternities. The qualifying additions are throughout unclear. On the other hand, the parallelism of the other records makes me inclined to think that the Fatehjang stone was originally intended to commemorate the dedication of a well.

The word *Vadhitiraṇa* or *Devadhitiraṇa* must contain a nearer characterization of the association of *sahāyas*. *Dhitirana* might be the genitive plural of a Prākrit word corresponding to Skr. *duhitar*; cf. *matapitarana* in the Ārā inscription and the doubtful *matudhitrana* on the Saddo rock. In that case we should have to accept the reading *devadhitirana*, and we might think of some association of nuns designated 'the divine daughters', just as we find *putra* used about the members of certain groups or associations, e. g. in the Taxila silver scroll and Ārā inscriptions. As remarked above, however, the reading *de* is extremely uncertain. If we read *Vadhitirana*, the only explanation which I can offer is to take *Vadhitira* as representing a Skr. *vādhitra* formed from *vadhitra*, which according to Ujjvaladatta on the Unādisūtra iv. 172 means *manmatha*, love. We should then have to think of some corporation connected with the worship of the god of love or the study of the Kāmaśāstra. This explanation is, however, extremely uncertain, and we can scarcely do more than to state that we have to do with some kind of corporation, the explanation of its character being as uncertain as in the case of the other records mentioned above.

The date of the inscription must be referred to the old Saka era, and, according to Dr. van Wijk, it corresponds to July 18, 17 B.C.

I thus arrive at the following reading and interpretation:

TEXT

Sam 20 20 20 4 4. Prothavatasa masasa divase shoḍaśe 10 4 1 1. Vadhitirana sahayana danamukho.

TRANSLATION

Anno 68, on the sixteenth, 16., day of the month Praushthapada: gift of the Vadhitira companions.

XIII. Plate V. 1: TAXILA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PATIKA THE YEAR 78

In January, 1862, Mr. A. A. Roberts presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two copper-plates carrying Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. They had been brought to him by the villager Nūr, well known as treasure hunter in the mounds at ancient Taxila.

The exact find-place is not known. Nūr himself was later on examined by Cunningham,[1] but his statements differed at different times. He first said that he had found the plates in the mound numbered 40 in Cunningham's map, on the Lundī Nala, some 500 yards north of the Jandiāl temple. Afterwards he spoke of another mound, Cunningham's no. 41, a little farther to the west. His wife, on the other hand, 'referred the discovery to one of the ruined topes of Gāngu or Chiti, she could not remember which'. At Chiti Cunningham 'was informed by five different witnesses that no inscription of any kind had been discovered there, but they had heard that an inscribed copper-plate in two pieces had been found near Shah-Dherī.' Later on the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Delmerick, was informed that the actual find-place was the village of Tofkiā̃ in Sirsukh, the third city in Taxila. This statement is not, however, more likely to be correct than the others.[2]

The plates were examined by Edwin Norris, who read the words *Takśila nagara* and *Śakyamuni* and wrote some notes, which were read at one of the Society's meetings. At his suggestion the plates were sent to Professor Dowson, who saw that they belonged together and formed one single inscription.

In July, 1862, E. Thomas gave some information about the two scholars' results,[3] and in December he sent a letter to the Asiatic Society of Bengal[4] and a reproduction of the inscription, 'with a view to an independent translation being made, prior to the receipt of Professor Dowson's reading of the text'.

The result were some remarks by Cunningham,[5] and about the same time Dowson published his reading in a paper read to the Royal Asiatic Society, February 16, 1863,[6] and afterwards[7] he added some remarks, which also took notice of Cunningham's paper.

A new note was published by Cunningham, with a reproduction of the plate, in 1871,[8] and, in 1894, Professor Rapson edited a new and much improved rendering by Bhagvānlāl Indrājī.[9]

Then Professor Bühler contributed two short notes to the Academy[10] and republished[11] the inscription with a new plate, reproduced from a photograph taken by Mr. Griggs for Dr. Fleet.[12]

According to Bühler, the plate 'measures fourteen inches by three and weighs $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. It is broken into three pieces, two large ones, right and left, and a small one fitting in between them. Some portions of the central piece, which is half eaten by verdigris, have been lost. Besides, the left-hand upper and lower corners of the plate are broken off,

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[1] See ASI, ii, pp. 132 ff.; v, p. 67.
[2] Cf. Marshall, ASIAR, 1915–16, p. 21.
[3] JRAS, xx, 1863, p. 108.
[4] JASB, xxxi, 1862, pp. 532 ff., with plate.
[5] JASB, xxxii, 1863, pp. 139 ff.
[6] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 221 ff., with plate III, fig. 1.
[7] JASB, xxxii, 1863, pp. 421 ff.
[8] ASI, ii, pp. 132 ff., and plate LIX, no. 1.
[9] JASR, 1894, pp. 551 ff.
[10] 1896, no. 1247, p. 266; no. 1252, p. 368, republished WZKM, x, p. 173.
[11] *Ep. Ind.*, iv, pp. 54 ff., with plate.
[12] Cf. Majumdar's List, no. 69.

as well as a small bit of the lower portion of the large right-hand piece'. The remaining portions are reproduced in the accompanying plate from new photographs placed at my disposal by the Royal Asiatic Society at the request of the India Office.

The inscription consists of five lines. The letters consist of small dots, punched into the plate, as in some other Kharoshthī inscriptions. The size of individual letters varies from half an inch on the average in ll. 1–4, to about one third of that size in l. 5. L. 5 does not begin at the right-hand corner, but in the interval between the 9th and 10th aksharas of l. 4. In the space thus left open are seen the dots of a series of letters engraved on the reverse and containing an endorsement. It is evident from this arrangement that l. 5 was only engraved after ll. 1–4 and the endorsement had been executed. It therefore seems as if l. 5, which mentions the *navakamika*, has been subsequently added. A similar state of things is met with in the Mānikiāla stone inscription, where the name of the *navakarmiga* is inserted transversely in the right-hand corner. In both cases the *navakarmika* has taken care that his name should be associated with the meritorious deed recorded in the inscription.

The alphabet is Kharoshṭhī of the old Saka type. *Ka*, *pa*, *bha*, *la* and *śa* have straight lines and distinct corners as on old coins, and are not rounded as in later records. *Na* has the long upper curvature of the Aśoka inscriptions and other old records. *Ba* has the rounded shape and the deep indenture of older records. The *m* of *mu* has the same shape as in the Aśoka inscriptions. The same is the case with the broad, angular *ya*. In *sa* the upward continuation of the lower vertical is turned to the left, as sometimes in the Aśoka inscriptions, and almost reaches the head. Ante-consonantic *r* has the older shape of a curved cross-bar without the loop. The anusvāra is of frequent occurrence, in *paṁ*, *baṁ*, *maṁ*, *yaṁ*, *raṁ*, *saṁ*, *haṁ*.

With regard to phonetics, we may note that *ṇa* and *na* are distinguished as in Sanskrit, if we except the writing *śakamunisa*, which seems to show that the tendency to cerebralize an intervocalic *n*, which has become the rule in the Kharoshthī Dhammapada, was a feature of the spoken vernacular. It is also of interest that we find *apratiṭhavita* with *ṭh*, but [*pra**]*tithaveti* with *th*.

The reading of the record is, generally speaking, certain.

L. 1. The first two words are certainly *saṁvatśaraye athasatatimae*. The two first aksharas are apparently so much corroded that they are hardly visible. Then follow the numerical figures 20 20 20 10 4 4, i.e. 78, and *maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa*, of the mahārāja, the great Moga.

Of the ensuing word, which Dowson was able to read as *Panemasa*, the second akshara is now almost invisible. The Greek month Panemos broadly corresponds to the Indian Āshādha. Then follow *masasa divase paṁchame*, the figures 4 and 1, i. e. 5, and *etaye purvaye*, where only the akshara *pu* is slightly defaced.

The last word of l. 1 was read *kshaharasa* by Dowson, and Bühler thinks that this reading is perhaps right, though he also admits the possibility of reading *kshaharatasa*, as done by Bhagvānlāl Indrājī. In the photographs before me the aksharas *kshaha* are quite distinct, *ra* is defaced, but legible, and the fourth akshara is almost certainly *ta*. Moreover, the bottom of a fifth akshara, viz. *sa*, is clearly visible, the head having disappeared in the break at the end of the line. *Kshaharatasa* cannot be anything else than the genitive of the well-known designation *kshaharāta*, which is also used by the oldest of the Western Kshatrapas.

L. 2. Though the first two aksharas are now much defaced, the reading of the three first words is absolutely certain, viz. *chukhsasa cha kshatrapasa*. The designations *kshaharatasa chukhsasa cha kshatrapasa* remind us of *kshaharātasa kshatrapasa* on

the coins of the Western kshatrapa Bhūmaka and of *rāño kshaharātasa kshatrapasa* in the Nāsik inscriptions of Nahapāna. The only difference is that in our inscription we find the addition *chukhsasa cha* between *kshaharatasa* and *kshatrapasa.* Here *chukhsa* might be parallel with *kshaharata*, and those who read *kshaharasa* at the end of l. 1 have all treated *kshaharasa* and *chukhsasa* as parallel genitives, governed by *kshatrapasa*, and translated 'of the kshatrapa of Kshahara and Chukhsa'. Cunningham [1] tried to identify Kshahara and Chukhsa with the present Sir-Sukh, where he thought that the copper-plate had been found. In the first place, however, the plate does not seem to hail from Sir-Sukh, and, in the second, it is difficult to see how *Kshahara-Chukhsa* could phonetically become Sir-Sukh. Bühler further objects that the locality where the plate was deposited is called Kshema in the inscription itself. And, finally, the reading *kshaharasa* cannot, as we have seen, be maintained. If *kshaharatasa* and *chukhsasa* are parallel forms, we must explain *chukhsa* as having a similar meaning as *kshaharata.* The Nāsik inscription of the 19th year of Siri-Pulumāyi [2] mentions the *Khakharātavasa*, the Kshaharāta race, and it is probable that the Kshaharātas were a Saka family or clan, but the word might also denote a charge or dignity. Chukhsa could hardly have any such meaning. If *kshaharāta* is the name of a family, the same person would be assigned to two or, as we shall see, even three families, and, if it is a title, we should have to state the use of three titles, *kshaharāta*, *chukhsa*, and *kshatrapa*, and the position of the intervening *cha* would be unusual. I therefore think that we must explain *chukhsasa* as a genitive dependent on *kshatrapasa*, the more so because the title *Chukhsasa kshatrapasa* is also used in another Taxila inscription of the year 191, and there *chukhsa* can hardly be anything else than the name of the locality over which the *kshatrapa* held sway.

Bühler thought it possible to read *chuskha* and drew attention to the curious Sanskrit *choska*, which according to the Trikāndaśesha means 'a horse from the districts on the Indus'. *Choska* might perhaps, like *saindhava*, a horse from Sindh, be a purely territorial name, denoting some particular district on the Indus, and a variant of *chukhsa* or *chuskha*. If that were so, it would follow that the kshatrapa in question governed the Eastern Panjāb as far as the Indus.

Sir Aurel Stein,[3] on the other hand, identified *Chukhsa* with the present Chach or Chachh, an alluvial plain in the north of the District and tahsīl of Attock, lying between 33° 53′ and 33° 59′ N. and 72° 22′ and 72° 44′ E., i.e. in the immediate neighbourhood of ancient Taxila.

It seems to me that this latter explanation is the most likely one, though there are some phonetical difficulties with regard to the vowel. I therefore read *kshaharatasa Chukhsasa cha kshatrapasa*, of the Kshaharāta and kshatrapa of Chukhsa.

Then follows a series of parenthetical sentences: [4] *Liako Kusuluko nama, tasa putro Pati[ko] Takhaśilaye nagare utarena prachu deśo Kshema nama*, Liaka Kusuluka by name, his son Patika. In the town of Takshaśilā, to the north, the eastern region, Kshema by name.

The reading is absolutely certain. Only the *ko* of *Patiko*, after which there is room enough for one or two aksharas, so that we might think of reading *Patiko nama*, has almost entirely disappeared with the portion of the plate which has been broken off in this place.

The name of the Kshaharāta, the kshatrapa of Chukhsa, was accordingly Liaka Kusuluka. There cannot be any doubt about the identity of this kshatrapa with the ruler

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[1] ASI, ii, p. 134*; v, pp. 67 f.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 60.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, xxv, 1896, pp. 174 f.

[4] Cf. Lüders, JRAS, 1906, p. 650.

who strikes coins in direct imitation of one of the issues of Eucratides and bearing the legend *ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ*,[1] where the Greek rendering shows that the *s* was pronounced with voice and that the second *u* was long. As stated in the Historical Introduction, Liaka Kusuluka was evidently a Saka ruler, and we can infer from our inscription that he held sway in and near Taxila, while Moga was the Saka suzerain.

After Liaka the inscription mentions his son Patika, without any title. We shall see below, under l. 4, that he may have held a subordinate charge, and we know from the Mathurā Lion Capital that later on he became mahākshatrapa, probably in Taxila. For he is evidently identical with the mahakshatrava Kusulua Patika mentioned in that record.

The last parenthetical sentence runs *Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa prachu deśo Kshema nama*. Here *Takhaśila* is hardly the genuine dialect form. In other inscriptions we find *Takshaśila* which seems to be more in accordance with the phonetical system of the dialect. *Takhaśilaye* can be the oblique form of *Takhaśilā* or, like *Taksha*[*ś**]*ilaami* in a later Taxila inscription, the locative of a *Takhaśilaya*, Skr. *Tākshaśilaka*. As pointed out by Bühler, we should expect *Takhaśilae nagarasa utarena* or *utarena* with the accusative. The construction is, however, not strictly grammatical. The various words are put side by side, without the proper nexus: in the town of Takshaśilā, to the north, the eastern region, Kshema by name, or, Kshema is its name. The form *prachu*, as compared with *deśo*, is in accordance with the practice in the Kharoshthī Dhammapada.

The locality called Kshema cannot be identified. Since Sirkap was the chief settlement of Taxila in the Saka period,[2] we must look for it to the north-east of that place.

A new sentence begins with the last word of l. 2, which is *atra*.

L. 3 begins with *śe*, which Bühler was certainly right in restoring as *deśe*. Dowson took it to be the beginning of a word and read *śepatiko*, connecting it with the ensuing aksharas, and M. Senart thought[3] that the actual reading might be *śarirakośa*, a reliquary.

Then follows *Patiko apratithavita bhagavata Śakamunisa śariraṁ tithaveti*, i.e., as seen by Dowson, *pratithaveti*, *saṁgharamaṁ cha*. The *e* of *ve* in *tithaveti* and the two first aksharas of *saṁgharamaṁ* are now hardly visible.

The end of the line is clear: *sarvabudhana puyae matapitaraṁ puyayaṁta*. The *e* of *puyae* has been added as a correction above the line. Bühler read *puyaya*[*ṁto*], but I cannot see the final *o*-mātrā and follow M. Senart[4] in reading *a*, though *a* evidently stands for *o*.

L. 4. The two first aksharas are indistinct, but visible. The text runs: *kshatrapasa saputradarasa ayubalavardhie*. There can only be some doubt about the last akshara, which looks more like *a*. The *e*-stroke seems, however, to be represented by a single dot, which runs into the dots representing the preceding akshara.

Then follows *bhratara sarva cha*, after which there is a small hole in the plate so that *cha* is not quite complete.

The next word is not distinctly legible. Dowson read *satiga . a . . dhavasa*, Bhagvānlāl *natigaadhavasa*, and Bühler restored *natigabaṁdhavasa*, but remarked that *nati* is somewhat indistinct and that only the left side of the top of *ga* remains. I am much in doubt about the initial *na*. The old plate published by E. Thomas seems to show a vertical with a curving line to the left and a top-stroke, and it is possible that we should read *ña*, as in the corresponding word in the Taxila silver-scroll. The ensuing words are certainly *cha puyayaṁto*.

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[1] Cf. Rapson, WK, p. cii.

[2] Cf. Marshall, *A guide to Taxila*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 67 f.

[3] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130[1].

[4] l. c., p. 121.

The construction is irregular, the participle *puyayaṁto* governing first the accusatives *bhratara sarva*, which I follow Bühler in explaining as corresponding to Skr. *bhrātṝn sarvān*, and then the genitive. Mr. Pargiter [1] proposes to explain *bhratara* as a genitive and to read '*sa-putra-darasa* (*ayu-bala-vardhie*) *bhratara sarva-*(*cha*)*-natiga-*[*baṁ*]*dhavasa cha*, the first *cha* being inserted parenthetically . . . with reference to *sarva-natiga*, and the second *cha* being in its correct place grammatically but referring specially to (*sarva*)-[*baṁ*]*dhava*. These *cha*'s are used more with regard to the sense than strict grammar'. It seems to me that such a construction could not possibly be intelligible to anybody, without a commentary.

Bühler explains the irregularity by assuming 'that in the Gandhāra dialect the verb *puyayati* could take either the accusative or the genitive, like the Sanskrit *namati*'. We have not, however, any reason for assuming that such was the case, and it seems more likely that the genitive is a mistake owing to confusion with the parallel construction which we find in *sarvabudhana puyae*. It would also be possible to explain *-baṁdhava-sacha* as representing a Skr. *bāndhavasatya*, in which case there would not be any grammatical irregularity. But we have no examples of an idiom such as *satyaṁ pūjayitum*.

With *puyayaṁto* the context is at an end. The remaining portion of l. 4 contains a separate statement. The reading is perfectly certain: *mahadanapati Patikasa jaüvañae*. There is room for one or two aksharas in the missing corner, but we cannot say whether anything is missing. Bühler explained *jaüvañae* as representing Skr. *jayo varṇyate* and connected this with l. 5, which he read: *Rohinimitrena ya ima*[*hi*] *saṁgharame navakamika*, translating the whole: 'the victory of the great gift-lord Patika is described by Rohinimitra, who is the overseer of the works in this monastery'. The *jaü*, he says, 'refers to the gift, by which Patika had become a *dānavīra*'. Lüders [2] doubts 'very much the correctness of the reading *jaü vañae*. 'To say nothing of the supposed elision of *t* in *vañae*, which is by no means likely, I cannot bring myself to believe that *jayo varṇyate*, literally "the victory is described", could ever mean "the record of the great gift was drawn up". I would rather,' he says, 'suggest to read *jaüvaraye* or some other equivalent of Skr. *yauvarājye* instead of *jaü vañae*. "During the time when the great gift-lord Patika was heir apparent" would be quite unobjectionable.' Lüders has further [3] compared the title *mahādānapati* with the corresponding Saka word *horamurta* in the Mānikiāla inscription, *horamurṇdaka* in certain Mathurā inscriptions, and the short form *horaka* on the Mathurā Lion Capital, and pointed out that these 'gift-lords' were evidently persons of consequence.

While agreeing with Lüders in his criticism of Bühler, I cannot accept his explanation. Sanskrit *y* never becomes *j* in the north-western dialect, and the reading *jaüvañae* is beyond doubt. It seems most natural to see a word corresponding to Skr. *ājñayā* in the last part of *jaüvañae*, and the remaining *jaüva* must then qualify the *ājñā*, the order, or the person issuing the order, i.e. Patika, as a title. The latter alternative seems to me to be the most likely one. In that case we may compare the well-known title *yavuga*, *yaüa*, *ζαοος*, i.e. *zaüa*, *zavuga*, used about the first Kushāna ruler, Kujūla Kadphises. There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that this was an old Saka title, which had been current in the old Tokharian country, and that it had also been used by the old Saka chiefs in India. If Patika, the son of the kshatrapa, bore this title at the time of the inscription, we must infer that the position as *jaüva* was inferior to that of a *kshatrapa*.

I have already mentioned that the words written on the reverse were engraved immediately after l. 4 and before l. 5. They run *Patikasa kshatrapa Liaka*. Dowson,

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, xi, p. 215[6].   [2] JRAS, 1909, pp. 664 f.   [3] SBAW, 1912, pp. 420 ff.

who read *patipasa* instead of *Patikasa*, explained them as an endorsement meaning 'Liako, Satrap of the lord of lords'. Bhagvānlāl described them as the signature of Patika, with the addition of his father's name. Bühler suggested the translation 'of Patika, the satrap Liaka', meaning 'Patika's father, the satrap Liaka', and added: 'As Patika receives no official title whatsoever, he must as yet have been a private individual and as such unable to sanction or endorse an official document.' A comparison of the Kharoshṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan, where we frequently find the genitive of a name, with or without the addition *dadavo*, to be given to, as an address on the cover, shows that we must translate: 'to Patika, the kshatrapa Liaka', and conclude that the deed was executed at Patika's request in Liaka's office and sent thence to Patika. In such circumstances it becomes more intelligible why the words *mahadanapati Patikasa jaüvañae* are added at the end of the deed. They are a kind of labelling, in order to secure dispatch to the proper person.

L. 5 has, as already remarked, been added after the words on the reverse had been engraved. As stated above, Bühler connected them with the last word of l. 4. But we have already seen that his explanation of that word cannot be upheld. Moreover, as shown by Lüders,[1] the *navakarmika* does not seem to have had anything to do with the drawing up of the record. He had to superintend the work, when a layman wanted to erect a building for the use of the order. Such was evidently also the case with *Rohinimitra*, and l. 5 must probably be taken together with the words in l. 3, which record the establishing of the relics and the saṁghārāma. It is of course possible that it had originally been intended to insert the name of the *navakarmika* in the body of the inscription. As stated above, however, we have an analogous case in the Mānikiāla stone inscription, and it seems probable that l. 5 has been added by Rohinimitra himself, or at his request, after the plate had been forwarded from Liaka's office.[2] That it is a later addition is evident not only from the way in which it has been engraved, after the dots of the endorsement, but also from the smaller size of the aksharas, and from the form *navakamika*, where the *r* before *m* has been omitted and *k* in the suffix *ka* has not been changed to *g* or *y*, or dropped as in *saṁvatśaraye, athasatatimae, ñatiga*. In the record itself *ka* in such position is only found in foreign names such as *Liaka* and *Patika*.

The reading of l. 5 is certain, with the exception of the akshara which Bühler read *hi* in *imahi*. It seems to me that we must read *mi* or perhaps *mri*, i.e. the same compound letter, which apparently denotes *mhi* in later inscriptions such as the record on the Wardak vase. Also *si* is perhaps possible. With every reserve I therefore read *imami*.

The question of the date has been dealt with in the Introduction, where it has been stated that it probably corresponds to some day in June of the year 6 B.C.

I now give my reading and translation.

Text

L. 1 [saṁva]tśaraye aṭhasatatimae 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa Pa[ne]masa masasa divase paṁchame 4 1 etaye purvaye kshaha[ra]ta[sa]

2 [Chukhsa]sa cha kshatrapasa Liako Kusuluko nama tasa [pu]tro Pati[ko] Takhaśilaye nagare utarena prachu deśo Kshema nama atra

3 [de*]śe Patiko apratithavita bhagavata Śakamuṇisa śariraṁ [pra*]tithaveti [saṁgha]ramaṁ cha sarvabudhana puyae matapitaraṁ puyayaṁt[o*]

4 [kshatra]pasa saputradarasa ayubalavardhi[e] bhratara sarva cha [ñatigabaṁdha]vasa cha puyayaṁto mahadanapati Patikasa jaüvañae

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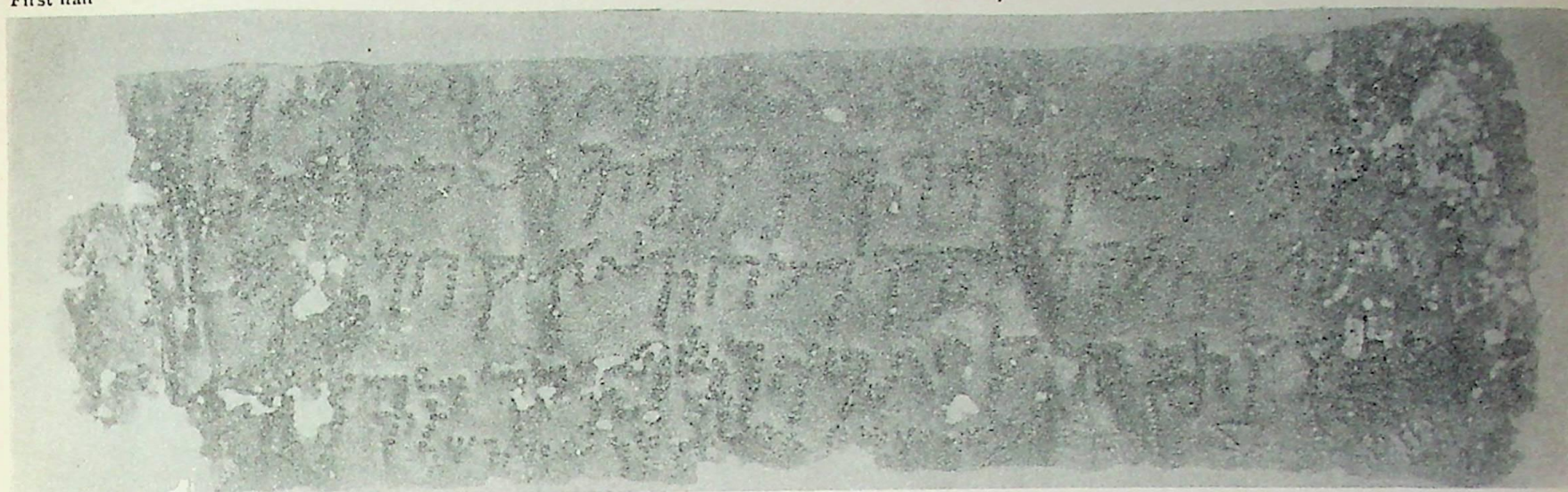
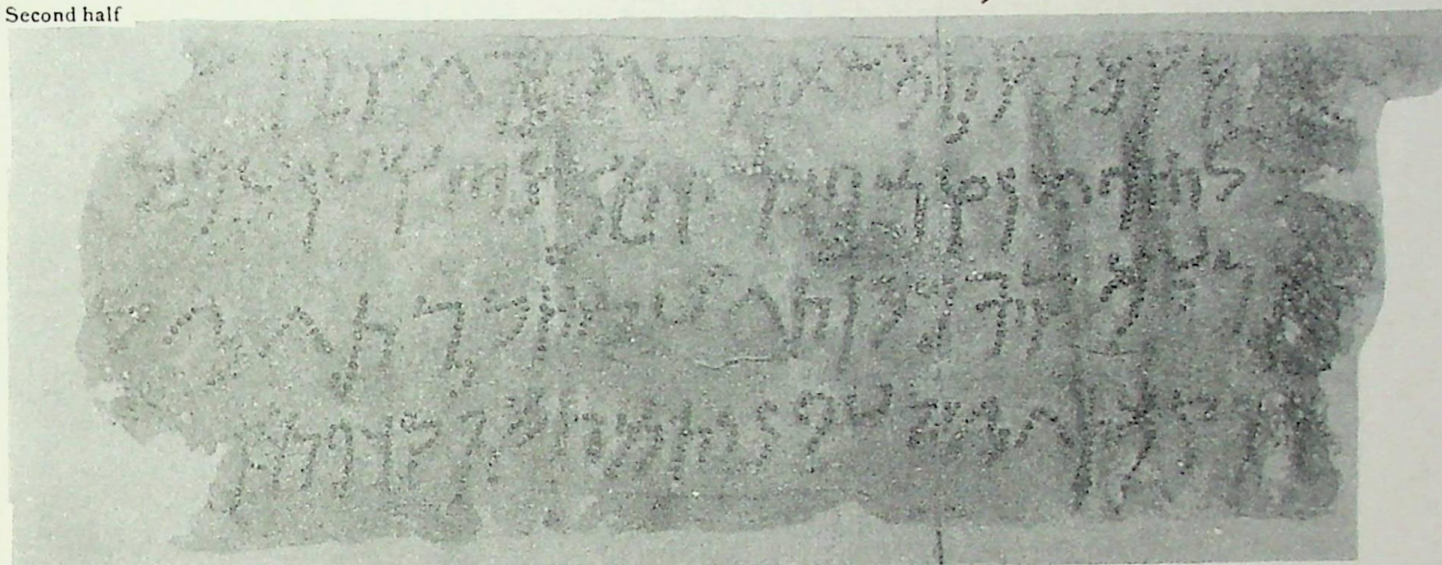
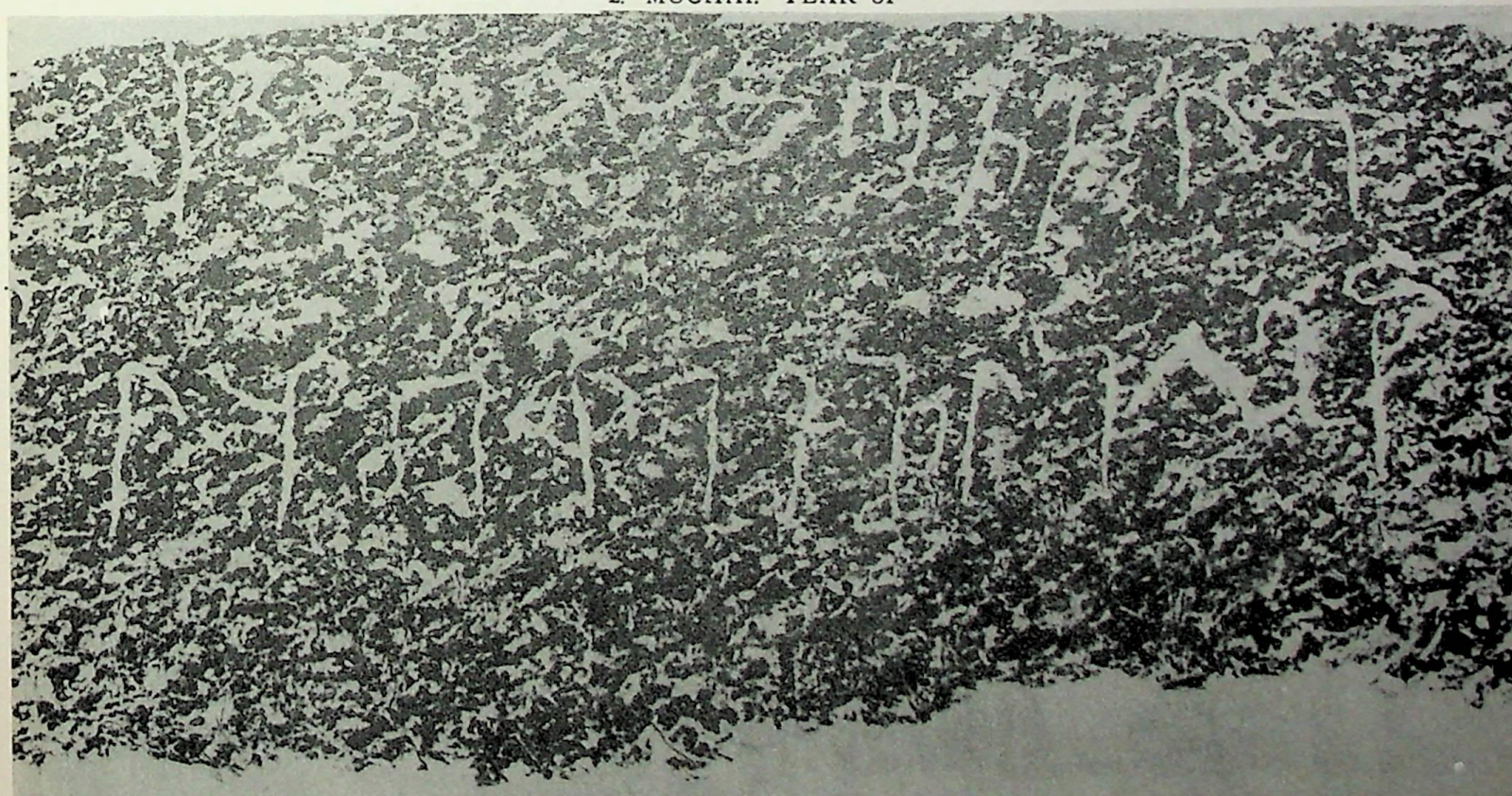
[1] JRAS, 1909, pp. 664 f.

[2] Cf. Konow, SBAW, 1916, p. 794[1].

1. TAXILA COPPER-PLATE. YEAR 78

First half

Second half

2. MUCHAI. YEAR 81

Scale 0·3

5 Rohiṇimitrena ya ima[mi] saṁgharame navakamika
Reverse : Patikasa kshatrapa Liaka.

TRANSLATION

In the seventy-eighth, 78., year (during the reign) of the Great King the Great Moga, on the fifth, 5., day of the month Panemos, on this first (*tithi*), of the Kshaharāta and kshatrapa of Chukhsa—Liaka Kusuluka by name—his son Patika—in the town of Takshaśilā, to the north, the eastern region, Kshema by name—in this place Patika establishes a (formerly) not established relic of the Lord Śākyamuni and a saṁghārāma (through Rohinimitra who (is) the overseer of work in this saṁghārāma, l. 5), for the worship of all Buddhas, worshipping his mother and father, for the increase of the life and power of the kshatrapa, together with his son and wife, worshipping all his brothers and his blood-relations and kinsmen.

At the jaüva-order of the great gift-lord Patika.

To Patika the kshatrapa Liaka.

XIV. PLATE V. 2: MUCHAI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 81.

No. I. 46 of the Lahore Museum is a slab of sandstone, measuring 3 ft. 11½ in. × 1 ft. 1⅓ in., and bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription. According to Sir Aurel Stein's catalogue of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum, quoted by Mr. R. D. Banerji,[1] it was found in a *hujra* or cell in Muchai in Yusufzai, in 72° 20′ E. and 34° 21′ N., just to the north of Mt. Karamar, south-east of Rustam, and north-west of Naogram. It is stated to have been referred to in the Report of the Explorations of the 10th Sappers under Captain Maxwell in 1882.

The inscription, which is no. 43 in Majumdar's List, was discussed and edited by Mr. Banerji,[2] and the reading was corrected by Professor Lüders.[3]

The inscription covers a surface 2 ft. × 9 in., and consists of two lines, the average size of individual letters being 2–3 inches.

The characters belong to about the same period as those of the Patika plate. We may note the square *ka*, the sloping *ti*, the broad angular *ya*, the square *śa*, and the distinct straight prolongation of the lower vertical of *sa*, which almost touches the head. I fail to understand how Mr. Banerji could assign our inscription to the Kushāna period and the later Śaka era.

L. 1 is perfectly certain, viz. *vashe ekaśitimaye 20 20 20 20 1*, followed by two lines crossing each other, but evidently only meant to mark a stop, in a similar way as in the Fatehjang inscription. It is of interest that the word *varsha*, which regularly becomes *vasha* in the dialect, is used in some records dated in the older Saka era, viz. in the Takht-i-Bāhī, Kāldarra, Skārah Dherī, and probably the Mārguz epigraphs, but never in such as belong to the Kanishka era.

L. 2 was read *sahayatena kae Vashiśugena* by Mr. Banerji. There cannot, however, be any doubt that Lüders was right in reading *sahayarana kue vashiśugaṇa*. *Sahayara* represents Sanskrit *sahachara*, companion, friend, associate. I am unable to say what kind of association the *vashiśugas* formed. *Vashi* probably stands for *varshi* and *śuga* may represent *śuṅga* or perhaps even *śuka*. *Kue*, finally, is the nominative of the word corresponding to Skr. *kūpa*, a well.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 64.
[2] l. c., pp. 46, 64, with plate II, fig. 1.
[3] JRAS, 1909, p. 664[2].

With regard to the date of the Muchai record, it will be seen in the Introduction that it probably corresponds to the year 4–3 B.C.

TEXT

L. 1 vashe ekaśitimaye 20 20 20 20 1 +
2 sahayarana kue vashiśugana.

TRANSLATION

In the eighty-first, 81., year. Well of the Vashiśuga companions.

XV. PLATES VI–IX: THE MATHURĀ LION CAPITAL

In 1869 Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī found a red sandstone capital embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Śītalā, on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindus at Mathurā. An account of the discovery is given in the Pandit's paper on The Northern Kshatrapas.[1] On the Pandit's death in 1888 the capital was bequeathed to the British Museum, where it is now exhibited.

The capital is 1 ft. 7 in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. wide. It has been described by the late Professor Bühler[2] as follows: 'It consists of two lions standing closely joined together, back to back, on a pedestal, a square block of red sandstone forming an oblong 10 in. square at the top and 11 in. square at the base, and 1 ft. 8 in. in height. Above, at the point of the junction of the two backs, there is a square flattened space with a hole in the middle, and there is also a corresponding hole at the bottom. It is thus evident that the sculpture belonged to the upper portion of some pillar, but did not stand quite at the top. And various representations on the slabs from the Amarāvatī Stūpa leave no doubt as to the exact position of the two lions and as to the nature of the object which they carried. For example . . . we have a pillar, surmounted by an architrave on which two lions *couchant* are placed back to back, and above them rises anenormous Dharmachakra . . . The arrangement seems to have been a very common one, the lions as supporters of the Dharmachakra being symbols of the Buddha, who is often called the lion of the Śākya race. The place where the pillar was set up seems to have been, according to the inscription H, the Guhavihāra, apparently one of the Buddhist monasteries at Mathurā, with which town the sculpture is also connected by the name of the Satrap Śudasa or Śodāsa. If the exact find-spot of the Lion Capital were known, it would be possible to identify the site of the Guhavihāra, which is not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.'

Professor Thomas[3] states that 'the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings of the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible'.

The bodies of the two lions and the top, back, and bottom of the block carry inscriptions in Kharoshthī letters. These inscriptions were arranged and read by Bhagvānlāl, whose interpretation was published by Bühler,[4] who carefully compared his

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[1] Published by E. J. Rapson, JRAS, 1894, pp. 541 ff.; cf. also Cunningham, 'Coins of the Sakas', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3. series, x, p. 123; *Academy*, 28 April, 1891, p. 397.

[2] JRAS, 1894, p. 526.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, ix, pp. 135 ff.

[4] l. c., pp. 525 ff.

readings with the original 'and afterwards again with an excellent paper impression, presented . . . by Dr. James Burgess in 1889'.

A new edition, with plates, prepared from photographs of Cunningham, was published by Professor F. W. Thomas.[1] Certain passages have been mentioned and discussed by Fleet,[2] A. Barth,[3] R. D. Banerji,[4] F. W. Thomas,[5] V. Smith,[6] H. Lüders,[7] L. Barnett,[8] J. H. Marshall,[9] and E. Rapson,[10] and a new reading of the whole was suggested by myself.[11]

I now edit the inscriptions from an excellent plaster-of-Paris cast, which the India Office has been good enough to place at my disposal, and which has been photographed by Mr. Væring of Oslo for reproduction in the accompanying plates.

It has been usual to distinguish a series of different records on the capital, and to mark each of them by a capital letter. It would not serve any useful purpose to change this designation, though I feel convinced that we cannot accept the arrangement of the various parts of the record or records in the alphabetical succession indicated by the capitals. Their distribution over the capital will be apparent from the sketch in plate VI, which has been drawn from the cast by Mrs. Hütten, of the Ethnographic Museum, Oslo.

M. Barth was of opinion[12] that 'a considerable number of these inscriptions have nothing to do with the erection of the pillar, that they are not contemporaneous with the first consecration, and that they were engraved, not before the capital was put into place, but on various occasions after its fall'. As pointed out by Professor Thomas in his edition, however, the thoroughgoing uniformity of the characters and the similarity of the subject-matter of the records 'forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone'. Whether we assume that we have before us a series of different records, or agree with Luders[13] that the whole is one single inscription, recording the donation of the queen of Rajula and some minor donations made on the same occasion by her relatives, there can hardly be any doubt that the whole has been executed at the same time.

On the other hand, it is evident from the placing and arrangement of the inscriptions that they were not throughout meant to be legible or to be read. To quote M. Barth,[14] 'most, if not all of them were . . . to be necessarily illegible when seen from the foot of the pillar, and two, A′ and N, cut close to the two mortices, were even entirely hidden when the capital was once put into its place and surmounted by its appendage . . . The fact that those commemorations should have been thus engraved so as never to be read would, in any case, be no objection . . . nothing is more common with that sort of documents . . . These are pious works which indeed admit of a certain amount of publicity, but a publicity intended especially for the next world'.

The size of individual letters shows considerable variations. Professor Thomas distinguishes five groups:

1. The inscriptions B, E, F, I, J, M, on the front and back of the stone, with characters about 2–2½ in. in height;

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, ix, pp. 135 ff.

[2] JRAS, 1904, pp. 703 ff.; 1905, pp. 154 ff.; 1907, p. 1013; 1913, pp. 1001, 1009.

[3] *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1907, pp. 384 ff.; *Œuvres*, v, pp. 280 ff., translated *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 245 ff.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 49, 55.

[5] JRAS, 1906, pp. 212 ff.

[6] ZDMG, lxi, 1907, pp. 404 ff.

[7] SBAW, 1913, pp. 415 ff.

[8] JRAS, 1913, p. 945.

[9] JRAS, 1914, p. 985.

[10] *Ancient India*, 1914, p. 158, with plates pp. 150 and 158.

[11] SBAW, 1916, pp. 796 ff.

[12] l. c., p. 388 = 247.

[13] l. c., p. 418.

[14] l. c., pp. 386 f. = 246.

2. G, N, P, E″ on the back and under surface of the stone, *circa* 1½–2 in.;

3. A (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K, L (on the breast of the left lion), O, Q, R (underneath), J′ (front, on the leg of the left lion), *circa* 1½ in.;

4. C, D, E′ (on the back of the right lion), *circa* 1 in.

5. H, H′, slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in., on the front. Similar small letters are also found in inscriptions I and J, and we shall have to discuss them in connexion with the records themselves.

Within one and 'the same inscription the characters generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space'. Professor Thomas is of opinion 'that the inscriptions in larger characters, 1, 2, and 3, were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.'

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of a comparatively old type. Bühler described them as closely agreeing with those of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions of the Aśoka edicts, and Professor Thomas as 'intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive deviations of the Dhammapada manuscript and those discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Mānikiāla and other places and the inscription of Sue-Vihār'.

The shape of individual letters is not quite uniform, some of them having occasionally a cursive form, which fact may point to a comparatively extensive use of the Kharoshthī script by the people who set up the capital, leading to the introduction of cursive forms side by side with the old ones. I may mention a few details.

U has the cursive loop-shape, which we have already found in the Shahdaur inscription, but in I 1 the loop is turned backwards, after the vertical has been bent forwards, and in I 4 we seem to have the Aśoka shape, without the loop and only with the bend, which we have also found in the Swāt vase of Theüdora.

Kha is without the backward bend of the top, as in the Aśoka inscriptions.

Cha has the older form with the downward curve of the lower part. The head of *chha* is angular, and there is almost no interval between the upper and lower parts.

Mu once, in A 13, has the old Aśokan shape, with the *u*-mātrā added to an ordinary *ma*. In A 3, 12, and E′ we find the usual later shape.

Ya is usually broad and angular, but in P 2, N 1 the top has become slightly broadened.

Sa is usually cursive, without the upward prolongation of the lower vertical. Where the latter occurs, as in P 2, it is bent forward as in the Patika plate.

Anteconsonantic *r* has the older shape, without the loop, in *rda* (Q), *rna* (I 1), *rva* (F 2, J 1, P 1).

On the whole the palaeography of the inscriptions points to a time not much later than that of the Patika plate.

Professor Thomas has drawn attention to the numerous cases where a consonant is provided with a bottom hook or curve similar to the usual subscript *ra*. The state of things is as follows.

Kr is used for every intervocalic *k* and *g* in Indian words, and also in the name *Sakastana*; thus *bhakravatro* A 12, *saman[u]motrakra* E″, *nakraraasa* F 1, *nakrarakrasa* N 1, *Sakrastanasa* P 1. Intervocalic *k* without the *r*-stroke only occurs in un-Indian names and words such as *Nada Diakasa* A 5, *horaka* A 9, *Muki* A 13, &c. It seems probable that Professor Thomas is right in assuming that *kr* is used to represent a guttural fricative, 'analogous to the Persian غ; more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavī *Saghastān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time'.

Gra only occurs where the corresponding Sanskrit word has *gra*, viz. in *agra-* A 2, *pagrana* N 2, *parigrahe* A 16, J 3. There is no reason for assuming another value of *gra* than the usual Sanskrit one, the less so because the subscript *ra* here has the curved shape and not the sharp angle, which we find where *gr* seems to represent a guttural fricative, as e. g. in the Wardak inscription.

dhra occurs in the word *pradhravi* A 10, *padhravi* M 2, where it only seems to mark the strong cerebral pronunciation.

The subscript *r* is especially frequent after *t*. Professor Thomas remarks that a *ta*, without the *r*-hook, only occurs in quite few cases, viz. in *Takshilasa* R 1, where it is initial, in *ateurena* A 9, where it is preceded by a nasal, in [*a*]*bhusavi*[*ta*] A 13, *karita* J 2 E″, *ayimita* K L 3, and in the foreign name *Patika* G 1. Everywhere else *ta* is provided with a curved addition at the bottom. Professor Thomas compares the sign which was read *tta* by Bühler[1] in the Aśoka inscriptions. But that sign differs in showing an upward continuation of the lower curve and is now commonly read *tva*.

In most cases the sign in question consists of an ordinary *ta* with a small bottom curve towards the right; thus *dhitre* or *dhitra* A 3, *matra* A 5, *pratreśre* A 10, *-śro* M 3, *pratriṭhavitro* A 11, *chatrudiśrasa* A 14, *bhakravatro* A 12, *sarvastivatra* A 16, F 2, J 3, N 2, *saman*[*u*]*motrakra* E 4, *niyatritro* J 2, *Budhatrevasa utraena* K L 2, 3, *ñavitrave* N 4. If we abstract from *dhitra* and *matra*, it will be seen that the compound represents a single intervocalic *t* (*pratrithavitro*, *chatru-*, *bhakravatro*, *niyatritro*, *ñavitrave*) or *d* (*pratreśra*, *sarvastivatra*, *saman*[*u*]*motrakra*, *Budhatrevasa*, *utraena*) in the corresponding Sanskrit words. The state of things is, accordingly, exactly parallel to what we found with *kra*, and some presumption is raised in favour of the assumption that intervocalic *t* and *d* had a fricative sound. Cf. the remarks to the Swāt vase of Theüdora above. The *dra* of that record would then point to a voiced fricative. Moreover, we should be inclined to explain the stray instances of intervocalic *t* mentioned above as representing a doubled or compound *t*.

The two forms *dhitra* A 3 and *matra* A 5 can *a priori* be explained in two ways, either as instrumentals, corresponding to Skr. *duhitrā*, *mātrā*, respectively, or as nominatives, i. e. the apparent *tra* may be an old intervocalic *ta* or an old *tra*. As to *matra*, it should be noted that this word also occurs A 6, where, however, the akshara *tra* is different, showing a short stroke sloping forwards from the lower curve. The same shape also occurs in *bhratra* A 8, perhaps in *dhitra* A 8, and in *pitramahi* A 7. Both the second *matra* and *bhratra* are certainly instrumentals, and it seems natural to infer that the modified compound, with the short stroke, actually stands for *tra*, while the form without the stroke represents a dental fricative, derived from an uncompound intervocalic *t*. *Pitramahi* A 7 must then be a mistake.

It is characteristic that the *r*-mātrā in these last instances is not a curve but a more angular hook, i. e. we have the same distinction as in the case of *gra* in the Wardak inscription, where, however, the angular form seems to mark the guttural fricative and the curve the old *gra*. Also in *putra* B 2 we have an angular *r*-stroke, and here there are two short strokes in front of the akshara.[1] Also here it is probable that *tr* and not a fricative is intended.

In the word *kshatrava* we find a third shape, viz. the curve form mentioned above, with a small dot in front, cf. B 1, 3, M 1, Q 2. In G 1, 2 the dot is missing, and in A 1 the akshara has an exceptional shape, consisting of the same *tra* as in *matra* A 6, but with verticals running down from the upper and lower curve respectively and a short

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[1] ZDMG, xliii, pp. 133, 294 ff.

vertical, resembling an *e*-mātrā, rising above the horizontal. A somewhat similar akshara is found in l. 3 of the Zeda inscription. It is tempting to see in these varying renderings an attempt at writing the Iranian compound of a voiceless dental fricative, corresponding to English *th*, and *r*.

The remaining *r*-compounds are less numerous. We find *pra* in *pradhravi* A 10, *pratreśra* A 10, M 3, *pratri-* A 11; *bhra* in *bhratra* A 7, where we have every reason for thinking of genuine compounds, and further *rra* in *Kharraosta* A 4; *śra* in *iśra* A 10, *-diśra* A 15; *shra* in *maheshri* A 2, and *sra* in *Piśpasria* A 7. The apparent *rr* in *Kharraosta* was explained by Professor Thomas as perhaps representing *rh*. It might also be compared with the doubled *r* of the Saka language.[1] The apparent *śr*, *shr*, and *sr* probably indicate some modification of the sibilants. We might think of a voiced pronunciation, but it is hardly possible to arrive at any certain results.

In such circumstances, we cannot do more than to reproduce the various signs in the transliteration. I shall, however, write the subscribed *r* within parentheses where it seems probable that it only indicates a modification of the preceding sound.

I now turn to the inscriptions themselves, retaining the designation by means of Roman capitals introduced by Bühler.

A

The chief record, consisting of sixteen lines, is incised on the top (ll. 1–5) and back (ll. 6–16) of the capital, and contains the record of donations made by the chief queen of the mahākshatrapa Rajula and some of her relatives and surroundings. It has been shown in the Historical Introduction that Rajula seems to have been the Saka ruler of the Mathurā country in the first years of the first century A. D.

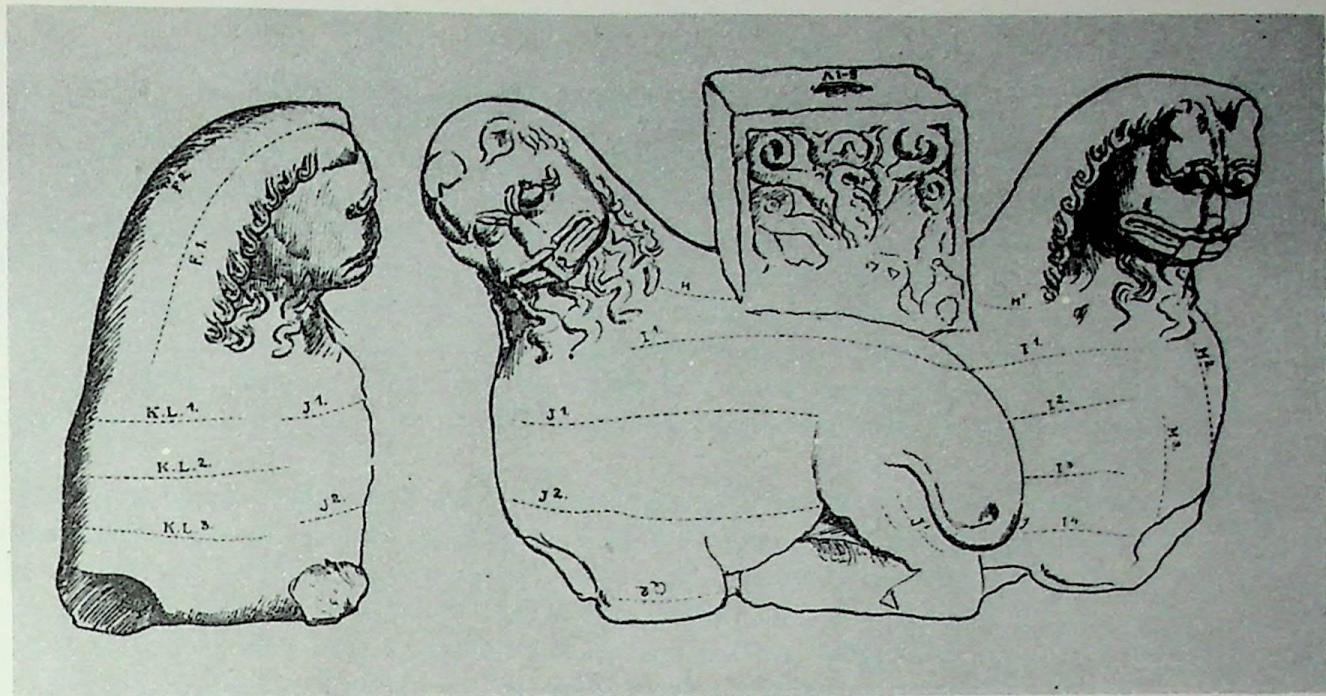
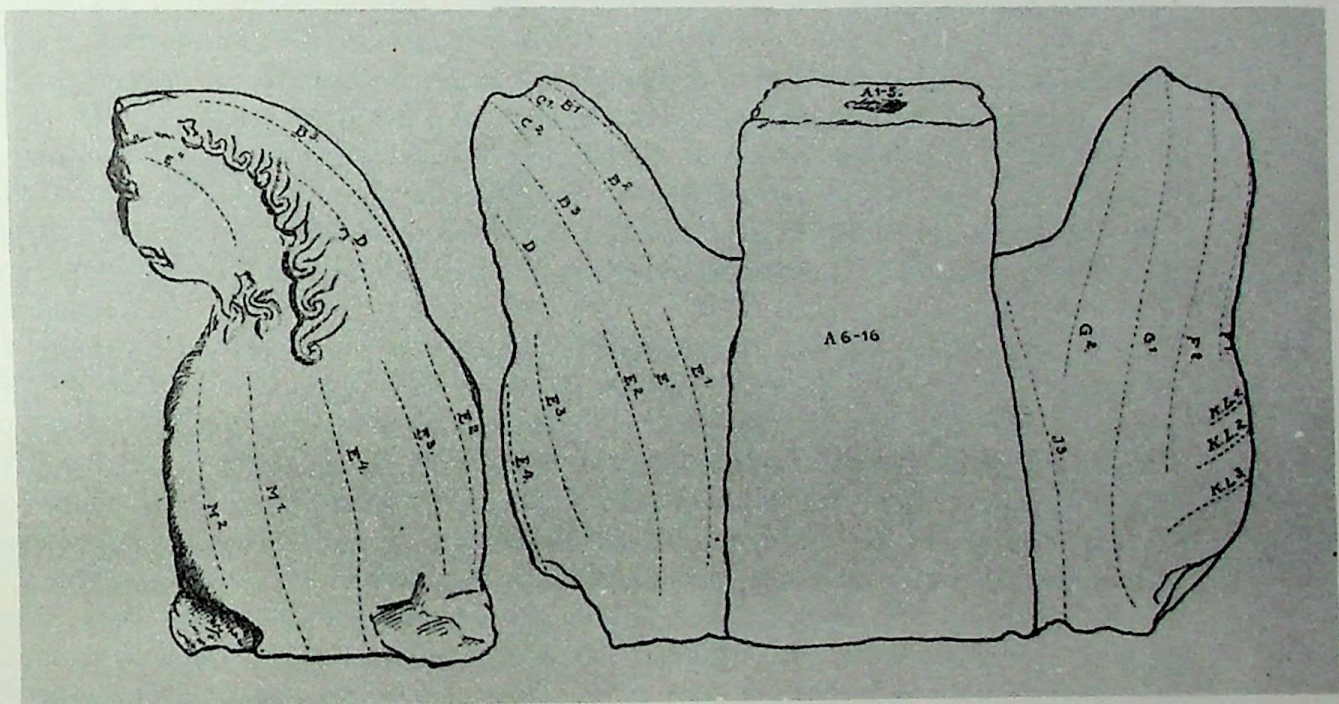
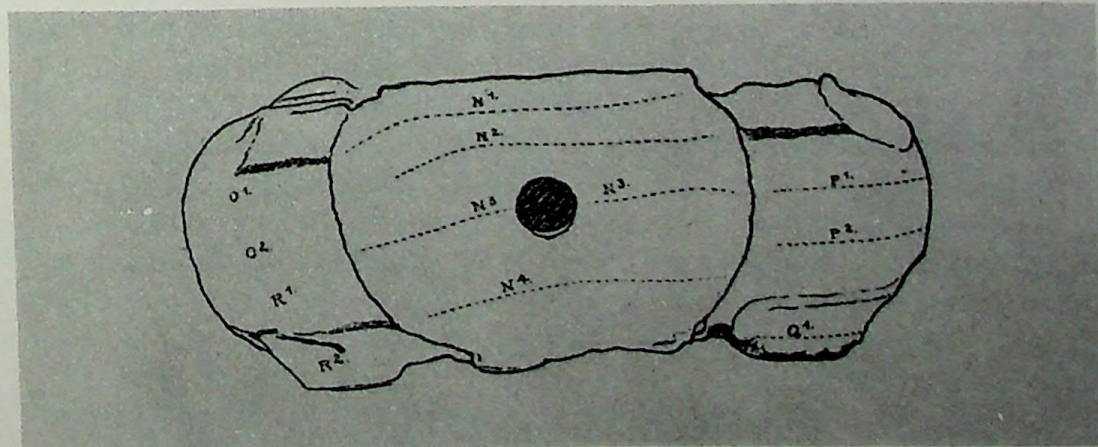
Ll. 1–2 are perfectly certain: *mahakshatravasa Rajulasa agramahesh(r)i Ayasia*, where we can only be in doubt about the division of the two last words, which Bühler read *agramaheshia Yasia*. L 3 was read *Kamudhaa dhitra* by Bühler and *Komusaa dhite* by Professor Thomas. Though there are some blurred strokes at the bottom of the *ka* I cannot see any *o*-mātrā. The third letter is badly defaced. There is no trace of the short vertical at the top of the supposed *sa*. What we have before us is a curved head, running into the mortise in front, a long broken vertical, a curve, resembling the right portion of the top of *sa*, and a horizontal resembling an *i*-mātrā. The curve to the right of the vertical may be due to the peeling off of the stone, and it seems to me that it is possible to read *i*. The fourth akshara is no doubt *a*, though there is a distinct forward bend in the middle. With every reserve I read *Kamuïa* and compare this word with *Kamuïo*, which occurs in E′ below.

The last word in the line is *dhitre*, where, however, the *e*-stroke is very indistinct and probably not intended. I read *dhit(r)a*.

Ll. 4–5 are quite certain: *Khar(r)aostasa yuvaraña mat(r)a Nadadiakasa*. For *Nadadiakasa* Bhagvānlāl read *Nadasiaka sayam*, Bühler *Nadasia Kasaye*, and Thomas *Nadadi(si ?)akasa* . . , thinking that '*Namdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names', though the lower stroke of the last *akshara* 'is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Bühler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *-saa*'.

There is room for two aksharas after *-sa*. The existing traces are very indistinct, but might be made out to be *taye*.

[1] Cf. Ernst Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, Strassburg, 1912, p. 41.

SIDE OF LEFT LION FRONT

SIDE OF RIGHT LION BACK

BOTTOM

All previous interpreters have agreed about the general purport of these lines. The chief queen of Rajula has been described as the daughter of Ayasi (or Yasi) Koṃusa (or Komudha), as the mother of the yuvarāja Kharaosta, and as bearing the name Nadasiakasa. Now Kharaosta has, as stated in the Introduction, been identified with Kharahostes, the son of Arṭa, who is known from coins, and I agree with Lüders [1] that we have no reason for doubting their identity. Kharaosta cannot, accordingly, have been the son of Rajula, and, if the usual interpretation of the text is correct, we must accept Lüders' explanation that Rajula's chief queen had formerly been married to Arṭa, Kharaosta's father.

There are, however, grave objections to the traditional interpretation. The yuvarāja Kharaosta is mentioned again in inscription E, in such a way that we get the impression that he was a person of some consequence. It would be natural to infer that he was not a mere child. The chief queen, on the other hand, cannot have been an aged lady. She had a son, it is true, who may or may not have been the yuvarāja Kharaosta, but both her mother and her paternal grandmother were, as we shall see, alive at the time of the inscription and associated in the gift together with her brother and her, or her brother's daughter. Her son is not mentioned in this connexion, as we shall see, and it would be possible to draw the inference that he was still a minor, in which case he cannot, of course, have been the yuvarāja Kharaosta.

According to the usual interpretation the name of the chief queen is *Nadasiakasa*, and this name is supposed to stand in the instrumental singular, and to be grammatically connected with the word *agramaheshri* of l. 2. It seems to me that it is difficult to assume a connexion between two words where so much comes in between. At all events we should have to read *maheshria* with Bühler, because the semi-compounds of titles and names, where only the last word receives a grammatical termination, are never separated in this way.

Moreover we should have to state that the genitive of male bases ending in *i* and *a* could take the termination *a*: *Yasi-a*, of Yasi, *Komusa-a* or *Kamudha-a*, of Komusa, or Kamudha. We have not, however, any such forms in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions or in the Prākrits generally. Forms such as *Datiaputrena* (Kāldarra), *Indavhriaputrana* (Taxila silver scroll), *Kaviśiakshatrapasa* (Mānikiāla), *Poshapuriaputrana* (Ārā), *Kamagulyaputra* (Wardak) are compounds containing nouns in *-ia*, i. e. probably *-ika*, as the first part.

In such circumstances it seems impossible to take the two words following after *maheshri* or *maheshria* as genitives of male names, dependent on the ensuing *dhit(r)a*. To think of the chief queen's mother is excluded, because she is mentioned as bearing a different name in A 6. It becomes necessary to take the words as giving the names of the chief queen herself. We may be uncertain as to the grammatical form, which might be the nominative or the instrumental. If we bear in mind the above remarks about the compound *tra*, *t(r)a*, we must, however, prefer the former alternative, because the queen is in l. 5 called *mat(r)a*, i. e. *mātā*, the instrumental *mātrā* being written differently A 6. *Dhit(r)a* must therefore be constructed with l. 4.

The name of the queen is accordingly *Ayasia* and, according to my reading, *Kamuïa*. Here I take *Ayasia* to be the real name, and *Kamuïa* to be a family or local name. In E the word *Kamuïo* is written in smaller characters between ll. 1 and 2 and below the aksharas *yuva* of *Kharraosto yuvaraya*. It seems as if the addition is meant to characterize Kharaosta, who must, in that case, have been a *Kamuïa*. If so, it would be a designation common to the chief queen and Kharaosta, and, as we have seen that the words

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[1] SBAW, 1913, pp. 423 f.; cf. Rapson, JRAS, 1905, pp. 792 ff.

Ayasia Kamuïa are not genitives dependent on *dhit(r)a*, and this latter word must consequently be connected with the following *Kharraostasa yuvarañа*, it is necessary to infer that Ayasia was the daughter of Kharaosta, and that she bore the same designation *Kamuïa* as her father.

It is impossible to say for certain what *Kamuïa* may mean, since it is evidently some sort of a name. I shall only mention the possibility that it may be an adjective derived from *Kamboja*, Old Persian *Kambuja*, and meaning 'the Kambojian'. That would necessitate the assumption that these family names belong to a dialect of the same kind as that of the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada, where old *mb* becomes *m*, i.e. *mm*.[1]

In such circumstances it becomes of interest that the words *Kharraostasa yuvarañа* are arranged so as to occupy a separate line. The chief was of some consequence, and stress is laid on his name. That may also be the reason why *dhit(r)a* is placed before the genitive. Ayasia's relationship to the *yuvarāja* is emphasized.

The title *yuvarāja* is not met with in other Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, nor in the inscriptions or coins of the Western Kshatrapas. Bühler says that 'the fact that Kharaösta bears the title *yuvarāja* indicates that he was designated to be the successor of Śuḍasa, be it because the latter was childless or because the order of succession went, as with the Western Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's family, from brother to brother'.

What we know about the order of succession with the Northern Kshatrapas is not in favour of the second alternative. Liaka Kusuluka was succeeded by his son Patika, and Rajula by his son Śodāsa. It seems more natural to assume that the title *yuvarāja* did not belong to the kshatrapas, but to the imperial line, to which Moga belonged, and that Kharaosta was the inheritor to the position as 'King of Kings' after Moga. As mentioned in the Historical Introduction, his father Arta may have been a brother of Moga, and he may himself have been designated to succeed to the imperial title, which seems, however, to have been abolished after Moga's demise, the Saka chiefs not being able to agree about the election and therefore introducing a new form of government, with more than one mahākshatrapa at the head and with kshatrapas in the minor charges. It has also been pointed out in the same place that such a state of things would explain why Rajula married Kharaosta's daughter: he wanted to strengthen his claims through a matrimonial alliance with the imperial family.

It is impossible to speak with confidence about these matters. I shall only add that if Kharaosta, and his father Arṭa, were Kambojas, the same may have been the case with Moga, and we understand why the Kambojas are sometimes mentioned together with the Sakas and Yavanas.[2] They were a north-western people and spoke an Iranian tongue. M. Sylvain Lévi has suggested[3] the possibility of identifying the designations Kamboja and Kapiśa, and, if he were right, we should be forced to the conclusion that some of the imperial Sakas of the north-west hailed from the old Saka realm in Ki-pin; and in this connexion it may be worth while recalling the fact that the title *jaüva*, which seems to be used of the Saka chief Patika in the copper-plate, points towards the country where later on the Kushānas rose to power.

The result of the above discussion is that the name of Rajula's chief queen was Ayasia Kamuïa, and that she was the daughter of Kharaosta. The word *mat(r)a* in l. 5 must then be connected with *Nadadiakasa*, i.e. she was the mother of *Nadadiaka*, where *nada* may of course stand for *nanda*. The name is probably not Indian, but Iranian.

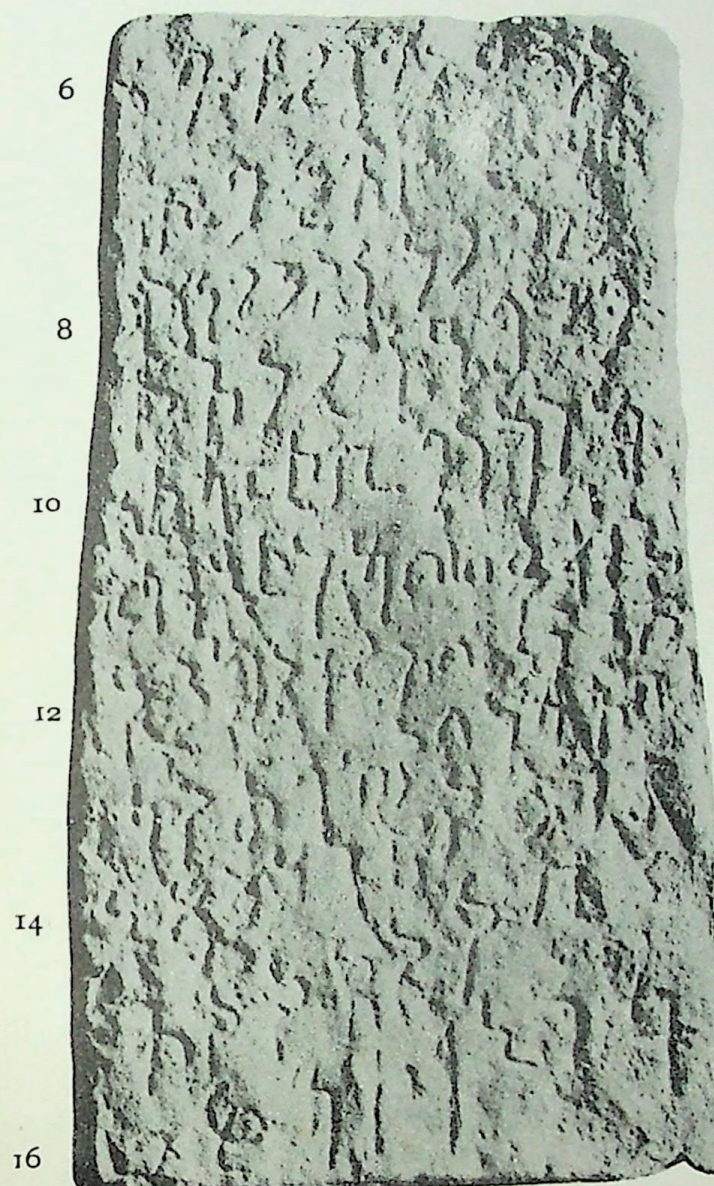
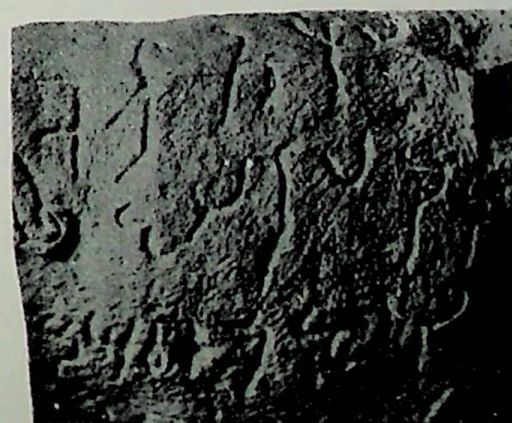
Ll. 1–5 thus contain a string of names and designations in the nominative. Now

[1] Cf. Bloch, JA, IX, xix, 1912, p. 332.

[2] Cf. e.g. Bimala Charan Law, *Some Kṣatriya tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 232 ff.

[3] JA, cciii, 1923, pp. 52 f.

MATHURĀ LION CAPITAL

INSCRIPTIONS A AND E

we shall see presently that the pious deed of Ayasia Kamuïa which is recorded is described in a sentence where the verb is a past participle *prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o.* We should therefore expect the subject to be put in the instrumental, though Professor Thomas may be right in surmising that it would be possible to take *prat(r)ithavit(r)o* as an active participle with the subject *mātā* in the nominative and a false concord. If I am right, however, in reading the defaced letters at the end of l. 5 as *taye*, we here have the instrumental required by the context, and the whole of ll. 1–5, before this *taye* would be one of those parenthetic or semi-parenthetic sentences mentioned in connexion with the Patika plate.[1]

L. 6 begins at the top of the back slab and runs *sadha matra Abuhola[e]*, together with her mother Abuhola. The last akshara is perhaps *a* and not *e*, though I think it possible to see traces of an *e*-stroke sloping slightly backwards from the middle of the upright. I cannot explain the name *Abuhola.* Professor Thomas compares names such as *Αβουλίτης* and Spalahora. Abuhola was the mother of Ayasia Kamuïa and, if my interpretation of ll. 1–5 is right, probably the wife of Kharaosta.

L. 7 begins with *pitramahi Piśpas(r)ia*, which must be connected with *sadha* of l. 6, *pitramahi Piśpas(r)ia* forming a semi-compound, where the case suffix is only added once.

Pitramahi must be Skr. *pitāmahī*, and we should expect the other form of the compound *tra*, which stands for intervocalic *t*. The writing has probably been influenced by the words *matra* in l. 6 and *bhratra* in l. 7 f. The second akshara of *Piśpas(r)ia* was read *spa* by Professor Thomas, who, however, reads the second akshara of *s[a]śpa* l. 13, which to my eyes is identical, *śpa*. I cannot explain the name *Piśpas(r)i.* It may be connected with the name *Veśpaśi*, which occurs in the Māṇikiāla inscription, and represent a *Viśvasikā.* If Ayasia Kamuïa was the daughter of Kharaosta, Piśpasi must have been the widow of Kharaosta's father Arṭa.

Then follows *bhratra Hayuarana sadha Hana dhi[tra]*. The *tra* of *bhatra* is quite certain, that of *dhitra* almost entirely defaced. The name *Hayuara* is no doubt Iranian. It is, however, probable that Bühler is right in correcting to *Hayuarena.* *Hana dhi[tra]* is a semi-compound, where the personal name stands before the characteristic, cf. *sa-Valavadhapitra* in the Shahdaur inscription. It is not to be overlooked that the preposition *sadha* is repeated before *Hana dhitra* and nowhere else. It seems as if this daughter is in some way separated from the other persons associated with the queen. This leads me to think that she was the daughter of Hayuara and not of Ayasia Kamuïa. In favour of this explanation I may draw attention to the alliteration between the names Hayuara and Hana, and also to the fact that the words *sadha Hana dhitra* are compressed more than usual so as not to transgress the line.

L. 9 f. bring the enumeration of the persons associated in the gift to a close: *ateurena horakaparivarena.* The *te* of *ateurena* was not read by Bhagvānlāl, and

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[1] Cf. the similar idiom in Old Persian, e.g. Behistan I, 13: *Sikayauvatiš nāmā didā Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādaiy avadašim avājanam*, a stronghold Sikayauvati by name, a province Nisāya by name in Media, there I smote him. It is curious how common this same idiom is in Marāṭhī, cf. *tyā vēlēs Vijāpur-tsā Māhmud Adilśāh Bādśāh yānẽ Śīvājītsā bāp Śāhājī yāchẽ aiśvarya Karnātakānt phār vādhvilẽ hōtẽ*, at that time Mahmud Adilshah Bādshāh of Vijapur—by him, Śivājī's father Śāhājī—his power in the Carnatic had been much increased, i.e. by that time the power of Śivājī's father Śāhājī in the Carnatic had been much increased by the Emperor Mahmud Adilshah of Bijapur, see Grant Duff, *History of the Marâṭhâs*, translated into Marâthî by D. Capon. New edition revised by Kâśînâth Pândurang Parab, Bombay, 1876, p. 34, and cf. Ganpatrao R. Navalkar, *The Student's Marâthî Grammar*, third edition, Bombay, 1894, § 566, 3.

Professor Thomas states that it looks like *tra*, which he considers to be miswritten for *te*. So far as I can see, *te* is certain, but there is an apparent continuation of the *e*-stroke below the bottom of the akshara, the result being something looking like a closed *sa*. The *t* has not the usual *r*-curve, evidently because it was a stop and not a fricative, on account of its being preceded by a nasal, which is, as usual in our inscription, left unmarked.

Horaka has been explained by Lüders[1] as a short form of *horamurta*, which is found in the Mānikiāla inscription and evidently is a Saka rendering of the Indian dānapati.

Parivara, Skr. *parivāra*, occurs in many old inscriptions. In Brāhmī records we find it e.g. in the Nāsik inscriptions nos. 8 and 9, and in his edition of them M. Senart remarks:[2] 'It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivāra* by "with his family". If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jāti*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners'.

The original meaning of *parivāra* is certainly 'cover, covering, surrounding'. It can therefore mean the covering of a carriage, a surrounding wall or hedge, an enclosure, &c., and also the surroundings, train, suite, followers, &c., but the original sense is always felt through. *Horakaparivara* might therefore mean 'the horaka-enclosure', 'the horaka hall, or chapter', and the term might therefore be of the same kind as *ateura*, Skr. *antaḥpura*, the inner apartments and, secondarily, the occupants, just like the German *Frauenzimmer*.

I therefore explain the *horakaparivara* as the chapter of the alms-lords, of the nobles who acted as donors, as suggested by Lüders, l. c., who thinks of the persons mentioned in inscriptions C–E below.

Then follows, ll. 10–12, the record of the pious act performed by the chief queen and her family and retinue: *iś(r)a pradhraviprat(r)eś(r)e nisime śarira prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o bhak(r)avat(r)o Śakamunisa Budhasa.* For *iśra* my predecessors read *iśe* or *iśre*, but there is no trace of the *e*-mātrā, which, on the other hand, is quite clear in *-pratreśre.* Instead of *pradhravi* we find *padhravi* M 2. I have drawn attention to the inconsistent writing of such sounds in the Grammatical Introduction.

Nisime was read as *nisimi* by Bhagvānlāl, who explained it as the locative of *nisi*, Skr. **nishīda*, 'a place where a Buddha has sat'. The reading *nisime* is, however, absolutely certain, and Bühler has justly remarked that the word also occurs in inscription J. He accepted the explanation of Pischel as *nīsima*, Skr. *niḥsama*, uneven, high, elevated, equivalent to *stūpa.* Professor Thomas thought of a stūpa outside the *sīmā* and compared the Pāli word *nissīma.*

There can hardly be any doubt about the identity of *nisima* and Pāli *nissīma*. Moreover *nisima* evidently qualifies *pradhravipratreśra* both here and in inscription J. With regard to Pāli *nissīma* I have consulted the well-known Swedish scholar Mr. Helmer Smith, who refers me to the Vinaya Pitaka, I, 122^{28}, $133^{31 ff.}$, 255^{5}, &c.: *imaṁ bhikkhuṁ muhuttaṁ nissīmaṁ netha*, take this bhikshu for a moment outside the limit (of the Vihāra); *āgantukehi nissīmam gatvā uposatho kātabbo*, guests should go outside the limit and perform the uposatha; *nissīmattho anumodati*, standing outside the limit he approves. The last passage is explained by Buddhaghosha to mean *bahi upachāra-sīmāya thito anumodati*, while *bahisīmagatassa*, ibidem I, 255^{26}, is rendered as *aññam*

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[1] l. c., pp. 420 f.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 77.

sāmantavihāraṁ gatassa. Nissīma therefore means 'lying just outside the limit', viz. of the Vihāra field proper, but close to it and evidently belonging to the Vihāra, because *bahiśīma* refers to what is farther off, belonging to another Vihāra.

L. 13 was read by Bhāgvānlāl-Bühler as *mukihitaya saśpae bhusati*, it will conduce to eternal welfare, (*viz.*) liberation. Professor Thomas read *ma(mra)kite(hi)ra(?)ya saśpae bhusaveti(?)*, may it be for the eternal . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.

The first akshara is almost identical with the *mu* of the Patika inscription. *Muki* cannot, however, be Skr. *mukti*, liberation, because *kt* becomes *t*, i. e. *tt*, in the dialect; cf. *saṁbhatiga* (Wardak), *uta* (Kurram).

The letter following after *ki* cannot be *hi* or *ṭi*. The *i*-mātrā seems to be certain. It crosses a horizontal, which is bent downwards at the right end and below provided with an *r*-stroke. There is a faint line connecting the top of the *i*-stroke with the angle, but it does not seem to be intended. One might think of reading *vri*, if it were not for a distinct downward stroke from the left-hand termination of the horizontal. This stroke seems, in the plate, to be continued above the juncture with the horizontal, but the apparent continuation is not visible on the cast. With every reserve I read *śri*. Then follow *ra* and *ya*, the whole accordingly seeming to be *mukiśriraya*. This might be the dative of *mukiśrira*, but the dative regularly ends in *ae*. I therefore think that *raya* represents Skr. *rāja*, and *śri* must then be Skr. *śrī*, *śrīrāja* meaning 'illustrious king'. But then *muki* can hardly be anything else than the name of the king, and I cannot see any serious objection to explaining it as another form of *Moga*, where the *g* is certainly derived from *k*; cf. *Śudasa* B 2, where Brāhmī inscriptions read *Śodāsa*.

The next word seems to be *saśpae*, but the *e* is not certain. The apparent *e*-stroke is placed above the top and not to the right of the vertical, and it seems to me that it is not impossible to read *a*. *Saśpae* cannot represent Skr. *śaśvate*, even if we were prepared to assume the existence of an Indian *saśvat* in addition to *śaśvat*, corresponding to Greek *ἅπας*. For intervocalic *t* is in these records everywhere retained as *tr*. *Saśpae* could hardly be anything else than Skr. *sāśvāya*, and if we could read *mukivriraya* and explain this as *Mogavīrāya*, *saśpae* would perhaps be possible, though it would be strange to find *vriraya* side by side with *saśpae*. It will be seen that the vertical of *sa* is bent forwards and thus becomes different from the usual *sa* of these records. It is conceivable that we have to do with the old shape of the *u*-mātrā and should read *suśpae*, though *su* shows the usual loop-shape in G 1. *Suśpa* would correspond to Skr. *suśva*, which occurs as a bahuvrīhi in Pāṇini v, iv, 120, together with *suprāta* and *sudina*. These latter words are also used as nouns, with the meaning 'a good morning', 'a good day', respectively. If the same were the case with *suśpa*, we might translate *suśpae* as 'for a good to-morrow', 'in order to secure a good hereafter'. But such an explanation does not seem to be very likely.

The ensuing aksharas cannot be read as *bhusati*, because the third akshara is certainly *vi* and is, moreover, followed by a fourth letter, which seems to me to be a clear *ta*, without an *i*-stroke and without the apparent *r*-sign, which is always used when *t* stands for an uncompound intervocalic *t*. Nor could *bhusati* be a future of *bhū*, because we know from the Kharoshthī Dhammapada that a cerebral *s* was used in such forms; cf. e. g. *karishadi* A²6. For a similar reason Professor Thomas's *bhūsā* is unlikely. *Bhusavita* seems to be a gerund of a base *bhusava*, i. e. a *bhusavitvā*; cf. Ardhamāgadhī *vanditā*, *avakkamittā*, *jinittā*, *thavittā*, *bhuñjāvittā*, &c.[1] Also *bhusaviti* would be a gerund; cf. *pramajeti* A²3, *parivajeti* A²8, *baheti* B 27, in the Dhammapada manuscript.

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[1] Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 582.

We might think of explaining *bhusavita* as a gerund of a verb corresponding to Pāli *bhūsāpeti*, he adorns. But we should fail to see why the cerebral *s* is not used after *u*. The use of *s* in forms such as *bhikshusa* does not form a parallel, because there we have before us a living suffix, while we could hardly imagine a *bhusana*, corresponding to Skr. *bhūshaṇa*.

In such circumstances I cannot see any other possibility than to read *saśpa abhusavita*, and to explain *abhusavita* as the gerund of a denominative from *utsava*, preceded by *abhi*. The whole would then mean: after having made the festival, i. e. after having performed the (funeral) solemnities, over the illustrious king Moga together with his horse. This explanation is highly hypothetical, the more so because we do not know anything about the royal funeral ceremonies of the Sakas. But I cannot see any other way of analysing the passage in accordance with the phonetical laws of the dialect.

The remaining lines on the back are clear: *thuva cha sagharama cha chat(r)udiś(r)asa saghasa sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe.* The shape of *tru* in *chatru* seems to show that *chatur* and not *chatru* is the original. Also the *d* of *-diśrasa* bears witness to the old *r* after *u*. Professor Thomas read *diśesa* for *diśrasa*, just as in *iśra*, l. 10.

The words *thuva cha sagharama cha* must be taken together with the preceding *śarira*, as in the Patika plate. The stūpa and the monastery were apparently situated inside the sīmā.

The form *sarvastivatrana* for *sarvāstivādinām* is also met with in the Kurram casket.

An inspection of the original shows that the most natural way of continuing is to go on from the last line on the back of the slab to the back of the right lion and to begin from the bottom, where we find the inscriptions marked E, E′ and E″, which all evidently belong together.

E l. 1 runs *Khar(r)aosto yuvaraya* and is written in large letters, so that we again get the impression that care has been taken to give prominence to the person mentioned in the line. The secondary *r*-stroke in *Kharra-* is indistinct, but traceable. Below the aksharas *yuva* we find, as mentioned above, the word *kamuïo*, written in smaller letters. Bühler read *komuïo*, which he explained as representing Skr. *kaumudikah*, but there is no trace of an *o*-mātrā. I have already stated that I take *kamuïo* as a designation of Kharaosta, and perhaps as representing Skr. *kāmbojaka*.

In E 2 Bhagvānlāl and Bühler read *Jalamasa kumara*, but I agree with Professor Ṭhomas that the first akshara is certainly *kha*. *Khalamasa* is evidently an un-Indian name. As remarked by Professor Thomas, the element *khala* is also found in the name *Khalaśamuśo* J′ below. *Kumāra* denotes a royal prince, different from and younger than the yuvarāja.[1] Khalamasa was evidently a brother of Kharaosta. Then follows in E 3 *Maja kaniṭha*. Bhagvānlāl took *maja* together with the preceding *kumara* as *kumārātmaja*, but *tm* becomes *tv* in the dialect, where it is not kept unchanged. Maja is evidently the name of another brother.

E 4 was read *samanachhatra*, i. e. *samanakshatra* by Bühler, but there cannot be any doubt that Bhagvānlāl was right in reading *samanamotra*. Professor Thomas suggests that the *o*-stroke of *motra* is accidental, 'in which case we may understand the words *samānā mātā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers'. It seems to me that we must connect *samanamotra* with the aksharas *kra karita* incised on the right cheek of the right lion, as done by Bühler. It will be seen that the *na* of *samanamotra* is exceptionally long and has a forward bend of the upright. A still more pronounced bend is,

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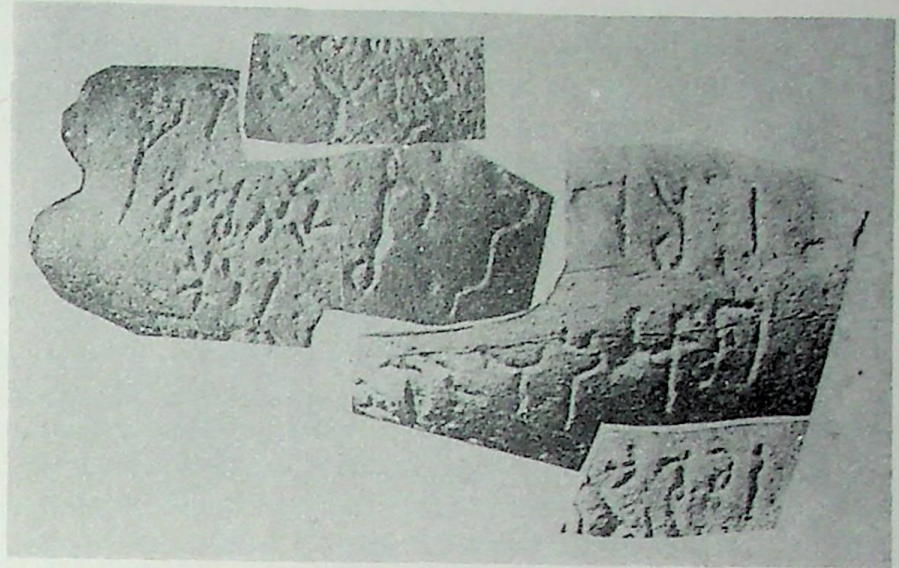
[1] Cf. Sylvain Lévi, JA, IX, xix, 1902, pp. 96 f. = *Ind. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1904, pp. 163 f.

INSCRIPTIONS B, C, D, M, I, J, H^1, H, M^3, Q^2

M

B–D

J

I, J, H^1, H, M^3, Q^2

it is true, found in the *ni* of *kanitha* in E 3. Still I am inclined to think that we have to do with an *u*-stroke so that we should read *nu*. It is possible that the distinct bend in *kanitha* has been transferred by mistake from l. 4 to l. 3. We shall find some indications later on, which seem to show that the records were originally drafted on the stone in smaller letters, before they were finally engraved. In such circumstances slight mistakes might easily crop in. I therefore read *saman[u]motra* and connect this with *kra* to *samanumotrakra*. We have seen in *pratreśre* A 10 that an intervocalic single *d* is written *tr*, and *samanumotrakra* can therefore represent a Skr. *samanumodaka*, assenting, i.e. assenting to the donation, associated in the grant.

It would be tempting to explain the ensuing *karita* as a past participle, Skr. *kāritāh*, but we have already seen that there is no single instance of an intervocalic *t* being kept unmodified. It always becomes *tr*. We must therefore probably explain *karita* as a gerund, corresponding to Ardhamāgadhī *karittā*. Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that *Kharraosto* has the nominative termination *o*, which is missing in *Khalamasa* and *Maja*. I therefore take these latter words to be accusatives and explain *Kharraosto yuvaraya* as the subject of the gerund *karita*, translating the record as follows: after the heir apparent Kharaosta had made the prince Khalamasa and Maja, the youngest (brother) assenting (parties to the donation). I would compare the similar idiom in the Praveśaka of the fourth act of the Svapnavāsavadattā:[1] *ayyautto iha āachchhia imaṁ kusumasamiddhiṁ pekkhia saṁmānidā bhaveaṁ*, when my husband has come and seen the wreath of flowers, I may be honoured, where we likewise have a nominative as independent subject of a gerund.

After E it would seem natural to go on with inscription M, just below E. It seems, however, as if there has been a desire to draw special attention to the person named in the beginning of M, and that his name has therefore been placed first in large characters on the neck of the right lion, and then, in a shorter form, after E. I therefore go on with inscription B.

B 1 *mahakshatravasa* is quite clear, *tr* having the angular *r*-stroke with a dot in front. There is a cross-stroke on the right side of *ksha*, which Professor Thomas thinks may indicate duplication. We shall find a similar stroke in M, and it seems possible that these strokes are intended to show that B and M should be read together.

B 2 runs *Vajulasa putra*, which is clearly miswritten for *Rajulasa putra*. The *tra* has the angular *r*-stroke and two short strokes in front. They are perhaps intended to indicate that the words written in smaller letters in front of *putra* should be inserted in this place or after B 3, which runs *Śudase kshatrave*, with the same shape of *tra* as in B 1. There is no case-suffix in *putra*, and we therefore here have one of those semi-compounds, where only the last word is inflected. The words *mahakshatravasa [Ra]julasa putra* show that there cannot be any question of considering Kharaosta as the son of Rajula.

The words *Śudase kshatrave* were taken as absolute locatives by Bühler. We shall see later on, however, that the same words in M evidently give the logical subject of the past participle *niyatritro*, and I therefore accept Lüders' explanation[2] of the forms as instrumentals, not, however, of the plural, but of the singular. Cf. the Grammatical Introduction.

The inscriptions C and D I take to be parenthetical additions. We have seen in E that the yuvarāja Kharaosta has been associated with two younger brothers and has been characterized as *Kamuïa*. Śudasa was evidently the second important person connected

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[1] Ed. Ganapati Sāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912, p. 33, l. 2.

[2] SBAW, 1913, p. 418[2].

with the pious deeds commemorated in the inscriptions, and also his position and family relations are therefore mentioned. That is done in inscriptions C and D.

C is, as already mentioned, engraved in front of B 2 and 3. It runs (1) *Kaluï a-* (2) *varajo.* The last akshara is provided with some strokes running backwards from the vertical and forward below the upper limb. They are, perhaps, like the strokes in front of the first akshara, meant to indicate that C is to be inserted after *putra.* D is engraved below *Śudase* in B 3, and should probably be read after B 3.

I therefore read B–E as one context: *mahakshatravasa Va(Ra)julasa putra—Kaluï avarajo—Śudase kshatrave—Naüludo,* by the mahākshatrapa Rajula's son,—he was born after Kaluï (or, Kaluï is his younger brother)—, the kshatrapa *Śudasa*—the Naüluda. *Nauluda* seems to be an addition of the same kind as *Kamuïa*, E′.

After these additions the name and title of Śudasa are repeated in M, which is incised below E 4, and runs on into the breast of the right lion. It begins *kshatrave Śudise,* where I take the apparent *o*-mātrā in the first akshara to indicate that we have here the direct continuation of B. The *i*-stroke in *Śudise* is curious. The kshatrapa's name was clearly *Sodāsa,* with a long *ā.* The *i* is therefore either a mistake or a sign of reference, of the same kind as the apparent *o* of *kshatrave,* indicating that B should be inserted in this place.

M 2–3 run *imo paḍhraviprat(r)eśro,* representing Skr. *ayam pṛithivīpradeśaḥ* or *imaṁ pṛithivīpradeśam.* As seen by Thomas [1] and Lüders [2] the inscription I, incised on the front of the capital, forms an immediate continuation: I 1–4 *veyaüdirna kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro viyaü.* For *udirna* Bühler read *udino* and Professor Thomas *aṁ(u)dirna(dinaṁ).* It seems to me that the reading is absolutely certain. For *busa* Bhagvānlāl read *usa,* and Bühler *busa* or *tusa.* After the *bu* of *busaparo* another *bu* has been incised in small size. I cannot explain it otherwise than by assuming that the record was first drafted in small letters on the stone, and then executed in larger size. The akshara *bu* has then not been cancelled with the rest of the draft and then subsequently engraved through misunderstanding.

For *viyaü* Bühler and Thomas read *viyaa.* It seems to me, however, that the break in the leg of the akshara is too pronounced, and though there is no loop, I consider *u* as the most probable reading.

I 2–4 are engraved in short lines under the word *veyaüdirna.* The continuation must evidently be looked for below the continuation of I 1. We there find a comparatively large space without any letters, where some portion of the stone seems to have peeled off. Before the vacant space there is a *rva* of exceptionally large size, preceded by *viya* in characters of the same size as the small *bu* after *bu* in *busaparo.* Professor Thomas suggests the possibility of explaining this *viya* as an insertion to show that the large *rva* is an error for *vya* = *viya.* In my opinion it is a remnant of the first draft, which has not been cancelled and therefore subsequently engraved. I take it to be a doublet of *viya* in I 4.

Professor Thomas states that there is room for seven or eight aksharas after *rva.* The four last of them I can distinctly read as *raparena,*[3] and I am inclined to think that nothing is in reality missing, and that the open space in front of *rva* was originally intended for the aksharas *viyaü* of I 4 and *rva,* and that, *viyau* having been engraved in another place, the result was a blank after *rva.*

After *raparena* the text runs on, on the breast of the left lion, with a word which Buhler read *P[u]lishtena,* while Thomas thought that *palirdina* is also possible. The

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, ix, p. 145.
[2] SBAW, 1913, p. 418[2].
[3] Buhler restored [*śamana*], which is impossible.

third akshara is, however, clearly *chhi*. Only the lower curve has been placed so high up that it touches the upper hook.

The continuation follows in the line beginning below *raparena* and has always been read without any difficulty : *nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o*. These words must contain the termination of the sentence beginning with *kshatrave Śudise*. *Karita*, with a plain *ta* at the end, must be explained as in E″, as corresponding to Ardhamāgadhī *karittā*, and connected with *nisimo*, which consequently stands for *nissīmaṁ*, as so often in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada. We thus arrive at a sentence : *kshatrave Śudise imo padhravi-prat(r)eś(r)o . . . nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o*. It would, of course, be possible to explain *kshatrave Śudise* as a double locative, 'when Śuḍasa was kshatrapa', as done by Bühler. It would, however, be difficult to understand why such a remark should be twice repeated, if it were not intended to state that Śuḍasa had had something to do with the donation recorded, and this consideration seems to make it necessary to explain the words as instrumentals. We must then translate : 'by the kshatrapa Śudasa this piece of land . . . was handed over, having made it *nissīma*, i.e. lying just outside the limit', or, 'by Śuḍasa, after having made this piece of land . . *nissīma*, it was handed over'. We learn from this that the *nissīma* formed part of the Vihāra ground. The sentence accordingly records a donation of a piece of land to the Vihāra.

The portion intervening between *padhravipr at(r)eś(r)o* and *nisimo* is the most difficult one on the whole capital. The way to the proper understanding has been shown by Lüders, who explains the passage as a fuller description of *imo paḍhraviprat(r)eś(r)o*.

Bühler explained his *veyaüdino kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro viyaa* as Skr. *vegod-īrṇaḥ skandhāvārah busaparah skandhāvārah vijayah*, the army started in haste ; the army (is) intent on wealth : victory!

Thomas objected that *skandhāvāra* does not mean 'army', but 'encampment' ; that the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's dictionary ; that the reading *u* in *veyaü-* is not certain, *aṁ* and even *a* being possible, and that the change of *g* to *y* in *vega* is contrary to the tendencies of the language employed in these inscriptions. He mentions the possibility of reading *veyaaṁdinaṁ kadhavaro*, Skr. *vaijayan-tīnāṁ skandhāvāraḥ*, but does not think such a reading and explanation promising.

Lüders reads *veyaaṁ dinaṁ* and sees in *dinaṁ* the participle *dinnaṁ*, given ; *kadhavaro*, he says, can scarcely be Skr. *skandhāvāra*, which ought to become *khadhavara*, but probably contains the word *kanthā*, which means 'town' in the Saka language, but is also known to Pāṇini. *Veyaa* and *Busaparo* he explains as names of localities, and *viya* as corresponding to Skr. *api cha*, taking the final *a* together with the small *viya* before *rva* as representing Skr. *api cha*, and further. He thus arrives at the following translation : by the kshatrapa Śudisa this plot of land has been given, (viz.) the excellent place Veyaa and also the excellent place Busapara, and further . . .

So far as I can see there is no objection to explaining *kadhavaro* as representing Skr. *skandhāvārah*. The Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada has *kanhana* for Skr. *skandhānām* B 13, and in the Kurram inscription we find *saṁkara*, Skr. *saṁskāra*, and *kaṁdha*, Skr. *skandha*, with *k* and not *kh*, though here a small stroke is placed above *k* to show a slight modification of the sound.

It seems natural to assume that the Saka chiefs, who set up the capital, were encamped before Mathurā, where they had evidently gathered in strength, engaged in some warlike expedition. If Moga is, as suggested above, actually referred to in A, he may have been the leader and have been killed, or he may have died, before the expedition started. It is tempting to connect the Saka gathering with the pressure exercised by the Parthians, who, as we shall see in connexion with the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription,

had become established in the north-west one year before the date of the Patika plate of the year 78, and who later on also made themselves masters of Taxila. But we cannot arrive at certainty.

The Sakas took the opportunity to make religious donations. Rajula's chief queen established a relic of the Buddha in a piece of land, which Śudasa, the local kshatrapa, made into a *nissīma* plot for the Order. And this piece of land had been used by the Sakas for their encampments. *Veyaüdirna* and *Busapara* were the names of these encampments. *Veyaüdirna* I cannot explain. In some way it may correspond to the later *vijayaskandhāvāra*. *Busapara* may mean 'where the refuse (*busa*) is the further limit', or 'beyond the refuse gatherings'.

I further read *viyaü* and follow Lüders in explaining *vi ya* as Skr. *api cha*, taking *u* together with *rvaraparena* as representing Skr. *urvarāpāreṇa*, by the place where the cultivated fields (*urvarā*) are the further limit, or, by the further limit of the cultivated fields. *Palichhina*, finally, I identify with Skr. *parichchhinna*, limited. I thus arrive at the following translation : by the kshatrapa Śudisa this piece of land, the Veyaüdirna encampment and also the Busapara encampment, limited by the Urvarapara, was, after having made it *nissīma*, handed over.

Above the aksharas *udirna* and *busapa*, respectively, there are two short legends in small characters, marked H′, H. The former, which is almost illegible in the plate, runs *dhamadana*, the second, above *busapa*, *guhavihare*. If my explanation of the small characters, which are found here and elsewhere, is right, we must infer that these entries were originally overlooked by the mason and therefore subsequently executed as they stood. It is difficult to say where they should be inserted. They may be intended to characterize Śuḍasa's grant as a religious donation to the Guhavihara.

Bühler took this to mean 'the Guha-monastery'. Dr. Fleet[1] thought of the possibility that *Guhavihare* might represent Skr. *guhāvihāre*, in the cave-vihāra, and Professor Thomas adopts that translation. Dr. Fleet proposed to identify this with the monastery mentioned by Hüan-tsang,[2] who says : 'To the east of the city, about 5 or 6 li, we come to a mountain saṅghārāma. The hill-sides are pierced to make cells (for the priests). We enter it through a valley, as by gates. This was constructed by the honourable Upagupta. There is in it a stūpa containing the nail-parings of the Tathāgata'.

It is of no consequence that Hüan-tsang was told that the establishment went back to the times of Upagupta. What he saw was a stūpa, which was said to contain relics, a saṅghārāma, and cells excavated in the hill-side. This is at least a remarkable coincidence.

The continuation of the context is evidently contained in inscriptions K and L, to the left of J 1 and J 2, on the side of the left lion. There are three lines : (1) *ayariasa*, (2) *Budhatrevasa*, (3) *utraena ayimita*.[3] The last word was read *ayimito* by Bühler and *ayimisa* by Thomas, while Bhagvānlāl had suggested *ayimitasa* and translated '(for the merit) of Buddhadeva, the āchārya (land) of Udayana Āryamitra'. Bühler translated : 'on account of the exaltation (*udayena*) of the teacher Buddhadeva, Ayimita', and Thomas : 'through the elevation of the āchārya Buddhadeva, Ayimisa', at the same time proposing to explain *ayimisa* as a genitive with *dāna* understood. Finally Luders explained *utraena* as corresponding to Skr. *udakena* and thought that some word meaning 'to give' might be contained in *ayimisa* or *ayimita*, so that there would be the question about the transfer of the donation by means of water, i.e. with libations of water.

I accept Lüders' explanation and see in *ayimita* a gerund of *ā-yam*, cf. the frequent

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[1] JRAS, 1905, p. 156. [2] Julien, *Mémoires*, i, p. 210 ; Beal, *Si-yu-Ki*, i, p. 181.
[3] See plate IX, right corner of section F 2, G, J 3.

compound *pra-yam*, to give, to bestow. With regard to the change of *a* to *i* we may compare *aï* for *ayam* B 17, *samadaï* for *samādāya* B 26 in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada, and as to the sense the term *parīndana*.

Sylvain Lévi [1] wanted to identify this Buddhadeva with the Vaibhāshika āchārya Buddhadeva, who belonged to the generation immediately after Ghoshaka and Vasumitra, who taught in the time of Kanishka and his successor. But the Lion Capital is at least a century older than Kanishka.

It seems natural to continue with inscriptions F, G and J 3, on and below the neck of the left lion:

F. 1 *Budhilasa nakraraasa* (F 2) *bhikhusa sarvastivatrasa*, where *nakraraa* represents Skr. *nāgaraka*, from Nagara, on the Kābul river.

Sylvain Lévi [2] wanted to identify this Budhila with the Fo-t'i-lo, master of the Śāstras, who composed the treatise Tri-chin-lun (Saṁyuktatattvaśāstra ?) for the use of the Mahāsāṁghika school, in a convent of the same, 140 or 150 li west of the capital of Kashmir, and whose work explained metaphysics, the Prajñā of the Mahāsāṁghikas. This would well agree with what we learn about Budhila below in inscription N, but it is impossible to say anything for certain, so long as we do not know anything about the date of this teacher. At all events, there can hardly be any doubt about the identity of Budhila and Budhat(r)eva, the former being a regular short-form of the latter. The name has been repeated so that the āchārya can be further characterized.

G 1 *mahakshatravasa Kusul[u]asa Patikasa Mevakisa* G 2 *Miyikasa kshatravasa puyae.* The *tra* in *-kshatravasa* is here without the additional dot or stroke which we find elsewhere in this word, so that we might think of transliterating *t(r)a.* It is, however, probable that we have only to do with an abbreviated writing. The final *sa* of *Mevakisa* is misshaped, and Bühler wrote that the akshara can only be an abnormal *da* or a *cha.* I have no doubt, however, that *sa* is intended, the sloping lower line of the head having been drawn too long and the leg having become reduced to a minimum.

The third *u* of *Kusul[u]asa* is not certain. It consists of a dot at the bottom and a curious stroke projecting from the upright. It is possible that Bühler and Thomas were right in reading *Kusalaasa.* For *Patikasa* Thomas read *Padikasa,* but *di* in A 15, I 1, is different.

Kusulua Patika has been identified with Patika, the son of Liaka Kusuluka, who is mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78, i.e., as suggested above, 6 B.C., and I see no reason for rejecting this identification. Who *Mevaki Miyika* was we know not. The name *Mevaki* has been compared by Professor Thomas with the Scythian name Mauakes, Μευακης, and further with Moga, and *Miyika* with names such as Midakhos, i.e. Madhyaka, or Mazdaka, Mazakes, or Pahlavī *mēyān.*[3]

The end of the passage recording Śudasa's grant is evidently J 3: *sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe.*

The aim of these inscriptions is, as we have seen, to record the establishment of relics by Rajula's chief queen and the grant of the land where they were established by Śudasa. The space on the bottom of the capital has further been utilized for some additional information connected with the donations, in inscriptions N–Q.

N is incised inside the circle at the bottom, but the first line protrudes over the

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[1] JA, IX, viii, 1896, p. 450 = *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, p. 383[4]; cf. Barnett, JRAS, 1913, p. 945.

[2] l. c.

[3] Cf. JRAS, 1906, p. 213, and Rapson, JRAS, 1894, p. 548, where the name of a kshatrapa Mevaku is traced on a coin.

whole of the bottom. It runs: *ayariasa Budhilasa nak(r)arak(r)asa bhikhu.* Professor Thomas read *nakraraasa*, but the second *kra* is absolutely certain. The termination *sa* of the word *bhikhu* follows in l. 2, where we further read: *sarvastivat(r)asa pagra*, followed by a blank, which Bhagvānlāl filled up by *hā*, while Bühler thought that he could read *sa* in a squeeze in his possession. I agree with Professor Thomas that there are no traces of writing after *gra*, and I follow him in running on with l. 3: *na mahasaghiana pra*, and l. 4: *mañavitrave khalulasa.*

Bühler, who read *pagasana* and *prañavida vakhalulasa*, translated: '(in honour) of the teacher Buddhila, a native of Nakara (*Nagara*), a Sarvāstivāda monk, who knows the wisdom (*prajñāvid*) of the famous (*prakāśānām*) Mahāsāṁghikas and is eager to explain it'. He stated that Bhagvānlāl took *vida* as equivalent to *vidyā* and translated 'delighting in the exposition of wisdom and knowledge to the members of the Great Congregation', and objected against this that the Mahāsāṁghikas were opposed to the Sarvāstivādins, thinking that 'perhaps the inscription means to praise Buddhila for his proficiency in the doctrines of the two schools'.

Professor Thomas took *pramañavitrave* as representing *prāmānyavittve*, in the knowledge of the nature of proof, and suggested to compare *khalula* with the unexplained *khadūra* (Atharvaveda XI, ix. 16) and with *khaḍūrikā*, a military exercise-ground, or to connect it with the base *khaṇḍ*. He thus arrived at the translation: an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the Mahāsāṁghikas.

The reading *pramañavitrave* shows that the *tra* of *trave* can only represent an uncompound intervocalic *t*. The termination *tave* is well known as forming infinitives both in Pāli and in Ardhamāghadhī. A verbal base *pramañav* is not likely, but *ñavit(r)ave* would be a regular infinitive of the causal *jñapayati*, and then *prama* must be explained as Skr. *pramām*, and as the object of *ñavit(r)ave.* The word *khalula* I cannot explain. It reminds me of *khalvala*, the name of a Vedic school.

It is evident that N has been added in order to give additional information about Budhila, and I therefore take *ayariasa Budhilasa* to be a repetition of *ayariasa Budhat(r)evasa* K L and *Budhilasa nak(r)araasa* F 1.

It seems most natural to go on with inscription O, below the end of N 1. The reading is perfectly certain: *sarvabudhana puya dhamasa* (2) *puya saghasa puya.*

Just below O 2 we find R: *Takshilasa* (2) *Kroninasa*, but this record is evidently supplementary to the record P, on the right side of the base, and I therefore take P to continue O.

The reading of P is beyond doubt: *sarvasa Sak(r)asta*(2)*nasa puyae.* The writing *kra* should be noted. Cf. the above remarks about *r*-compounds. Nor can there be much doubt that Bühler was right in translating 'in honour of the whole Sakastana'. Dr. Fleet[1] wanted to explain *sakra* as corresponding to Sanskrit *svaka* and translated 'for the worship of the whole of (his, her, or their) own home', but later on accepted a suggestion by Hultzsch, that *sarvasa* might be the genitive of the name *Sarva*, 'which is well established both with the dental *s* and with the palatal *ś*', and translated: '(gift) of Sarva, in honour of his home'. M. Barth[2] accepted the explanation of *Sarvasa* and translated 'of Sava, native of Sakastana; to render homage'.

Now the name *Śarva* may, no doubt, occur with a dental *s*, not, however, in dialects where *s* and *ś* are correctly distinguished, as is the case in the north-western vernacular of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. And *stana*, Skr. *sthāna*, can hardly mean 'home' in this connexion.

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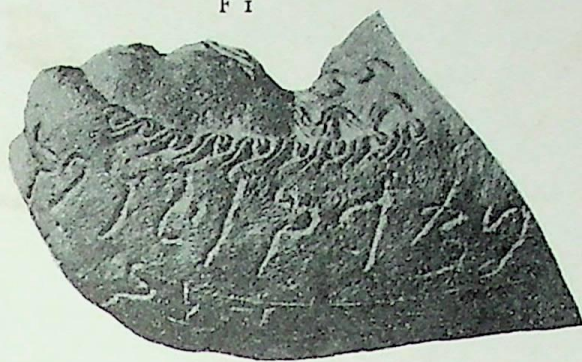
[1] JRAS, 1904, pp. 703 ff.; 1905, pp. 154 f., 643 f.

[2] l. c., pp. 389 ff. and 247 ff.

MATHURĀ LION CAPITAL

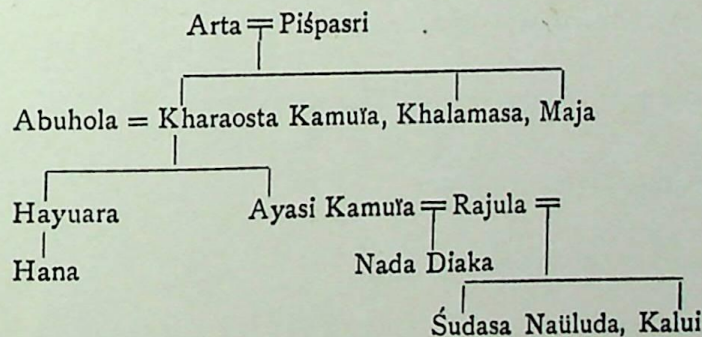
INSCRIPTIONS K, L, F, G, J 3, N-R, J

The remaining records, moreover, make the impression of being added as a further specialization of *Sak(r)astana*, mentioning Saka chiefs, whose names have not been previously recorded.

Q, just below P and continued on the front of the capital, runs: *Khardaasa* (2) *kshatravasa*, where it is impossible to decide whether *Khardaa* is the name of the kshatrapa or of the country over which he held charge.

Then comes, on the opposite side of the base, inscription R, which has already been quoted: *Takshilaśa* (2) *Kroninasa*. Professor Thomas thinks that we should perhaps read *Rakshilasa*, but the *ta* seems to be certain. Bühler took *Takshilasa* to mean 'a native of Takshaśilā' and read *Kodinasa*, Skr. *Kauṇḍinyasya*, for *Kroninasa*, while Professor Thomas thought that *Kroninasa* might stand for *koṇinasa* and represent Skr. *kaundinya*. In the first place, however, initial *k* could not well be written *kr*, and then it seems extremely unlikely that an Indian name should occur here in the midst of the Saka chiefs. *Takshila*, finally, can hardly represent Skr. *Tākshaśila*. Everything points to the conclusion that *Takshila* is the name of a person, and *Kronina* either a secondary name or a designation referring to his place of activity or origin, or to his position.

There remains one record, written from below and running upwards towards inscription J on the front of the capital. It was read *khalaśama*(2)*śo* by Bühler, but Professor Thomas, who distinguished it as J′, was certainly right in reading *Khalaśamuśo*. The word is probably the name of some Saka chief, or perhaps of the *navakarmika* as in the Patika plate, who wanted to be associated in the merit derived from the pious deeds recorded in the inscription.

In addition to the persons in some way related to Rajula, the mahākshatrapa of Mathurā, we thus find the names of several chiefs and nobles: the mahākshatrapa Kusulua Patika, whose dominion was no doubt the Taxila country; the kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika, who seems to be associated with him and perhaps was kshatrapa in the Taxila province; the kshatrapa Khardaa, and the persons called Takshila Kronina and Khalaśamuśa.

The family or families connected with Rajula may be arranged according to the following scheme:

The records on the capital belong to a later time than the Taxila copper-plate of 6 B.C., because Patika, who was then a *jauva*, had now become mahākshatrapa, and they are earlier than the Amohinī inscription of A.D. 15, because the kshatrapa Śudasa had then become mahākshatrapa. They may be approximately dated between A.D. 5 and 10.

I now give my reading and translation of the inscriptions, writing the subscript *r* within parentheses, where it only seems to denote a modified pronunciation of the preceding consonant.

Text

A

(1) mahaksha[tra]vasa Rajulasa (2) agramahesh(r)i Ayasia (3) Kamuïa dhit(r)a (4) Khar(r)aostasa yuvarañā (5) mat(r)a Nada Diakasa [taye] (6) sadha matra Abuhola[e] (7) pitramahi Piśpas(r)ia bhra(8)tra Hayuarana sadha Hana dhi[tra] (9) a[te]urena horakapa(10)rivarena iś(r)a pradhravipr at(r)e(11)ś(r)e nisime śarira prat(r)ithavit(r)o (12) bhak(r)avat(r)o Śakamunisa Budhasa (13) Muki[śri]raya saśpa [a]bhusavi[ta] (14) thuva cha sagharama cha chat(r)u(15)diś(r)asa saghasa sarva(16)stivat(r)ana parigrahe.

E

(1) Khar(r)aosto yuvaraya (E′) Kamuïo (2) Khalamasa kumara (3) Maja kanitha (4) saman[u] mot(r)a(E″)k(r)a karita

B

(1) mahakshatravasa (2) Va(ra)julasa putra (C) Kalui a(C 2)varajo (3) Śudase kshatrave (D) Naüludo

M

(1) kshatrave Śudi(da)se (2) imo padhravi(3)prat(r)eś(r)o

I

(1) Veyaüdirna kadhavaro Busapa(2)ro kadha(3)varo (4) vi ya u(J 1)rvaraparena palichhina (2) nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o (H′) dhamadana (H) guhavihare

KL

(1) ayariasa (2) Budhat(r)evasa (3) ut(r)aena ayimi[ta]

F

(1) Budhilasa nak(r)araasa (2) bhikhusa sarvastivat(r)asa

G

(1) mahakshat[r]avasa Kusul[u]asa Patikasa Mevaki[sa] (2) Miyikasa kshat[r]avasa puyae

J 3

sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe

N

(1) ayariasa Budhilasa nak(r)arak(r)asa bhikhu(2)sa sarvastivat(r)asa pagra(3)na mahasaghiana pra(4)ma ñavit(r)ave khalulasa

O

(1) sarvabudhana puya dhamasa(2)puya saghasa puya

P

(1) sarvasa Sak(r)asta(2)nasa puyae

Q

(1) Khardaasa (2) kshatravasa

R

(1) Takshilasa (2) Kroninasa

J′

(1) Khalaśamu(2)śo.

Translation

The chief queen of the mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasia Kamuïa, the daughter of the yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Nada Diaka, by her, together with her mother Abuhola, her father's mother Piśpasi, her brother Hayuara with his daughter Hana, the harem and the alms-lord chapter, was established in this piece of land, which is just outside the (saṁghārāma) border, the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, the Buddha—after having

performed the solemnities over the illustrious king Muki and his horse,—and a stūpa and a saṁghārāma, in the acceptance of the order of the four quarters of the Sarvāstivādins.

The yuvarāja Kharaosta, Kamuïa, having made prince Khalamasa (and) Maja, the youngest, assenting parties, by the mahākshatrapa Rajula's son,—the younger brother of Kaluï—, the kshatrapa Śudasa, Naüluda—, by the kshatrapa Śudasa this piece of land, (viz.) the encampment Veyaüdirna, and also the encampment Busapara, limited by Urvarapara, was granted, after having made it (an appurtenance just) outside the limit—as a religious gift in the cave-monastery—, having given it, with (libations of) water, to the teacher Buddhadeva : to Budhila from Nagara, the Sarvāstivādin monk,—in honour of the mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika (and) the kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika—, in trust of the Sarvāstivādins : to the teacher Budhila from Nagara, the Sarvāstivādin monk, a khalula (dialectician ?) to teach the foremost Mahāsāṁghikas the truth ; as honouring of all the Buddhas, honouring of the Law, honouring of the Order ; in honour of the whole Sakastana, of the kshatrapa Khardaa, of Takshila Kronina. Khalaśamuśa.

XVI. Plate X. 1 : MATHURĀ ELEPHANT INSCRIPTION

There is in the Mathurā Museum a small stone, $11\frac{6}{8}$ in. long and $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. high. It shows in relievo a decorated elephant, trotting towards the right. Above the back of the elephant, in the upper left-hand corner of the stone, is a Kharoshthī inscription, consisting of five aksharas of an average size of $\frac{1}{2}$ in. – $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The stone was found by the honorary curator of the Museum, Pandit Radha Krishna, in a mound at Rawal near Mathurā, and a short notice of the inscription was published in 1927.[1]

The characters are too few to allow of a certain dating. *Kha* has a rather square head and reminds us of the Zeda inscription. *Tu* reminds us of the Mānikiāla bronze, but the *u*-loop is added behind, as in the *u* of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription I 1. *Dha* has almost the same shape as in the Fatehjang record. *Śa* has its nearest parallels on the Mathurā Lion Capital, and the same is the case with *sta*.

The reading is perfectly certain and runs : *śastakhadhatu*. It can only be doubted whether the final akshara should not be read *du*. Nor can there be any doubt with regard to the interpretation. The words mean 'the collar-bone (*aksha*) relic (*dhātu*) of the Lord (*śāstṛi*)'.

The meaning of the scene depicted is also clear. We read in the Dīpavaṁsa, chapter xv, and Mahāvaṁsa, chapter xviii, how Mahinda wants to leave Ceylon, because there are no relics to be worshipped. The king, however, asks him to remain. He may send for relics to India, and the king promises to build a stūpa over them. Sumana repairs to India, where he receives relics, and thence to Indra's palace, where the Buddha's right collar-bone (*dakkhiṇakkhaka*) is handed over to him. With this he returns to Ceylon, and the relic is placed on the frontal globe (Dīpavaṁsa) or the back (Mahāvaṁsa) of the state elephant, who roars, while the earth quakes.

We here evidently have a description of the scene depicted in the relievo. The legend about the fetching of the collar-bone relic has not hitherto been traced outside of Ceylon. We know, however, that the Aṭṭhakathā, on which the Siṁhalese chronicles are based, to a great extent drew on Indian sources. And the Mathurā inscription and sculpture show that such has been the case with the legend about the collar-bone relic.

On the other hand, we cannot state that the legend was localized in Mathurā. The

[1] Aus Indiens Kultur. Festgabe Richard von Garbe dargebracht, Erlangen, 1927, pp. 33 ff.

stone is small and can easily have been brought to the place where it was found from outside, e.g from the north-west. And, if we bear in mind the fact that Kharoshṭhī never seems to have found a home in Mathurā, we become inclined to think that such has been the case.

TEXT

Sastakhadhatu

TRANSLATION

The collar-bone relic of the Lord.

XVII. PLATE X. 2: BĪMARĀN VASE INSCRIPTION

Bīmarān is a small village six to seven miles west-north-west of Jalālābād, which was explored in the years 1834–37 by M. Masson. There was a big stūpa in the centre of the village and smaller stūpas in the immediate neighbourhood.

In one of them, numbered 2 by Masson, a relic-chamber was excavated, which contained a steatite vase inscribed with Kharoshṭhī letters. Within the vase were found some pearls and beads and a gold casket decorated with relics, and together with the vase four copper coins.[1]

The coins, which were the only coins found in the stūpa, belong to the Azes coins with the legend *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa*, and they have usually been taken to imply that the vase was deposited in the days of Azes, though they only prove, as pointed out by M. Foucher,[2] that the reliquary is not older than Azes. The relief figures on the gold casket, representing the Buddha between Indra and Brahmā, on the other hand, are stated by the said scholar to show that the vase is at all events older than the Kanishka casket. *A priori* there does not seem to be any objection to assigning it to the times of Azes.

A reproduction of the inscriptions, in inverted order, was published by James Prinsep[3] and corrected in H. T. Prinsep's republication of the engraving.[4]

Then came H. H. Wilson's publication mentioned above, remarks by J. Bird,[5] and editions by Cunningham[6] and Dawson.[7]

A new edition, with excellent plates, was finally contributed by Mr. Pargiter.[8]

The vase, which is now in the British Museum, is inscribed both on the lid and round the body of the vase, but the two inscriptions are, as recognized by Cunningham, practically identical.

The characters are, on the whole, well cut, though Mr. Pargiter is no doubt right, when he states that the scratching tool has slipped in some places and distorted some of them.

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[1] Cf. H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 69 ff., with plate II after p. 54, and a tentative reading of the inscription on p. 259, where the vase is erroneously stated to have come from Hidda. This mistaken statement is repeated by E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1844, p. 348; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii, 1852, p. 1178³ (2nd edition, p. 1192³).

[2] *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, ii, p. 478.

[3] JASB, iii, 1834, pl. VI; reproduced, with an attempt at reading the record by E. Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, vol. i, pp. 105 ff. and plate VI.

[4] Note on the Historical results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan, London, 1844.

[5] *Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Bauddha and Jaina Religions*. Bombay, 1847, p. 63.

[6] JASB, xxiii, 1854, pp. 707 f.

[7] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 241 ff., and plate III (opp. p. 222); cf. also Senart, JA, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 133; IX, iv, 1894, p. 514; Majumdar, List, no. 3.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, xvi, pp. 97 ff.

They make the impression of being fairly old. We may note the *ya*, which has an angular top but a bend in the middle of the left leg. Similar forms are found on the Lion Capital and in Kāldarra. The *sa* seems to be a cursive form of the old *sa* with the leg continued upwards towards the head-curve. The nearest parallels are again found on the Lion Capital. Most characteristic is apparently the anteconsonantic *r* in *sarva*, which again reminds us of the Lion Capital and seems to be distinctly older than the shape found on the Taxila scroll and apparently also than those of the Takht-i-Bāhī and Pājā records.

From the point of view of palaeography there does not seem to be any objection to a dating of the Bīmarān vase as about contemporaneous with the Mathurā Lion Capital. And there are also two orthographical features which remind us of the latter. Intervocalic *t* is always written *tr*, except in *mu*(*m*)*javada* and *niyadide*, where it has become *d*, and intervocalic *g* is written *gr*, where the Capital has *kr*. It is probable, as mentioned in connexion with the Lion Capital, that the sounds intended were fricatives, and I shall transliterate *t*(*r*), *g*(*r*), respectively. Mr. Pargiter reads *t*, *g*, respectively.

There are, as already stated, two inscriptions, one round the body of the vase and another one on the lid. They are, however, evidently only two copies of the same record, and it seems probable that the latter has been written after, and probably copied from, the former. The engraver was then aware of the insufficiency of the space available on the lid, and therefore began with the most important part of the record, which could not be missed, adding so much of the remainder as he could. In doing so he seems to have misread the name of the donor's tribe.

I therefore begin with the longer inscription round the vase, which I read as *Śivarakshit*(*r*)*asa Mu*(*ṁ*)*javadaputrasa danamuhe niyadide Bhag*(*r*)*avat*(*r*)*a śarirehi sarvabudha*[*na*] *puyae*.

The apparent anusvāra of *Muṁjavada* is turned backwards and perhaps only a slip of the engraver's tool. On the lid it is turned the other way and has, accordingly, been taken to represent an anusvāra. Here also the ensuing *va* has been misdrawn and made into a *naṁ*. Mr. Pargiter thinks that the apparent *ṇaṁ* is a defective *vaṁ*, where the top has been omitted. There is, however, a backward bend of the vertical, so that *naṁ* is certain. *Muṁjanaṁda* might be *Muñjānanda*, but such a name is not known to exist. *Mujavada* or *Muṁjavada* would represent Skr. *mūjavat* or *mūjavanta*, and be a well-known word. A tribe called *Mūjavat* is mentioned in the Atharvaveda together with north-western ethnics such as *Balhika* and *Gandhāri*, and I have little doubt that this word is meant in our record. If the anusvāra after *u* was actually heard, we have before us the nasalization of a long vowel which is a well-known feature in Indo-Aryan vernaculars. *Mujavadaputra* or *Muṁjavadaputra* would accordingly mean not 'the son of Mūjavat', but 'the Mūjavat scion', 'an individual of the Mūjavantas'. Cf. the terms *sahayara*, *sahaya* used in other inscriptions. I think that this explanation is the right one and infer that the legend on the lid is a mechanical and faulty copy of the main inscription.

The *r*-stroke in *putrasa* is defaced. It may have joined the *t* in a sharper angle than in *Śivarakshitrasa*, and I shall write *t*[*r*]*a* and not *t*(*r*)*a*.

Danamuhe is evidently the nominative and not the locative, for other inscriptions have *danamukho*. The *h* tends to show that *muha* does not stand for *mukhya*, as suggested by Mr. Pargiter. Moreover, we find in Pāli *dānamukha*. The meaning of the word has been discussed by Messrs. Senart,[1] Thomas,[2] Pargiter,[3] and Majumdar.[4]

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[1] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 132 ff.

[2] JRAS, 1915, pp. 97 ff.

[3] l. c.

[4] JPASB, xviii, 1922, pp. 62 ff.

The last mentioned scholar quotes the Pāli idioms *dānamukhe datvā*, *dānamukhe vissajetvā*, where we still seem to feel an older and fuller meaning 'under the head of alms'. But I agree with Messrs. Senart, Thomas, and Majumdar that, in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, no difference can be made between *dāna* and *dānamukha*.

For *niyadide* M. Senart proposes to read *niyatitaṁ* and M. Pargiter reads *niyatide*, adding that the *ti* is provided with the otiose *r*-stroke. I cannot see any trace of the latter, but I admit that it is possible to read *ti*.

The form *śarirehi* was explained by Mr. Pargiter as an instrumental plural, 'with relics of the Lord'. That explanation is perhaps the right one. There is, however, one objection. We have no *a priori* right to assume that Śivarakshita did more than to give the vase. The relics may have been older, and the same may have been the case with the gold casket. It therefore seems possible that *śarirehi* is a dative, of the same kind as similar forms which have been discussed by Pandit Surendranath Majumdar.[1] The use of the word *ni-yat*, cf. *nir-yat*, which often means 'to restore', seems to add strength to this explanation. The case may have been similar to what is recorded in the Patika plate, where we hear about relics which had not been properly deposited (*apratithavita*) and were subsequently enshrined.

We do not know who Śivarakshita was. We know a person of the same name from the Shahdaur inscription, and the name Śivarakshita is found on a seal from Taxila, but we have no materials for judging of the identity or non-identity of these persons.

The inscription on the lid is, as already stated, shorter, and omits the final blessing. It looks as if it begins with the word *bhag(r)avat(r)a*, but I have already tried to explain why such is the case. The execution is less careful than in the main inscription. I have already drawn attention to the writing *Muṁjanaṁda* for *Mu[ṁ]javada*. We may further note the misdrawn *bha* and *da* in *Bhag(r)avat(r)a* and *daṇamuhe*.

My reading of the main inscription is, accordingly, as follows:

TEXT

Śivarakshit(r)asa Mu[ṁ]javadaput[r]asa danamuhe ṇiyadide Bhag(r)avat(r)a śarirehi sarvabudha[ṇa] puyae.

TRANSLATION

Gift of Śivarakshita, the Mūjavat scion, given in substitution, for the relics of the Lord, in honour of all Buddhas.

The inscription on the lid runs:

TEXT

Śivarakshit(r)asa Muṁjanaṁdaputrasa danamuhe bhag(r)avat(r)a śarirehi.

TRANSLATION

Gift of Śivarakshita, the Mūjavat scion, for the relics of the Lord.

XVIII. PLATE XI. 1: KALA SANG INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 100 (?)

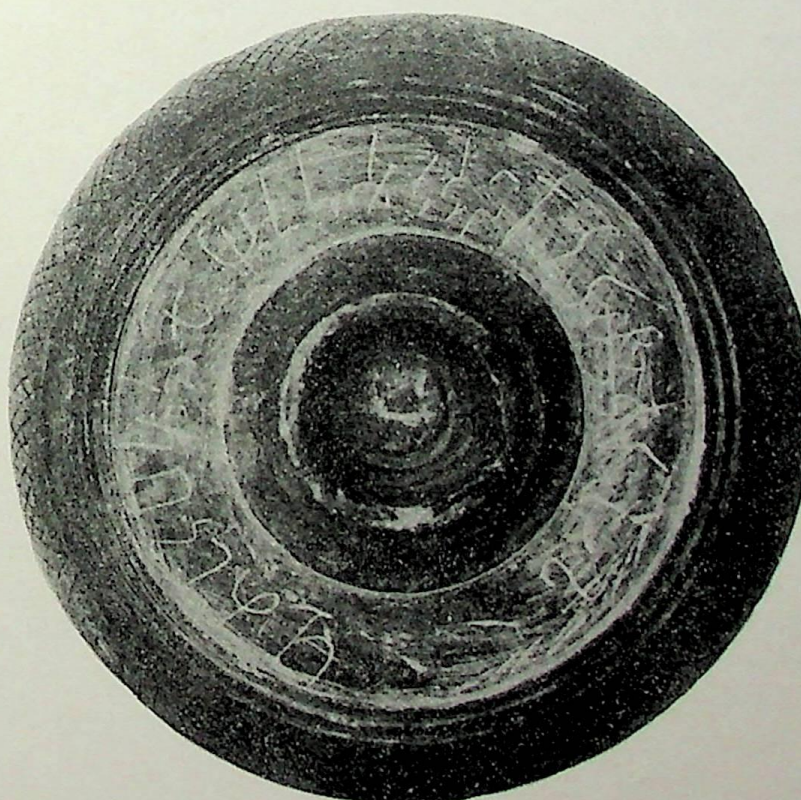
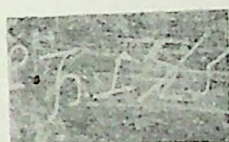
Kala Sang is a hillock belonging to the Mahāban system in the territory of the Khudu Khels of the Yusufzāi border. Here a stone bearing a Kharoshthī inscription was found lying on the hill-side near Cherorai. It is now in the Lahore Museum, where it bears the number I. 59.

The stone measures 1 ft. 10 in. × 6¾ in., and the inscription covers 1 ft. 4 in., while the size of individual letters is from 1 to 1¼ in.

[1] *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, ii, 1925, pp. 31 ff.

1. MATHURĀ ELEPHANT INSCRIPTION

Full size

2. BĪMARĀN VASE INSCRIPTION

Copies of the inscription were forwarded by Sir Harold Deane to M. Émile Senart, who published and translated it in 1894.[1]

The inscription is incomplete, the stone being only a fragment, and the portion containing the beginning of the record has not been found.

The characters are almost of the same kind as in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102. Cf. the letters *ku*, *kh*, *p*, and *y*. *Ku* is perhaps a little more advanced, the top-stroke being continued without a break in the right-hand hook. The shape of *l* and *s* is of the same cursive kind as on the Mathurā Lion Capital. Palaeographical considerations on the whole seem to assign the record to about the same time as the Mount Banj epigraph.

The first three aksharas were read *yavana* by M. Senart and *yatana* by Mr. Majumdar. The second cannot be *va*, because the top-stroke is distinctly bent upwards. Nor can it be *ta*, the leg being too long and too straight. We must read *ra*, and a comparison of the Muchai inscription shows that we must restore *sahayaraṇa*.

The ensuing *Pipalakhaa* was explained by M. Senart as representing Skr. *pippalakshaya*, and it is hardly possible to avoid thinking of *pippala*, which occurs both as a common noun and as the name of a person and of a Vedic school. From the same word is formed *Pippalāda*, the name of a school of the Atharvaveda, which we know from the neighbouring Kashmir. One might think of explaining *-khaa* as representing Skr. *khāda* and seeing in *pipalakhaa* a synonym of *pippalāda*, but we are scarcely justified in assuming the dropping of an intervocalic *d*, provided that the word does not belong to another dialect than the usual one in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. The only thing which we can say for certain is that *pipalakhaa* is a nearer characterization of the 'companions', *sahacharas*. And it is worthy of notice that similar characterizing additions in other inscriptions are just as difficult to explain. It is impossible to follow Mr. Majumdar in thinking of the name of an individual used in the plural.

The next word was read *bhuho* by M. Senart, just as in the Mount Banj inscription, while Mr. Majumdar reads *kue*. The first akshara is certainly *ku*, but the second cannot well be *e*, because the supposed *e*-stroke is turned downwards. It looks like the *ho* of the Mathurā Lion Capital, but I have little doubt that we must read *o*, though the shape is irregular, the bottom of the vertical being bent backwards and the *o*-stroke being added at an unusual angle. A slight backward bend of the vertical is, however, also noticeable in the Mount Banj and Taxila silver scroll inscriptions. Besides, there can hardly be any doubt that the word in question corresponds to Skr. *kūpah*, and, to judge from the inscription found at the neighbouring Mount Banj, the nominative of masculine *a*-bases in the Mahāban country ended in *o*.

The next word was read *eduka* by M. Senart, while Mr. Majumdar read *lajua*, which he explained as *rajjuka*. The first letter is very different from *la* in *pipala-*, which has a straight vertical and a regular curve of the projecting portion. If we abstract from the top-stroke, our akshara is almost identical with the *a* of *-khaa*, and I therefore accept M. Senart's reading *e*. But then we are able to state with confidence that the preceding akshara is not *e*, as assumed by Mr. Majumdar.

I also agree with M. Senart in reading the second akshara as *du*. *Ja* has always a sharp angle in old records, and it is not till in the Wardak vase that we find the rounded form which Mr. Majumdar's reading presupposes.

The third akshara is peculiar. We have a similar *ka* in the Shakardarra inscription, but I do not think that it is possible to read so in our record, because *ka* in *kuo* is too different.

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[1] JA, IX. iv, 1894, pp. 516 f., with plate v, no. 36; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 21.

It seems to me that we have to do with the same akshara as the last in the word I have read *kuo*, so that *eduo* should be read, and this *eduo* must probably be explained as an adjective qualifying *kuo*. I have little doubt that M. Senart was right in comparing the word *edūka*. But unfortunately we do not exactly know what it means. In Mārkandeya's account to Yudhishṭhira about the coming depravation of the Kali yuga we read (Mah. III, 190. 65 = 13074) how people are going to worship *edūkas*, abandoning the devatās: *edūkān pūjayishyanti varjayishyanti devatāh*, and two stanzas further on how the earth is going to be marked by *edūkas* and not to be adorned with temples of the gods: *edūka-chihnā pṛithivī na devagṛihabhūshitā*. In the commentary we find *edūkāh* explained as *asthyaṅkitāni kudyāni*, walls marked with bones. This explanation is taken from the lexicographers, who give various explanations containing words such as *asthi*, *kīkasa*. Thus Amara II, ii, 4 says that a wall (*kudya*) is said to be *eḍūka* if it is *antarnyastakīkasa*, studded with bones, or, with bones inserted into it. In Maheśvara's commentary this is explained by saying that the bones are applied for the purpose of strengthening the wall, *dārdhyārtham*. The Śabdakalpadruma also gives other explanations: *kīkasam iva kīkasaṁ yat kudyaṁ chhitāverā īti khyātam ity anye, iti Sārasundarī. Kīkasam asthi etat kāshṭhādikaṭhinadravyopalakshaṇaṁ, kīkasam iva kīkasaṁ, kiliñchādīti Madhuh. Eḍūka* is accordingly a wall into which 'bones', i.e. planks, boards, or other hard objects have been inserted.

Sir Aurel Stein describes the old well 1¼ miles to the east-south-east of Jhanda village in the Mahāban country as follows:[1] 'The masonry lining is of the fashion peculiar to the pre-Muhammadan buildings of Gandhara and Udyana, but remarkably regular, and by far the most finished of its kind I have seen anywhere. It shows a succession of double courses. The upper one consists of roughly square blocks, circ. 7 inches high and varying in length from 8 to 11 inches, with neatly packed columns, formed of small flat stones and circ. 4 inches broad, separating each block from its neighbour in the same course, &c.' So far as I can see, this description shows what is meant with a *kūpa edūka*. It is a well of stones, separated by flat uprights, and I shall tentatively translate 'an intersected well'.

After *eduo* M. Senart read *savañasa*, Skr. *sarvajñasya*, but stated that an examination of the plate does not quite favour this reading. Mr. Majumdar read *Sava .. sa*, of the (rajjuka) Sava . . . The first akshara has, however, a distinct rounding of the bottom, so that it seems natural to read *saṁ*. The second seems to be *va*, and *saṁva* may be an unusual abbreviation of *saṁvatśare*. The third one can perhaps be compared with the first numeral figure of the date in the Loriyān Tangai inscription, preceded by the numeral 1. I am therefore inclined to think that we have to do with a misshapen 100. The last sign I cannot identify. It may be a sign of the same kind as the unidentified signs after the figures in the Fatehjang and Muchai inscriptions. With every reserve I therefore read *saṁva 1 100*, in which case our record would be two years earlier than the Mount Banj inscription.

TEXT

[saha*]yarana Pipalakhaana kuo eduo sa[ṁ]va 1(?) 100 (?) . (?)

TRANSLATION

Of the Pipalakhaa companions, this intersected well. Anno 100 (?).

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[1] ASIFC, 1904–5, p. 22.

1. KALA SANG INSCRIPTION

Scale 0.60

2. MOUNT BANJ INSCRIPTION. YEAR 102

Scale 0.06

XIX. Plate XI. 2: MOUNT BANJ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 102

A description of Mount Banj has been published by Sir Aurel Stein,[1] who surveyed the Mahāban range and the adjoining country in the autumn of 1904.

From the culminating height of Mount Banj a spur runs east-south-east and strikes the Indus just above the large Utmanzai village of Khabal. Further to the north there is another spur, almost parallel to it, and running east down to the Indus. Between these spurs lies a valley, 'about two miles broad from crest to crest and drained by the stream of Khabal. In its lower portion this valley is nothing but a deep-cut narrow ravine between precipitous rocky slopes rising up from the boulder-filled bed of the stream. But at its head the enclosing slopes are somewhat easier and form a kind of mountain amphitheatre'. Here Sir Aurel found 'an ancient well, 3 feet square, built of large roughly cut slabs with columns of small flat pieces in the interstices. It still is the main source of water supply for the hamlet' of Banj.

This is probably the find-place of a slab bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription, which was brought to Sir Harold Deane as found at Mount Banj. Estampages were forwarded to M. Senart, who published the inscription with a plate.[2] A new edition is due to Mr. N. G. Majumdar.[3]

The slab is now in the Lahore Museum, bearing the number I. 42. It measures 1 ft. 6 in. × 9¾ in., the inscribed portion covering 1 ft. 4 in. × 8 in.

The characters are pre-Kushāṇa Kharoshṭhī, and the size of individual letters varies between 1½ in. and 3 in. We may note the *kha* without any backward bend of the top; the broad angular *ya* and the distinct, forward prolongation of the leg of *sa*, which is almost identical with the *sa* of the Patika record.

The first line of the inscription contains only one word, written in the left corner. It was read *danamukho* by M. Senart and *daṇamukho* by Mr. Majumdar. The third akshara is, however, not quite certain. It looks like the *mo* of the Patika, Mathurā Lion Capital, Kanhiāra, and Ārā inscriptions. The *o* vowel-stroke is, however, usually longer. We find exactly analogous forms of the third akshara of the word *danamukha* in the Yākubi and Ghaz Ḍherī inscriptions. If we consider the varying shapes of the akshara *mu*, it will be seen that the *u*-mātrā usually is a short stroke added at the left extremity of the letter, as in the Patika plate, and that the right leg rises above the line. In the Kurram casket, where the akshara is made square, the *u*-stroke is, however, added to the bottom, and the left leg rises above it. It seems to be the same form which is used in our record and also in the Yākubi and Ghaz Dherī inscriptions, and I therefore accept the reading *danam[u]kho*.

L. 2 begins with *ma*, surmounted by a small hook above the left top. I cannot explain this hook. One might think that it denotes the long *ā*, but then the *ā*-mātrā after *m* is marked differently in the Niya documents, where we have certain instances of a *mā*, viz. by means of a dash below the letter.[4] In the Sui Vihār and Ārā records we find a short stroke crossing the right leg of *ma*, which does not seem to admit of any explanation. It may be surmised that all these signs are meant to mark the beginning of the record. In the case of our inscription such an inference may be strengthened by

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[1] ASIFC, 1904–5, pp. 33 ff.

[2] JA, IX, iv, pp. 513 ff., with plate v, no. 35.

[3] J&PASB, xviii, 1922, pp. 65 ff., with plate v; cf. his List, no. 34.

[4] See Stein, *Serindia*, plate XXIV.

the consideration that l. 1 does not, as usual, begin at the right extremity. The word *danamukha* is, moreover, never used as the opening word of any other Kharoshthī inscription.

I therefore take the record to begin with l. 2 and the first akshara of that line to be simply *ma*. Then follows *kadakapūtrasa*. There are some irregular strokes and dashes on both sides of the upright of the second akshara, but they are too little pronounced to be intended, so that we have not sufficient reason for reading *markaḍakaputrasa*. M. Senart compared *markaḍaka* with Skr. *mārkaṇḍa, mārkaṇḍeya*. We might also think of *markaṭaka*, which is used with more than one meaning: a species of grain; an ape; a spider; a kind of fish, and, a Daitya. At all events the word is evidently a personal designation, but I fail to see why Mr. Majumdar thinks that it sounds like a foreign name.

Then follows *vayira*, after which Mr. Majumdar adds *sa*. There are, however, no traces of any akshara following after *ra*, which, moreover, stands exactly above the last akshara of l. 3. If *makaḍaka* is the name of an individual person, we should certainly expect another name to individualize his son. But even so it would not be strictly necessary. And *makadaka* may be the designation of a locality or association, and *putra* be used in the same way as in *rājaputra, devaputra*, &c., to denote a member of an individual group or clan, in which case the Makadaka-son would be a member of the association or clan of the Makadakas.

Vayira must then evidently be connected with the opening of l. 3, which M. Senart left unread, while Mr. Majumdar read *thuve*. Only parts of the first akshara remain, viz. a short top-stroke, the upper part of a vertical, and traces of a horizontal projecting towards the left and perhaps crossing the vertical. The thick line to the right, joining the vertical in a curve and continuing downwards, which is seen in the plate, does not belong to the akshara, but is simply the edge of the stone. A careful inspection of the original has made me inclined to accept Mr. Majumdar's *th*[*u*], though *st*[*u*] would also be possible. The bottom of the akshara and the *u*-mātrā have been broken off.

The second akshara cannot be anything else than *ve*, though the *e*-stroke is very faint. *Vayiraṭhuve* would correspond to Skr. *Vajrastūpe*, but I do not know of any such designation in Buddhist literature. Sir Aurel Stein has shown that the Mount Banj remains represent the site where the Chinese pilgrims located the incident in the career of the Bodhisattva, when he gave up his body to feed a hungry tigress. The pilgrims speak about a stone stūpa at this spot and state that 'the soil as well as the herbs and shrubs show a light reddish colour as if blood-dyed. When people dig the earth, they feel as if pricked by thorns. All, whether sceptics or believers, are moved to feelings of sorrow and pain'. We also read about another stūpa to the north, about 200 feet high, which had been built by King Aśoka and was adorned with sculptures and of artistic construction, and which at all times shed a divine light. Either of these may have been the Vajrastūpa, which may mean a stūpa containing or connected with a *vajra*, or resembling a *vajra* in shape or splendour, or built by some person called Vajra or Vajrā.

After [*thu*]*ve* follows *saṁvatśaraye*. It will be seen that the compound *tśa* is a little irregular, in so far as the upper horizontal protrudes to the right of the vertical, which, in its turn, is continued in a straight line up to the horizontal.

Then follow the numerical symbols 1, 100, 1, 1, i.e. 102, and a word, which M. Senart read *bhuho* and explained as possibly standing for *bhu*[*ti*] *ho*[*tu*]. Mr. Majumdar read *bhuo*, which he took to represent Skr. *bhūtah*. In his List, however, he accepts my reading, which is *kuo*, Skr. *kūpaḥ*. There can be no question about reading the first akshara as *bhu*, because the top-stroke does not project to the right of the vertical. The

shape differs slightly from that of *ka* in l. 2, the right-hand hook being more rounded and joining the vertical higher up. We have, however, found more examples of slight irregularities in this record.

We thus arrive at the following text and translation:

TEXT

L. 3 Makadakaputrasa Vayira-
2 [thu]ve saṁvatśaraye 1 100 1 1 kuo
1 danam[u]kho.

TRANSLATION

Of the Makadaka scion, in the Vajrastūpa, in the year 102, (this) well (is) the gift.

XX. PLATE XII. 1: THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103

No. I. 1 of the Lahore Museum is a stone, measuring 17 in. by 14½ in., and bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription in six lines. There is some uncertainty about its provenance. Cunningham originally stated [1] that it had been discovered by Dr. Bellew at Shāhbāzgarhī, but later on always spoke of it as hailing from Takht-i-Bāhī, and the epigraph has usually been spoken of as the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

Both places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhbāzgaṛhī 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles west of Mardān in Yusufzāi.

The editor of Trübner's Record states that Dr. Bellew had left the stone in Hotī Mardān, 'in Dr. Johnson's compound. Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorized Dr. Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Hotī Mardān. Dr. Leitner, after personal inspection, had the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there had the inscription both lithographed and photographed. The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr. Bellew, that of the inscription to Dr. Leitner'.

A rubbing of the inscription was forwarded by Dr. Leitner to Professor Dowson, who gave a notice of it in Trübner's Record.[2] Then follows the notice by Cunningham, mentioned above, in Trübner's Record, June 1873, and a fuller notice by Dowson,[3] who read the date portion, which he again [4] reproduced in a new note two years afterwards. New editions were published by Cunningham,[5] Senart,[6] Boyer,[7] and myself.[8]

Cunningham remarks that 'as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether'. The reading and interpretation are consequently in some places beset with difficulties.

The inscribed portion covers 15½ in. by 12½ in., and the size of individual letters varies from ½ in. to 1¾ in. There is apparently a gap after the seventh akshara of l. 1, but nothing has been lost, the gap having been left without any writing on account of the roughness of the stone. There is a similar vacant space in the middle of l. 5.

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[1] Trübner's Record, June 1873, reprinted *Ind. Ant.*, ii, 1873, p. 242.
[2] June 1871, not accessible to me.
[3] JRAS, New Series, vii, 1875, pp. 376 ff., with plate.
[4] Ibidem, ix, 1877, pp. 144 ff.
[5] ASI, v, 1875, pp. 58 ff., with plate XVI, no. 3.
[6] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 114 ff., with plate.
[7] JA, X, iii, 1904, pp. 457 ff.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, xviii, pp. 261 ff.; cf. SBAW, 1916, pp. 800 ff., and Majumdar's List, no. 66.

The alphabet is Kharoshthī of a comparatively old type. *Kha* is without the backward bend of the top and is almost identical with the *kha* of the Swāt vase. *Da* in *shadhadana*, l. 4, is similar to the *da* of the Patika plate, while *di* is upright as in the Pājā inscription. *Ba* has the old curvilinear shape with a deep indenture. *Ya* in *maharayasa*, l. 1, has the old broad and angular shape, but elsewhere the top is rounded as in somewhat later records, and the left leg is shortened. *Śa* is like the *śa* of the Lion Capital, and *sa* is usually devoid of the upward prolongation of the leg, as is also commonly the case in the last-mentioned record. In *Guduvharasa*, l. 1, however, the prolongation is distinct.

L. 1 has never presented any serious difficulty and runs: *maharayasa Guduvharasa vasha 20 4 1 1*, where *vasha* probably stands for *vashe*, though no trace of the *e*-stroke is now visible. Dowson read the second akshara of the king's name as *nu*, but a comparison of *du* in *madu*, l. 5, and *pidu*, l. 6, shows that it is *du*. Nor can there be any doubt about the identity of the mahārāja Guduvhara. He is certainly identical with the Parthian ruler whom we know from numerous coins, and from Christian legends as the king to whom the apostle Thomas came. On his coins Guduvhara uses different titles, the lowest being *maharaja* and the highest *maharaja rajatiraja* or *maharaja rajaraja*. We have no right to infer that the use of the lower title in our inscription points to an early stage of his reign. On the other hand, there is nothing which militates against such an assumption.

L. 2. The first word was read *saṁ* . . . by Cunningham and *saṁvatsarasa* by Dowson. E. Thomas[1] demurred to Dowson's reading, without, however, suggesting any alternative. Messrs. Senart and Boyer read *saṁbadhae*, 'of the continuous reckoning'. There cannot, however, be any doubt that Professor Thomas was right[2] in reading *saṁbatśarae*.

The next word is *tiśatimae*, for which M. Senart read *tiśatamae*. The reading is absolutely certain, and also supported by the forms *śatimaye*, *śatimae*, in the Pājā and Skārah Dherī inscriptions. Then follow the numerical symbols *1 100 1 1 1*, i.e. 103.

We thus have two different dates after the name of the mahārāja Guduvhara, one in the 26th year (*varsha*), the other in the 103rd year (*saṁbatśara*). We have no reason for attaching any importance to the use of different words for 'year', and for assuming that the first date refers to a reckoning where the year begins with the rains. Nor is there anything in the wording of the two dates which points to a difference of the connexion existing between the royal name and either of the two dates. What stands there is simply 'of, i.e. during the reign of, the mahārāja Guduvhara, in the year 26, in the one hundred and third—103.—year'. And that can mean that the inscription was drawn up in the 26th year of Guduvhara's reign or of some unidentified era, and in the 103rd year of another era, which latter is evidently the same as is used in the Shahdaur, Mānsehrā, Fatehjang, Mount Banj and other old Kharoshṭhī records. It has been usual to assume that our inscription has been dated in the 26th year of the reign of Guduvhara. The consequence has been that it has become necessary to separate one Kharoshṭhī inscription, viz. that on the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, from all the rest and refer its date to a separate era of its own. For if Guduvhara's 26th year coincided with the year 103 of the other era, his first year would be the year 103 – 26, i.e. 77, and then the Taxila plate of the year 78, which is referred to the reign of the Mahārāja Moga, cannot belong to the same era. For we know that Moga was succeeded in Taxila by Guduvhara's predecessor Azes, and Guduvhara could not, therefore, have been on the throne one year before the date of the Taxila plate, when Moga was still reigning. I have there-

[1] JRAS, New Series, ix, 1877, p. 10 footnote. [2] JRAS, 1913, p. 636[3].

fore[1] referred the first date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription to a Parthian era instituted by Azes, and I still think that this is the correct explanation of our record.

The remaining words of l. 2 are *Veśakhasa masasa divase*, as has always been recognized.

L. 3 ff. were not read by Dowson, and Cunningham only tried to make out some few words. M. Senart gave a transliteration of the greater part of them, and M. Boyer of the whole.

The first word of l. 3 was read *paṁchame* by the two French scholars, who further took the ensuing sign to be *pa*, which according to M. Senart is the sign for the figure 5. Mr. Majumdar in his List suggests to read *aṭhama.*

A comparison of the certain instances of *pa* in ll. 4 and 5 makes it almost certain that the first akshara is *pa*. There is no trace of an anusvāra, but there are some strokes at the bottom which may represent an *r*-stroke. I therefore read *p*[*r*]*a*. The second letter consists of a vertical bent towards the left at the top, and a stroke projecting to the left lower down, which perhaps crosses the vertical. I have formerly read *tha*, but the bend of the top is too pronounced to be accidental. Nor is *dha* likely, because the vertical does not show the indenture which is visible in the *dha* of l. 4. The nearest approach to our letter is the akshara which I have read *ṭh*[*u*] in l. 3 of the Mount Banj inscription. I therefore accept Mr. Majumdar's *ṭha*. In the third letter the *e*-mātrā seems to be certain. I consequently read *p*[*r*]*aṭhame*.

The explanation of the ensuing sign as the figure 5 is hardly possible, the Kharoshṭhī signs for 5 being a St. Andrew's cross and a single stroke. What we can see is a hook, which may be the beginning of a *pa*, but also a damaged *di*, and a long vertical. I have therefore suggested to read *di 1*, cf. *divase aṭhami di 8* in the Uṇḍ inscription.

The next aksharas are badly defaced and cannot be restored with certainty. M. Senart read . . . . *pade* and M. Boyer *iśa kshunami samana*.

The first akshara consists of an upright, which is perhaps curving forwards at the top, so that we may think of an *a*. It is provided with two strokes, one running straight out to the right, and the other obliquely from the joining point of the other one. If the former was originally continued to the left of the upright and the latter is due to later grinding, we should have an *i*; if the straight horizontal is a later addition, we must read *e*, and if both are later, we have an *a*. The second akshara may be *śa*, though it is more rounded and has shorter legs than the *śa* of *Veśakha*, l. 2. The right leg is, moreover, rounded forwards at the bottom, but this inward bend seems to be the result of the grinding of later times. Then there are faint traces of a continuation of the right leg in a forward slope, and at the end of this continuation indications of what might be a *r*-stroke. Finally there is a faint line running in a rounded angle upwards from the left termination of the horizontal. It is therefore possible that the left vertical does not belong to the letter but forms part of the next akshara, in which case we should have to read *tra*.

Then comes a long vertical with a hook projecting to the right from the lower part and traces of a short stroke sloping forward to the left. M. Boyer read *kshu*, but there are no traces of the upper curve of *ksha*, and the vertical seems to run too high up. I have proposed to restore *di*, but this is just as uncertain. If the preceding short vertical belongs to this akshara and not to the preceding one, we might think of reading *pa* or *pu*. Then comes a short vertical continued upwards in a long curved line. M. Boyer read *na*, and I have suggested to read *ne*. If the lower vertical was orignally continued upwards, which seems to be possible, it would be possible to think of *ña*.

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[1] *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 60.

Then we have a small forward hook, which M. Boyer took to be the remains of a *mi*, but which I follow M. Senart in connecting with the ensuing upright and reading *pa*. M. Boyer saw a *sa* in this upright, but the straight top seems to be too distinct. What follows was read *de* by M. Senart and *mana* by M. Boyer, who explained *samana* as representing Skr. *śramaṇa*. For *śramana*, however, we could only have *śramana* or *shamana*. And besides, what M. Boyer read as *mana* is evidently *kshe*.

So far as I can see, the only certain thing is that the last word is *pakshe*, which must be Skr. *pakshe* or *pākshe*. With regard to the preceding words we are entirely left to guess. We might think of *iśa kshune* (or *dine*) *pakshe*, on this paksha-day, or of *etra* (or *atra*) *puñapakshe*, at this auspicious paksha, wherewith it would be natural to think of the tradition according to which the 1st Vaiśākha was the birthday of the Buddha. But we shall have to confess that the passage cannot be restored with anything approaching to certainty.

Then follow five aksharas, which M. Boyer read *belasamisa*, remarking that the *e* of *be* may be a flaw in the stone. It seems to me that such must be the case. The final portion is quite clear, and I therefore read *balasamisa*, which seems to be the genitive of a name, probably corresponding to Skr. *Balasvāmin*. Professor Thomas[1] thinks that we ought probably to read *mira* for *misa* and compares *Mira boyaṇasa* l. 4, but the *sa* is certain.

The last aksharas of l. 3 were read as *goyanasa* by the two French scholars, and M. Boyer explained *goyana* as Skr. *goyāna*, a bullock-car, drawing the last akshara *sa* to l. 4. There cannot, however, be much doubt that Professor Thomas was right in reading *boyanasa*, the same word which occurs at the end of l. 4, where we read *miraboyanasa*. This is evidently a name, which M. Boyer has compared with the Iranian Μιθροβουζάνης. *Boyanasa* in l. 3 must contain the same *boyaṇa* and be connected with the preceding *Balasamisa*, so that there cannot be any question of drawing the final *sa* to the ensuing line. *Boyaṇa* is evidently an adjective or participle formed with the suffix *āna* from a base *boy*, where *y* has been derived from a voiced sibilant, as shown by the Greek rendering in Μιθροβουζάνης. The base is therefore probably the Iranian *baug*, *bauj*, to save, and *boyana* has almost the same meaning as Greek σωτήρ, Prākrit *tratara*, which is common in coin-legends.

The first word of l. 4 was read *pa . . aa* by M. Senart, but M. Boyer was certainly right in reading *par[i]vara*, though the *i*-stroke of the second akshara is almost entirely obliterated and there is an apparent stroke protruding from the middle of the vertical. The latter is evidently not part of the akshara.

Parivara must be Skr. *parivāra*, and I take the meaning of the word to be 'enclosure, enclosed hall, chapter, chapel'.

The next word was read *yadha . . na* by M. Senart and *śadhadana* by M. Boyer. So far as I can see the remains of the first akshara consist of a curve, which is different from the more square *śa*, but looks like the curve of *sha*, and faint traces of a vertical below. I therefore read *shadhadana*, which is exactly the form we should expect for Skr. *śraddhādāna* or *śrāddhadāna*. M. Boyer was no doubt right in comparing Pāli *saddhādeyya*, Skr. *śraddhādeya*, a gift of faith, a pious gift. The *dha* shows an apparent hook to the right, which does not seem to form part of the original akshara. The upward bend of the bottom of *da* is probably only a continuation of the bottom-stroke, but might be an anusvāra.

Of the letters following after *-daṇa* M. Senart only read the two first, and those as *sapa*. M. Boyer read *sapayasovadana*, which he explained as Skr. *saprajāsuvadanā*

[1] JRAS, 1913, p. 636[3].

and took together with the last words of the line, *miraboyaṇasa*, translating the whole as 'together with his children (*prajā*) Suvadanā and Miraboyana'. He thinks that the curious letter before *mira* contains *na* and *da*, the latter having been added above, after the rest had been written, when there was no more space left in the line.

The first letter is certainly *sa*, but the second has a distinct *u*-loop at the bottom, so that we must evidently read *pu*. The third no doubt looks like the *ya* of *puyae*, ll. 5, 6, but there are distinct traces of an upright rising from the left-hand termination and of a bottom-stroke. I therefore read *tra*. Then comes a letter which does not seem to be *sa*, but rather looks like *ve*. There is, however, an indenture in the middle of the upright, and the apparent *e*-stroke seems to run down below the upper horizontal. I therefore feel justified in reading *dhi*, though the indenture in *dha* of *shadhadana* is much more pronounced. Then there are traces which point to a *ta* and a very distinct *ra*, which, however, runs into an akshara of peculiar shape, which had evidently been omitted, when the line was engraved, and was then inserted, in distorted form, after the mistake had been detected. I do not think that there can be much doubt that *sa* is intended, the less so because a similar *sa* is found at the end of the Zeda inscription. I therefore read *saputradhitarasa*.

L. 5. The first three letters were read *ejhshuna* by M. Boyer, while M. Senart only read the first and the third ones. The base of the second akshara is certainly *jha*. Then we have a curve across the leg, and I do not think that there can be any doubt that it is the ante-consonantic *r*, which has this shape in the Patika, the Lion Capital, and other old inscriptions, while the left termination usually joins the preceding akshara in a loop in later records. Below this curve there is a loop, which looks like the usual *u*-loop, and the most likely reading is, a priori, *erjhuna*. I have formerly thought it possible that the curve and the loop belong together, representing an intermediate stage between the old curve and the later curve with loop, so that we should read *erjhana*, but *erjhuna* seems to be the correct reading.

The word is evidently un-Indian. *Jh* is a rare sign in Kharoshṭhī, and when it occurs, it seems to represent the voiced *s*, which is usually transliterated as *z*. If we assume that the word sounded *erzuṇa*, we become tempted to identify it with the word *alysānai*, later *eysānai*, i. e. *alzānai*, *ezānai*, which is used in the old Saka language of the Khotan country in order to render Skr. *kumāra*. For we know that the Saka language used *r* for *l* throughout, only substituting *l* before certain sibilants as a later development. Saka *alysānai* therefore presupposes an older *arzāna*, *arzānaka*, while the later form *eysānai* shows that the initial vowel tended towards an *e*. If *erjhuna* is the actual reading, the development of *ā* to *u* is parallel to the change of *ā* to *u* in *kshuna*, for which we find *kshāna* in Saka documents.

It seems to me that we have good reason for assuming that *erjhuṇa* is actually the Saka word, and consequently that we have to do with a prince of Saka extraction.

His name may be looked for in the aksharas following after *erjhuṇa*. M. Senart read them as *kapa*, and M. Boyer, who admitted that the first akshara looks like *ka*, suggested to read [*bhu*]*pa*. The *ka* is beyond doubt, the *pa*, on the other hand, seems to show faint traces of a curve crossing the *pa* and a prolongation of the vertical below the curve, so that I have proposed to read *kap*[*sh*]*a*, comparing this with the varying forms *Kasa*, *Kaphsa*, *Kadapha*, *Kaü*, *Kapa*, and *Kapha* occurring on the coin-legends of Kujūla Kadphises. The traces of a subscript *sha* are, however, so faint that I think that we must read *kapa*, the same form which the Chinese rendered as *k'io*, i. e. in the pronunciation of the T'ang period *kivp*.

I have pointed out in the Historical Introduction that I cannot see any objection

to assuming that Kujūla Kadphises, whose coins show him to have succeeded the Guduvhara dynasty in Taxila, can have been mentioned as a prince in our inscription, which can very well belong to one of the very first years of Guduvhara and to a period when the Parthian dominion had not been pushed westward so far as Taxila or even as the Indus.

After *Kapa* follows a wide gap, which has never carried any writing, having been left open on account of the roughness of the stone, and then *sa*, which should be connected with *Kapa*.

The last words of the inscription are perfectly clear, viz. *puyae madu* in l. 5 and *pidu puya[e]* in l. 6. We may note the cursive shape of the *ya* in *puyae*, which almost looks like *a*, and the curious flourish after the final *e*. It looks like the flourish above the left top of the initial *ma* of the Mount Banj inscription, having only been turned the other way. I explain it in a similar way as in that record, where I took it to indicate the beginning of the inscription. Here it is evidently meant to mark the end. The final *e* itself is defaced, the head and the *e*-stroke being almost invisible.

We thus have a record dated during the reign of the Parthian ruler, the *mahārāja* Guduvhara, during the twenty-sixth year of an era which I take to commemorate the establishment of the dominion of the Parthians under Guduvhara's predecessor Azes, and further in the 103rd year of another era, which I identify with the old Saka era of the Shahdaur, Mānsehrā, Fatehjang, Patika, Mount Banj inscriptions, &c. It is further dated on the 1st of Vaiśākha, and according to Dr. van Wijk's calculation this date corresponds to the 10th March, A. D. 19.

At this time the Parthians were settled in part of the old Saka empire, notably in the country about Takht-i-Bāhī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī, which probably belonged to what the Chinese called Ki-pin. The era introduced by the Sakas, however, still remained in use, and a scion of one of the Saka tribes, the *erjhuna* Kapa, was a person of some consequence. *Erjhuṇa* Kapa may, or may not, simply mean 'the Kapiśa prince', as suggested by M. Lévi,[1] and the prince may or may not have acquired the position of hi-hou of Kuei-shuang. At all events it seems to me that we have to do with the same person who later on conquered the remaining hi-hous and then started on his career of conquest, which first led to victory over An-si, i. e. the Parthian empire of the Guduvhara dynasty, and subsequently to the Kushāna empire.

My reading and translation of the record are, therefore, as follows:

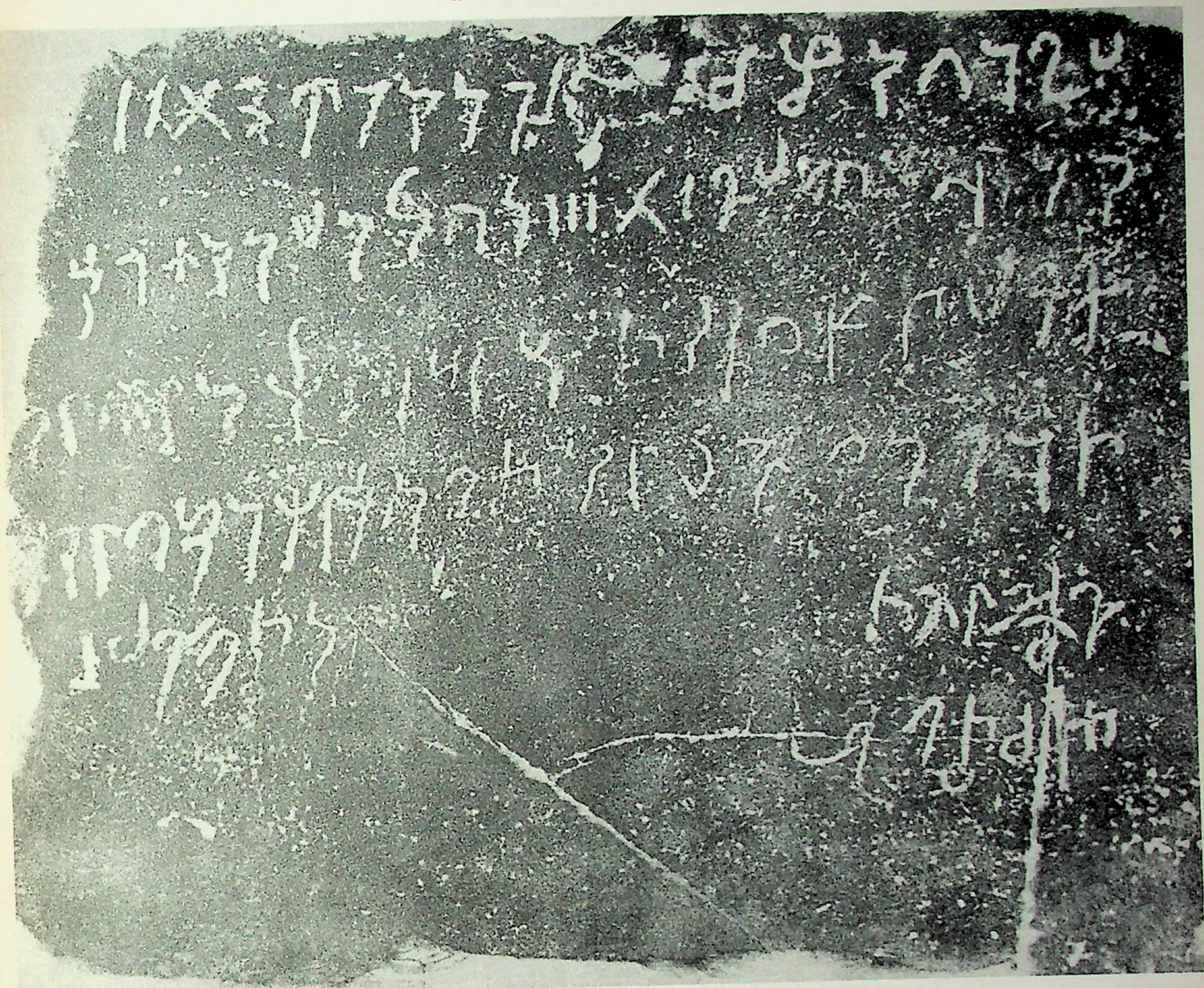
Text

1 maharayasa Guduvharasa vash[e*] 20 4 1 1
2 sa[m]ba[tśarae ti]śatimae 1 100 1 1 1 Veśakhasa masasa divase
3 [pra]ṭham[e] [di 1 atra (iśa ?) puña(dine, kshuṇe ?)pakshe] B[alasa]misa [Bo]yanasa
4 par[i]vara [sha]dhadana sapu[tradhitarasa] Mira Boyanasa
5 erjhuna Kapasa puyae madu
6 pidu puya[e].

Translation

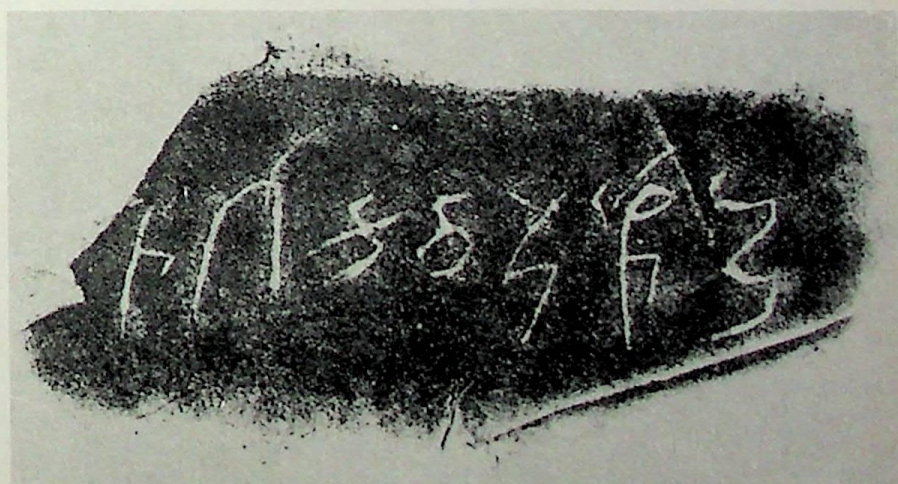
(During the reign) of the mahārāja Guduvhara, in the 26. year, in the one-hundred-and-third, 103. year, on the first, 1., day of the month Vaiśākha, at this auspicious paksha (this) chapel (is) the religious gift of Balasami (Balasvāmin ?) the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Mira the Saviour (and) of Prince Kapa, in honour of mother and father.

[1] JA, cciii, 1923, p. 52.

1. TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ. YEAR 103

Scale 0·50

2. TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ IMAGE

Scale 0·50

3. TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ POTSHERD

Full size

XXI–XXII. Plate XII. 2–3: OTHER TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

No. 1160 of the Peshāwar Museum is a damaged Buddha figure hailing from Takht-i-Bāhī.

On the back 'Dr. Vogel discovered an inscription in Kharoshthī, which he reads as *Horashadasa*. This name, which appears to be Iranian, may be that of the sculptor or donor of the statue'.[1]

The four aksharas read as *Horashadasa* are, on an average, 1 in. high. The reading of the two first is far from being certain. The first may be *ha* or *ho*, *a*, *i*, or *e*, and the second may be *ra* or *na* or *kha*. I shall, however, not try to improve on Professor Vogel's reading. The word is at all events the genitive of the name of a person.

That this person was the donor, and not the sculptor, is evident from the traces of a second line, which are visible in the impressions. We see a distinct *da*, traces of a *na*, of a *mu*, and, apparently, also of a *kha* or *khe*, so that we can, with great confidence, restore *danamukhe*.

Text

L. 1 [Hora]shadasa
2 da[namukhe].

Translation

Gift of Horashada.

No. 444 of the Peshāwar Museum is a fragment of black pottery, apparently part of a large jar, which was probably intended to hold grain. On the outer face are inscribed seven Kharoshṭhī letters, each about 5/8 in. in height. They have been read by Professor Vogel[2] as *saṁghe chadudiśe ka* . . ., and there cannot be the slightest doubt about the correctness of this reading. The last akshara *ka* may have been the beginning of the name of the donor of the jar, or, more probably, of the name of the sect to which the monastery belonged, as in the Taxila and Bedadi ladle inscriptions, where we have *saṁghe chadudiśe* . . . *Kaśaviyana* (respectively *Kashyaviyana*). Similar fragments of inscribed jars have been found at Pālātū Dherī and Sahr-i-Bahlol.

Text

saṁghe chadudiśe Ka . . .

Translation

in the Saṁgha of the four quarters of . . .

XXIII. Plate XIII. 1: PĀJĀ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 111

Pājā is the name of a ridge and a village between Jamālgarhī and Takht-i-Bāhī in Yusufzāi. About a quarter mile from the village a stone, measuring 6 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. and bearing a Kharoshthī inscription in two lines, has come to light, which Sir Harold Deane presented to the Lahore Museum, where it has been entered as I. 47.

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[1] Cf. Hargreaves, ASIFC, 1910–11, p. 4; Majumdar, List, Addenda (iv).

[2] See Hargreaves, ASIFC, 1910–11, p. 3; ASIAR, 1910–11, p. 34; Majumdar, List, no. 67.

The inscription has been edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji,[1] and commented on by Lüders,[2] Konow,[3] and Majumdar.[4]

The inscribed surface covers 4 ft. by 1 ft., and the size of individual letters varies from 3½ in. to 1½ in.

Mr. Banerji describes the characters as belonging to the Kushāna type, but also draws attention to the archaic shape of *sa*, which usually has the angular head and the prolongation of the leg which are characteristic of the older group. And there cannot be any doubt that the palaeography of the record points to the Saka period. We may note the downward prolongation of the lower curve of *cha*, the angular *ya*, the upward prolongation of the leg of *sa*, and, on the other hand, the loop-shape of the pre-consonantic *r* in *sarva*. The latter form also occurs in the Taxila silver-scroll of the year 136, and, on the whole, the characters can be described as intermediate between those of the Patika plate of the year 78 and that record.

L. 1 begins with the word *saṁvatśaraye*. Messrs. Banerji and Majumdar read the third letter as *tsa*, evidently because the prolongation of the left leg of *śa* gives the left-hand part of the akshara a distinct similarity with a *sa*. But then there would not be any *ta*, and the right-hand part of the letter would be unexplained. In our akshara it is bent forward at the bottom and almost joins the middle of the front leg.

Then follows *ekadaśatimaye 1 100 10 1*. There is a blurred bar across *da*, but it only represents an unevenness in the stone. Mr. Banerji explains *ekada-śatimaye* as 'an Apabhraṁśa of *ekadaśādhika-śatamaye*'. The ensuing numeral symbols show that the word means '111th', but the regular numeral for 111 would be *ekadaśaśata*, and it is evident that a *śa* has been omitted by mistake, so that we should read *ekadaśa-śatimaye*. The form *śatimaya*, and not *śatamaya*, has already been met with in the Takht-i-Bāhī record and is the only one which is found in Kharoshthī inscriptions. It seems to be due to the analogy of ordinals formed from numerals ending in *-śati*.

The remaining portion of l. 1 is quite clear: *śravaṇasa masasa dise paṁchadaśe 10 4 1*, only the *da* of *paṁchadaśe* is slightly irregular and blurred. It will be seen that *va* has been left out in *dise*, which stands for *divase*.

L. 2 opens with a word which I follow Professor Lüders in reading *Aṇaṁdaputreṇa*. The first akshara looks like *vi* in the estampage, and there are some blurred lines to the right. An inspection of the original has, however, convinced me that it is *a*. The second might be read as *kha*, but the bottom seems indeed to be the anusvāra-curve. The apparent cross-bar of *da* is due only to the roughness of the stone. *Anaṁdaputra* may mean 'the son of Ānanda', but *putra* can also mean a member of some group or association, and *Anaṁdaputra*, 'a follower of Ānanda', or the like. The name of the person in question, *Saṁghamitra*, being evidently a monastic name, the latter explanation seems to me to be the more likely one. For *Saṁghamitrena*, the word following after *Anaṁdaputreṇa*, Mr. Banerji read *Saṁgamitrena*, but the *gha* is perfectly clear.

Then follows *kue karite*, and not *katite* as read by Mr. Banerji. The leg of *ra* is always straight and that of *ta* sloping in this record. *Kue karite* represents Skr. *kūpah kāritaḥ*.

The final portion of the record does not admit of any doubt. We have *matapitae puyae sarvasatvaṇa hidasuhae*. The *r* of *rva* and the *v* of *tva*, which were not read by Mr. Banerji, are quite certain. The form *matapitae* for *matapitu* or *matapitarana* is curious and may have been influenced by the ensuing *puyae*.

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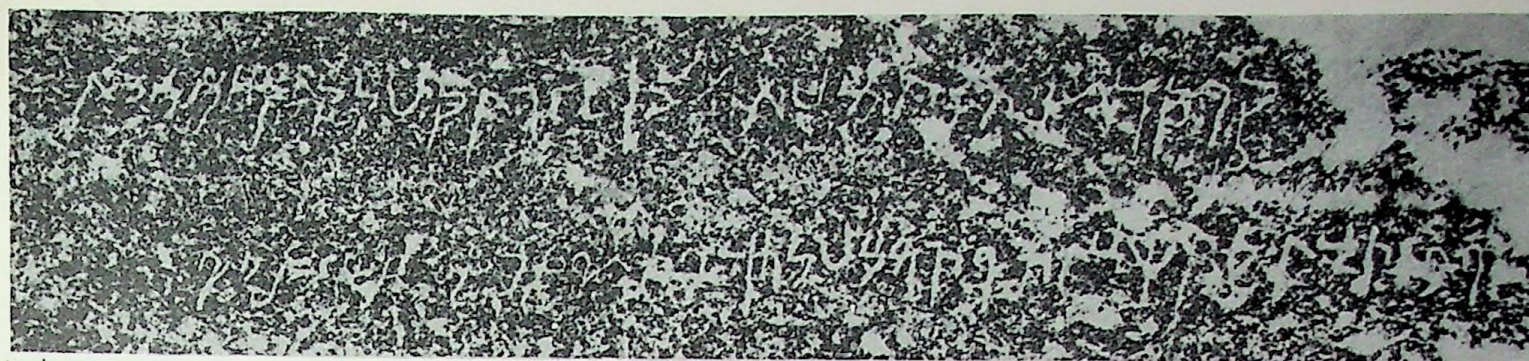
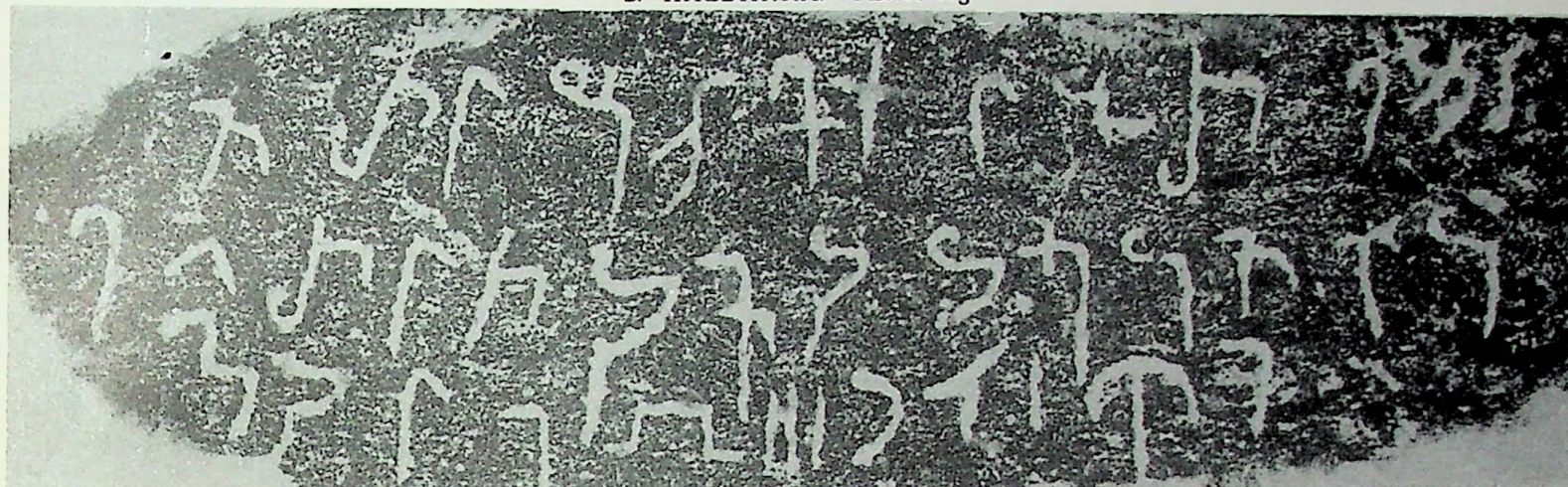
[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 46, 64 ff., with plate II. 2.
[2] JRAS, 1909, p. 664².
[3] SBAW, 1916, p. 806.
[4] J&PASB, xviii, 1922, p. 66; cf. List, no. 46.

1. PAJA. YEAR 111

Scale 0·15

2. KĀLDARRA. YEAR 113

Scale 0·30

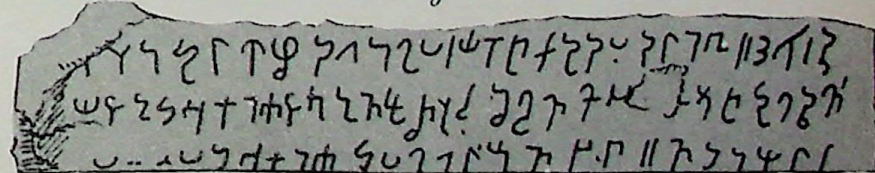
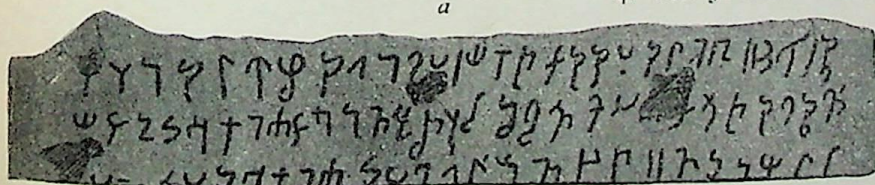
3. MĀRGUZ. YEAR 117 (?)

Scale 0·30

4. PANJTĀR. YEAR 122. CUNNINGHAM

a

b

2

According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the date corresponds to the 23rd June A. D. 27.

TEXT

L. 1 samvatśaraye ekad[a]śa[śa*]timaye 1 100 10 1 śravanasa masasa di[va*]se paṁcha[da]śe 10 4 1

2 Anaṁdaputrena Saṁghamitrena kue karite matapitae puyae sarvasatvana hidasuhae.

TRANSLATION

In the one-hundred-and-eleventh—111.—year, on the fifteenth—15.—day of the month Śrāvana (this) well was caused to be made by Samghamitra, the Ānandaputra (or, the son of Ānanda), in honour of (his) mother and father, for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

XXIV. PLATE XIII. 2: KĀLDARRA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 113

No. I. 77 of the Lahore Museum is a stone, measuring 27 in. by 9 in., and bearing a Kharoshthī inscription in three lines. It was found by Colonel L. A. Waddell in the Kāldarra Nadī near Dargai, to the south of the Malakand Pass in Swāt and presented to the Lahore Museum by Sir Harold Deane.

The inscription[1] was discussed[2] and edited[3] by Bühler, and new editions were published by M. Senart[4] and Mr. Banerji.[5]

The characters, which vary between 1 in. and 2¼ in. in height, are of about the same date as those of the Mount Banj inscription. We may note the forward slope of the leg of *ta*, the broad angular *ya*, the short, but distinct upward continuation of the leg of *sa* and the shape of anteconsonantic *r*, without the later loop, in *sarva-*, l. 2. A peculiarity of this record is the pronounced backward curve of the top of *ta* and *ra*. I cannot understand how Mr. Banerji can arrive at the conclusion that our inscription is certainly later than the Mānikiāla record of the eighteenth year of the Kanishka era and refer it to the year A. D. 191.[6]

The reading is perfectly certain, and has been correctly given by M. Senart as *Datia putreṇa Thaïdorena pukarani karavita sarvasapana puyae vasha 1 100 10 1 1 1 śravanasa 20*. Bühler misread the ninth akshara of l. 1 as *no* instead of *do*, and read *vashra* for *vasha* and *śravaṇa s[u*]dha* for *śravanasa* 20 in l. 3.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a tank (*pukaraṇi*) by a person bearing the name of *Thaïdora*, i.e. as explained by M. Senart, Theodoros. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the date corresponds to the 5th July A. D. 29.

The donor bears a Greek name, but in a corrupt form. In a correct shape the same name occurs in the inscription on the Swāt vase, where we read about the meridarkh *Theüdora*, with *u* as often elsewhere used for the short Greek *o*. It is possible that the *Thaïdora* of the Kāldarra inscription was a descendant of the meridarkh, whose inscription may be about one hundred years older, since both records have been found in Swāt. But it is nothing more than a possibility.

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1 Majumdar's List, no. 22. 2 *Academy*, 1896, no. 1247, p. 266, no. 1252, p. 368.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, xxv, 1876, pp. 141 f.; WZKM, x, 1896, pp. 55 ff., with an additional note, p. 327.

4 JA, IX, xiii, 1899, pp. 531 ff., with plate opp. p. 536.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 31, 66 ff., with plate opp. p. 66.

6 Vincent Smith, JRAS, 1903, p. 41, states that it contains a reference to a Kushāna king.

Thaïdora is characterized as *Datiaputra*, and M. Senart translated this as 'son of Dati', comparing the Persian name Datis. But there is no instance of a genitive in *-a* from a masculine *i*-base in the dialect of Kharoshthī inscriptions. We must evidently explain *Datia* as a base and not as a case of *Dati*. It may represent *datika*, *dattika*, or *dantika*, and be a name, an ethnic, or an occupational designation. We have no means for arriving at certainty, and I shall therefore translate 'the Datia scion'.

Pukarani for Skr. *pushkariṇī* occurs as *pukarini* in the Pāṭhyār inscription, with the same absence of aspiration in *k*, i.e. *kk*, but without the secondary substitution of *a* for the penultimate *i*.

The form *vasha* probably stands for *vashe*, just as in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

The tank is dedicated *sarvasapaṇa puyae*, which Bühler translated as 'for the worship of all snakes'. This translation has been copied by M. Senart and Mr. Banerji and adopted by M. Foucher [1] and Professor Vogel.[2] I think, however, that most scholars will agree with Professors Thomas [3] and Lüders [4] that *sapaṇa* represents not Skr. *sarpāṇāṁ*, but *sattvānāṁ*. As remarked by Lüders, the dropping of anteconsonantic *r* in *sarpa* would be extraordinary, and, on the other hand, the change of Skr. *tv* to *p*, i.e. *pp*, is found in *ekachapariśai* for *ekachatvāriṁśe* in the Ārā inscription. That record seems to present the very word *sarvasapaṇa*, in the sentence *sarva[sapa]na jatish[u] [hi]tae*, where we can hardly think of *sarpa*, because such a devout care for the welfare of snakes in their various rebirths would not be immediately intelligible. Also in the Taxila silver scroll it would be possible to read *sapana* in the passage *sarvabudhaṇa puyae prach[e*]ga-budhana puyae araha[ta*]na puyae sarvasana[!] puyae matapitu puyae mitramachañati-salohi[ta*]na puyae*, where the position of *sarvasana*, i.e. *śarvasapana* or *sarvasatvana* between Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas and Arhats on one side, and parents, friends, ministers, and relatives on the other, does not make it appropriate to think of snakes. On the other hand, blessings on all beings (*sarvasatvana*) are found in the Pājā, Sui Vihār, Hidda, Kanishka casket and Wardak inscriptions, and are so common in Buddhist records that I cannot feel any doubt about the explanation of our record.

TEXT

L. 1 Datiaputrena Thaïdorena puka-
2 rani karavita sarvasapana puyae
3 vash[e*] 1 100 10 1 1 1 śravanasa 20.

TRANSLATION

By Thaïdora, the Datiaputra, (this) tank was caused to be made in honour of all beings, in the 113. year, on the 20. of Śrāvana.

XXV. PLATE XIII. 3: MĀRGUZ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 117 (?)

Mārguz is a village in the Swābi tahsīl of the Peshāwar District. Near the village is a mound, about two miles from the Indus, where a fragment of a marble slab, measuring 14 in. by 10 in., and bearing some Kharoshthī letters, has been found. It is now in the possession of a Muhammedan goldsmith of Mārguz, Jehangir by name.[5]

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[1] *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, ii, p. 458. [2] *Acta Orientalia*, ii, p. 298.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, ix, p. 147. [4] JRAS, 1909, p. 652.
[5] Cf. Wasi-ud-Din, ASIFC, 1913–14, p. 2; Marshall, ASIAR, 1913–14, P. i, p. 29; Majumdar, List, no. 41.

The slab contains parts of two lines of well executed Kharoshthī letters, measuring from 1½ in. to 3⅝ in. The characters are almost identical with those of the Pājā inscription of the year 111.

L. 1 opens with four numerical figures and traces of a fifth. The four which can be read with certainty are: the lower portion of 4 and three strokes, i.e. 4 1 1 1, seven. Before the damaged 4 only part of a bottom-stroke is left. It reminds me of the lower part of the figure 10, as seen in the Pājā inscription. If it had been the figure 20, we should have expected the bottom to go further down. The only alternative seems to be that the figure before 4 was 100. I therefore restore the date as 1 100 10 4 1 1 1, i.e. 117, though 107 is also possible. The corresponding Christian dates would, according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, be A.D. 33–34 or 23–24, respectively.

Then follows *kuo sahaya*, and we can safely follow the lead of the Muchai and Kala Sang inscriptions and restore *sahayaraṇa*, though *sahayaṇa* is also possible.

L. 2 opens with an akshara which is so like the *da* of *hidasuhae* in l. 2 of the Pājā inscription, and which is, moreover, placed high up towards the top of the line as in that epigraph, that there can be no doubt about its nature. Then follows *rana*. To judge from the Muchai inscription: *vashe ekaśitimaye 20 20 20 20 1 sahayarana kue vashiśugana*, we seem to be justified in inferring that *darana* is the end of a word characterizing the *sahayaras*, whose well is mentioned. But then it is probable that *ya* was the last akshara of l. 1, and that the second contained at the utmost three or four aksharas before *da*. L. 1 can accordingly not have contained many letters before the numeral figures, and we can, with some confidence, restore the beginning as *vashe* (or *saṃ*) 1 100 10 4 111.

We thus arrive at the following restoration:

TEXT

L. 1 [vashe 1 100*] [10] 4 1 1 1 kuo sahaya-
2 [raṇa . . . .] darana.

TRANSLATION

(In the year 11)7, the well of the . . . . dara companions.

XXVI. PLATE XIII. 4: PANJTĀR INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 122

Panjtār is situated below the Mahāban range in 74° 31′ E. and 34° 14′ N. This place has given its name to an inscribed stone, which, according to Dr. Fleet, 'seems to have been actually found at a place named Salīmpūr, near Panjtār'. Cunningham brought it from the banks of the Indus in 1848, and deposited it, together with the Und inscription, in the Lahore residency, where it had, however, already disappeared before 1853. The inscription was published by Cunningham.[1] The first line was reproduced and discussed by Professor Dowson[2] and quoted by Mr. E. Thomas.[3]

Mr. Vincent Smith twice referred to the inscription and its date,[4] and further remarks

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[1] JASB, xxiii, 1854, p. 705, with plate no. 4, xxxii, 1863, pp. 141, 145, 150; ASI, v, 1875, pp. 61 f. and a new plate, XVI, no. 4.

[2] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 233 and 265 f., with plate x, fig. [3].

[3] JRAS, New Series, ix, 1877, p. 9[1]; James Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, London, 1858, vol. i, p. 165, with plate x, fig. 3, opposite p. 163.

[4] JASB, LXII, i, 1893, p. 85; JRAS, 1903, p. 41.

are due to M. Senart,[1] Professor Bühler,[2] Mr. R. D. Banerji,[3] Dr. Fleet,[4] Baron A. von Staël Holstein,[5] myself,[6] and Mr. Majumdar.[7]

The inscription consisted of three lines, but we have no means for judging about the size of the stone and of the aksharas. Nor can we attempt to offer remarks on the palaeography of the record, because the reproductions are evidently made from eye-copies. We may note that the *cha* seems to show the downward continuation of the lower part, which we know from old inscriptions; that the *ya* is broad and angular, and that the *sa* of *gushaṇasa*, l. 1, in Cunningham's older plate shows a distinct lengthening of the leg above the jointure with the head.

The first line can be read with absolute certainty and seems to be complete, if we abstract from the last akshara, which has become damaged because the edge of the stone had evidently been broken off. Dr. Fleet's discussion of this line makes it unnecessary to mention previous attempts at transliteration and translation. It runs *saṁ 1 100 20 1 1 Śravaṇasa masasa di pradhame 1 maharayasa Gushaṇasa raja*[*mi*]. Dr. Fleet read *prathame* for *pradhame*, and it is possible that the reproductions are wrong. We cannot, however, do more than to transliterate what they actually give, and the *dh* is perfectly certain. The date, the first Śrāvaṇa 122, must be referred to the old Saka era and has been calculated by Dr. van Wijk to correspond to the 7th of June A. D. 38.

The word *Gushaṇasa* was explained by Staël Holstein as *Gushaṇa sa*, i.e. *shāh*, king, of the Gushas (Kushas), but Dr. Fleet was certainly right in stating that '*Gushanasa* cannot be accepted as anything but the genitive singular of *Gushaṇa*, in apposition with the genitive singular *maharayasa* and dependent on the locative *rajami*'. *Gushaṇa*, i.e. *Gushāṇa*, is another rendering of the adjective *Khushaṇa* or *Kushaṇa*, which is formed from the simplex *kusha* by adding the suffix *āna*. The form *gushaṇa* also occurs in the Māṇikiāla inscription. The various forms with *g*, *k*, *kh*, Greek κ and χ of this name, show that the initial cannot have been a familiar Indian sound. Most probably it was a guttural fricative.

The identity of the maharaya Gushaṇa has been discussed in the Historical Introduction, where I have given my reasons for identifying him with Kujūla Kadphises, of whom we know from Chinese sources that he assumed the title 'king of Kuei-shuang' after having conquered the other hi-hous. That title corresponds to our *Gushaṇa maharaya*. I have stated above, in my edition of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, that we have reasons for assuming that Kujūla Kadphises is mentioned as *erjhuṇa Kapa* in that record. When it was executed, in the year 103, he was simply a prince, perhaps not even a hi-hou. In the year 122 the victory over the other hi-hous had been effected, and we may infer from the find-place of our inscription that the Parthians had been ousted in the country to the west of the Indus.

The Chinese annals mention the invasion of An-si as following on the consolidation of the Kushāṇa power and evidently as preceding the conquest of Kao-fu, i.e. the territory where the Greek ruler Hermaeus tried to hold his own against the Parthians. The Panjtār inscription evidently belongs to the period after the invasion of An-si, but we cannot say whether Kao-fu had yet been reduced. And we have no reason for supposing that the Kushāṇa conquest had been pushed beyond the Indus, or as far east as Taxila.

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[1] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130[1]; IX, xiii, 1899, p. 535.

[2] *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368; WZKM, x, p. 173.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 31 and 44.

[4] JRAS, 1913, pp. 1010 f., 1914, p. 372, with a reproduction of Cunningham's first plate opposite p. 378, pp. 1002 f.

[5] JRAS, 1914, pp. 81[1], 758 f.

[6] SBAW, 1916, pp. 802 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 134.

[7] List, no. 47.

The remaining portion of the inscription cannot be restored and explained in a satisfactory way, because we do not know in how far we can rely on the reproductions.

The beginning of l. 2 was read as *spesaṁ asa* by Cunningham, but the second akshara is certainly *su* and not *saṁ*. The first may be *śpe*, though the position of the supposed *e*-stroke is irregular. If we compare the eleventh akshara of the same line, we see that it is evidently *ka* in Cunningham's second plate, while the older one has the same akshara as that under discussion, only with a more regular place of the *e*-stroke. We might therefore think of reading *kasuasa* or *kesuasa*. Or the dash to the right might be not the *e*-stroke, but the upper part of *vha* and have to be connected with the curve below, so that we should read *vhasuasa*. We can do no more than to mention the various possibilities. The form must be the genitive of a noun denoting some locality, probably the old name of Salīmpūr or Panjtār.

The next two aksharas were read as *prati* by Cunningham, but the second is evidently *cha*. Then follows the *e*-stroke of a letter, which seems to have been much damaged, and the lower parts of three verticals. A comparison of *prachu deśo* in the Patika plate leads me to read *deśo*, and [*Ka*]*suasa pracha deśo* must mean 'the eastern region of [Ka]sua'.

After this Cunningham read *mo Ika*. His first plate, however, has a clear *e*-stroke above the third akshara, so that we must probably read *moïke*. I take this to be an un-Indian name, and the form to be the instrumental singular, of the same kind as the forms *kshatrave Śudase* in the Lion Capital inscriptions.

The next word, which Cunningham read *antumujaputra*, is evidently *Urumujaputre* and probably contains the name of Moïka's father or means 'the Urumuja scion'.

The rest of the line was read as *katra videśi vathala khatra deme* by Cunningham, but must almost certainly be read as *karavide śivathale tatra*, and only the two aksharas which follow admit of doubt. The first looks like *de*, especially in Cunningham's second plate, but may also be misread for *cha*, and the second seems to be *me*, though it is broader and has a shorter *e*-stroke than in *pradhame*, l. 1. If we compare the context of the Patika plate, where *atra* [*de**]*śe* follows after the naming of the locality, we become inclined to think that Cunningham's copy has been misdrawn, and that the last akshara was *śe*. I prefer, however, to suggest *cha me*.

The words *karavide śivathale* seem to represent Skr. *karāpitaṁ* (or *-te*) *śivasthalaṁ* (or *-le*). In view of the almost certain nominative *deśo* it seems difficult to explain the forms as nominatives. In the Yākubi inscription, however, we in the same way find *danam*[*u*]*khe* but *jinakumaro*. We must therefore state that in that part of the country male *a*-bases seem to have formed their nominative in *o* and neuter bases in *e*.

What a *śivathala* is, I cannot say. The word may mean 'a Śiva sanctuary' or simply 'an auspicious ground', and the latter meaning is probably the more likely one.

The beginning of l. 3 was read by Cunningham as *danamitra raka* I I. I have suggested to read *dana mita taṁka* I I, comparing the word *tanka*, which is used to translate *kārshāpana* in the Khotanī-Saka version of the Aparimitāyuhsūtra. But a gift of two kārshāpanas would hardly have been considered sufficiently important to be recorded in an inscription. With every reserve I would suggest to read *danami tar*[*u*]-*ka I I*, supposing two trees to have been planted by the person who made the *śiva-thala*.

Then follows *pañakarene*, where Cunningham read *-na*, evidently considering the apparent *e*-stroke over the last akshara as accidental, and continued the line as follows: *vaha makhu śirathala bama*. The bottom of the whole line has evidently been mutilated, and it seems to me that we are justified in reading *puñakareneva amata śivathala rama*

. . . . *ma.* I take *amata śivathala* to be an accusative, probably of the plural. The last word cannot be restored, but we may perhaps think of some form of the base *ram.*

With great reserve I therefore read and translate as follows:

TEXT

L. 1 saṁ 1 100 20 1 1 Śravanasa masasa di pradhame 1 maharayasa Gushanasa raja[mi]

2 [Ka ?]suasa pracha [deśo] Moike Urumujaputre karavide śivathale tatra [cha] me

3 danami tar[u]ka 1 1 p[u]ñakareneva amata śivathala rama . . . . ma.

TRANSLATION

Anno 122, on the first—1.—day of the month Śrāvana, in the reign of the Gushana Great King, the eastern region of [Ka ?]sua was made an auspicious ground by Moïka, the Urumuja scion. And there in my gift (are) two trees. Through this meritorious deed . . . immortal places of bliss.

XXVII. PLATE XIV: TAXILA SILVER SCROLL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 136

During his excavations in Taxila in the spring of 1914 Sir John Marshall unearthed a silver scroll bearing a Kharoshthī inscription. It was found in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarājikā stūpa of the Chir Mound. He describes the find as follows: 'In the room G^5, near the back wall opposite the entrance which faces the main stūpa and a foot below the floor, I found a deposit consisting of a steatite vessel with a silver vase inside, and in the vase an inscribed scroll and a small gold casket containing some minute bone relics. A heavy stone placed over the deposit had, unfortunately, been crushed down by the fall of the roof, and had broken both the steatite vessel and the silver vase, but had left the gold casket uninjured and chipped only a few fragments from the edge of the scroll, nearly all of which I was, fortunately, able to recover by carefully sifting and washing the earth in the vicinity. The cleaning and transcription of the record has been a matter of exceptional difficulty, as the scroll, which is only 6¼ in. long by 1⅝ in. wide and of very thin metal, had been rolled up tightly, face inwards, in order that it might be enclosed in the silver vase; moreover, the metal of which it is composed is silver alloyed with a small percentage of copper, which had formed an efflorescene on the surface of the extremely brittle band, with the result that I could neither unroll it without breaking it nor subject it to the usual chemical treatment. By the use of strong acid, however, applied with a zinc pencil, I was able to remove the copper efflorescence and expose, one by one, the punctured dots of the lettering on the back of the scroll, and then, having transcribed these with the aid of a mirror, to break off a section of the scroll and so continue the process of cleaning and transcription. In this way I succeeded in making a complete copy of the record from the back of the scroll, while the letters were yet intact. Afterwards, I cleaned in like manner and copied the face of each of the broken sections, and was gratified to find that my second transcript was in accurate agreement with the first.'

The inscription, which is now No. Ch. G. 5 of the Taxila Museum, has been edited by Sir John,[1] M. Boyer,[2] and myself.[3] Valuable contributions to the reading and inter-

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[1] JRAS, 1914, pp. 973 ff.; 1915, pp. 191 ff., with plate; ASIAR, 1912–13, pp. 18 ff. and plate XI; 1913–14, P. i, pp. 12 f. and plate XVI; 1914–15, pp. 2 f.; *A Guide to Taxila*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1921, pp. 52 ff. and plate VII.

[2] JA, XI, v, 1915, pp. 281 ff.

[3] SBAW, 1916, pp. 803 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 284 ff. and plate; cf. *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 75 ff.

pretation have been made by Messrs. Thomas,[1] Fleet,[2] Bhandarkar,[3] Woolner,[4] Ramaprasad Chanda,[5] Harit Krishna Deb,[6] Rapson,[7] and Lüders.[8] It is no. 72 of Mr. Majumdar's List.

The discussion has chiefly borne on the questions about the date and the ruler mentioned in the record. With regard to the date, we must bear in mind the fact that, according to Sir John, 'the chapel in question is built in a small diaper type of masonry which came into vogue in Taxila about the middle of the first century A.D., and lasted for about a hundred years'.

The inscription consists of five lines, and the letters are drawn by means of dots punched into the plate, and not in continuous lines. The execution is good and the shape of individual letters is fairly constant.

The type of the characters is younger than in the Patika plate and older than in the Dewai inscription. We may note the cursive *cha*, where the top runs into the lower part without the downward prolongation of the latter; the slight rounding of the angle of *ja*; the forward slope of the leg of *ta*; the deep indenture of *ba*; the angular shape of *ya*; the backward slope of the leg of *sa*, with the distinct prolongation above the jointure, and the loop-shape of anteconsonantic *r*.

With regard to phonology we may note that intervocalic *j* becomes *y* in *puyae*, ll. 4 and 5, but is retained in *maharaja*, *rajatiraja*, l. 3; that *ṇ* is used both for *n* and for *ṇ*; that intervocalic *t* becomes *d* in *pradi*, l. 1, but is retained as *t* elsewhere, and that *t* also becomes *d* in the enclitic *de* after *aya*[*ṁ**], l. 5.

There are some few mistakes in the writing. Thus we find *prachaga* for *prachega*, l. 4; *bosisatva* for *bodhisatva*, l. 3; *arahana* for *arahataṇa*, l. 4; *salohina* for *salohitana*, l. 5; *Takshaśie* for *Takshaśilae*, l. 3; and *sarvasana* for *sarvasatvana* or *sarvasapana*, l. 4.

L. 1 opens with the date: *sa 1 100 20 10 4 1 1 ayasa ashadasa masasa divase 10 4 1*, which has given rise to much discussion.

Sir John explained *ayasa* as the genitive of the name *Aya*, Azes, and thought that it was added in order to characterize the year as belonging to an era founded by Azes, and this view has been endorsed by Professor Rapson and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda.

Sir John draws attention to the fact that other dated inscriptions of the same period 'open with the titles and name of the ruler, expressed in the genitive case, followed by the date, and it is, of course, well known that in their case . . . the era in which they are dated is unspecified. In the two Taxila records, on the contrary, the opening formula presents a significant difference. Here, the year of the era in which they are dated comes first, then the name of the king, and, lastly, the month and the day'. He thinks that this difference in the arrangement points to the conclusion that the construction of the context is different, and he lays stress on the fact that we have not 'a single Kharoshthī inscription of this age phrased in the same way as the Taxila inscriptions and dated in an unspecified era'.

Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda seems to attach considerable importance to this argument. It should, however, be borne in mind that the number of dated Kharoshthī inscriptions, especially of such which give the name of a ruler, is limited, and a glance at the list in the introductory remarks about the eras will show that there is no fixed rule in the arrangement of the dates. Moreover, we cannot overlook the evidence of the Kharoshthī

[1] JRAS, 1914, pp. 987 ff.; 1915, pp. 155 ff.
[2] JRAS, 1914, pp. 992 ff.; 1915, pp. 314 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, xlv, 1916, pp. 120 ff.
[4] JRAS, 1916, pp. 570 f.
[5] JRAS, 1920, pp. 319 ff.
[6] JRAS, 1922, pp. 37 ff.
[7] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, pp. 581 ff.
[8] *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1924, p. 1865.

inscriptions from Eastern Turkestan, which are evidently framed after the same pattern, and where the rule is to give first the year, then the name of the ruler in the genitive, then the month and the day, exactly as in the Taxila records.[1]

Mr. Chanda seems to have found support with Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, who maintains that 'if *ayasa* is not a proper name, then, on the analogy of the Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51, the year 136 should be treated as a year of the Kushan era of Kanishka. The Wardak Vase inscription opens with the date "In the year 51, on the day 15 (of the first half?) of the month of Artemisios"; then follows an account of the deposit of the relic, followed by benediction on King Hoveshka. Similarly, in the Taxila inscription of the year 136 the date and the account of the deposit of the relic is followed by benediction on an unnamed Kushan (Khushana) King. The only new element in this latter record is the word *ayasa* between the mention of the year and the month. If *ayasa* is explained away as an adjective qualifying *Ashadasa*, we have to recognize the year 136 as a year of the Kushan era'.

It seems hardly possible to infer more from the parallelism between the Taxila and Wardak records than that a Kushāṇa was ruling at the time of the former and another Kushāna, Huvishka at that of the latter.

Against Sir John Marshall's interpretation it has been urged that *ayasa* is hardly the name of a ruler, because we have no example of the use of the mere name without any title or further designation.

Professor Rapson meets this objection by drawing attention to the fact 'that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshaśilā had passed from the Śakas and Pahlavas to the Kushānas. Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wanted title, "Great King of Kings", in this inscription, without prejudice to the house actually ruling'.

If we admit the possibility of this explanation, it will still be difficult to understand why we have no traces of such a habit of speaking about Azes-years in other inscriptions. For the idiom could not be intelligible unless it were commonly used.

It has further been maintained, especially by Dr. Fleet, that Sir John's explanation of the dates of the two Taxila records leads to the unlikely result that down to the date of the Patika plate two eras, one instituted by Moga and the other by Azes, were used simultaneously, because the two eras evidently overlap. This argument does not, however, seem to be of great weight, because in such circumstances it would be quite natural to distinguish between the two reckonings by additions such as *ayasa*.

The chief objection against the explanation of *ayasa* as the name of a ruler is that it is the invariable practice in old inscriptions that the name of a ruler added to the date in the genitive can only denote a ruling prince then actually in power. This objection is, so far as I can see, decisive. If *ayasa* actually meant 'of Azes', Azes must have been still ruling in the year 136, and he must have been ruling simultaneously with the maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushana mentioned in l. 3. And that is of course excluded.

The word *ayasa* must accordingly be explained in a different way, and various suggestions have been made. Lüders thought of the possibility that *aya sa* might stand for *ayaṁ saṁvatśaro*, this is the year, and be comparable with the words *iśa divase* following after the month and the day. But such an idiom is entirely unexampled. Moreover, the year is always, where we can control the grammar, mentioned in the locative, and we should expect the same to be the case also in the repetition, just as in *iśa divase*. And, finally, the abbreviation *sa* has never been met with outside the stereotype formula at the beginning of the date.

[1] Cf. the list in my paper in the *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 113 ff.

It seems to be necessary to explain *ayasa* as an adjective qualifying the ensuing *ashadasa*. It might represent Skr. *āryasya* and characterize the month as Aryan in contradistinction to the Macedonian months mentioned in other records. But this explanation is hardly likely, because in an inscription in Indian language it would be perfectly intelligible if a Macedonian month were designated as such, but less so in the case of an Indian month, unless the use of the Macedonian names were the rule. And an examination of dated Kharoshthī inscriptions shows that it was quite the other way.

Then it has been suggested, by Professor Thomas, to explain *ayasa* as a genitive formed from the base of the pronoun *ayam*, this. An expression such as 'of this Āshādha', would be intelligible in the very month in which it was used, in case there were, in that particular year, two months Āshādha. But it would be perfectly unintelligible later on. The same consideration makes it impossible to accept another suggestion, of Dr. Fleet, that *easa* is the actual reading and stands for Skr. *etasya*, by which explanation we have the additional difficulty that intervocalic *t* does not disappear in the dialect.

A third suggestion, by Dr. Fleet, was to correct *ayasa* to *viyasa* and explain this as corresponding to Skr. *dvitīyasya*, Sindhī *bbiyyo* or *bbījō*, Lahndī *bbēyā*, Kāśmīrī *biya*, another. But then, in the first place, we should have to reckon with the disappearance of an intervocalic *t*, and, in the second, the initial *b* of the modern forms is not derived from an old *v*, but from *dv*, which becomes *b* through the intermediate stage *db* and not through *v*.[1] And, finally, we have *ayasa* and not *viyasa*.

The only explanation which does not necessitate any change or the assumption of some phonetical irregularity and which gives a clear and satisfactory sense is to explain *ayasa* as corresponding to Skr. *ādyasya*. For Skr. *ādya* we should expect either *ādiya* or *ajja*, and the latter might become *āja*, *āya*.[2] Cf. doublets such as *bharia*, *bharya*, *bhaya*, Skr. *bhāryā*.

If the explanation of *ayasa* as representing Skr. *ādyasya* is accepted, the explanation cannot well be, as suggested by M. Boyer, that the month Āshādha was the first one in the year, which would, accordingly, have been *āshādhādi*. Nobody would easily think of dating a letter on the fifteenth of the initial January, or, in India, of the initial Kārttika. The meaning must be, as stated by Professor Bhandarkar, that there were, in that particular year, two months Āshādha.

We know from the Jyotisha that in the ancient Indian calendar an Āshādha was intercalated every five years. But then the occasional use of Macedonian months and the through reckoning of the days of the month show that the calendar was influenced by Macedonian notions. In other words, we have before us an early stage of that fusion of Indian and Greek astronomy and calendars which later on found its expression in the Siddhāntas.

As pointed out in the Introduction, our record is the only one within the older series of Kharoshthī inscriptions which contains such an additional detail. If the methods of the Siddhāntas are applied, Dr. van Wijk finds[3] that only two years between A. D. 50 and 80 suit the case, viz. A.D. 52 and A.D. 71. If we can refer the era of the silver scroll to the same era as that of the older Taxila inscription of Patika, there can only be the question of the former, and we may, as a working hypothesis, fix the date as corresponding to the 17th May A.D. 52.

After the date follows, as already mentioned, *iśa diva*[*se*] and then [*pradi*]*stavita bhagavato dhatu*[*o*]. The head of *se* in *divase* is damaged, and of the ensuing *pradi* only

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[1] Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 300.

[2] The case is of course different with Skr. *udyāna*, which becomes *uyyāna* in Pāli and e. g. in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version of the Aśoka edicts.

[3] *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 79 ff.

the bottom remains. The existing traces show that *di*, and not *ti*, is almost absolutely certain. The final *o* of *dhatuo* is also defaced, but beyond doubt.

The three last aksharas of l. 1, which Sir John originally read as *dhurasa*, are certainly, as seen by Professor Thomas, *urasa*, and they must be taken together with the two first aksharas of l. 2, *keṇa*, as one word *urasakeṇa*. Professor Thomas took this to mean 'of Uraśa' and as giving 'the nationality (which, in fact, usually comes first), and not the name, of the donor'. M. Boyer is also of the same opinion, but I cannot accept it.

In the first place I do not know of any Kharoshthī inscription giving, in this way, the nationality of the donor before the name. And then the Bedadi ladle inscription shows that *Uraśa* was sounded with a palatal *ś* in Uraśā, i.e. Hazāra itself. I therefore take *Urasaka* to be the name of the donor, bearing in mind that the element *sāka*, strength, vigour, is not uncommon in Iranian names.

The next akshara is damaged and uncertain. Sir John originally read *dhi* and subsequently *lo*, comparing the first akshara of l. 5, which is certainly *lo*. Professor Thomas suggested to read *iṁ* or *viṁ*, and M. Boyer accepted the former but drew attention to the fact that the supposed *i*-stroke is sloping and not straight as in *iśa*, l. 1. The facsimile plate is illegible, and an examination of the original did not give better results. Our only guide is, therefore, the copy which Sir John made before the scroll was unrolled. Here there is a certain resemblance with the *lo* of l. 5. The latter, however, shows a straight vertical, while our akshara resembles an *a* with a curved bottom and an oblique cross-bar. An almost identical akshara occurs in the Dharmarājikā inscription 3, where the reading *im* seems to be certain. The following letter is slightly more sloping than *ta*, so that we might think of *da*. But *ta* is probably to be read.

Then follows *vhriaputraṇa*, and the whole word is accordingly *iṁtavhriaputrana*. This has usually been considered to be a slip for *putrena* and to contain the name of the donor's father, which name, *Iṁtavhria* or *Iṁtavhri*, has been compared by Professor Thomas with *Vindapharna*, *Undopherres*, *Gondophernes*, *Guduvhara*, &c., and explained as a new variant of this name. But there are difficulties. I formerly thought of explaining *Iṁtavhria* as the genitive of a name *Iṁtavhri*. But we have no example in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of genitives in *ia* from old *i* or *ī*-bases. *Iṁtavhriaputra* can, of course, mean 'the son of Iṁtavhria'. But then the scroll has *-putraṇa* and not *putreṇa*, and, in the same way, the Ārā inscription gives *Da[sha]vharena Poshapuriaputrana*. We are, therefore, hardly justified in correcting the text, but must explain *Iṁtavhriaputrana* and *Poshapuriaputrana* as genitives of the plural, dependent on the preceding name. And then *putra* does not seem to mean 'son', but to have the wider sense of 'scion', 'individual member of a larger group'. *Poshapuria* may mean 'belonging to Poshapura', i.e. Peshāwar, and *Poshapuriaputra* 'a Peshāwari boy'. If this explanation is right, *Iṁtavhria* may be the designation of a locality, or else of a family. We may compare the Māṇikiāla bronze casket inscription *Kaviśiakshatrapasa G(r)aṇa[vhrya]kakshatrapaputrasa*, of the Kapiśakshatrapa, the son of the G(r)anavhryaka-kshatrapa, where we apparently have the same *vhria* as in our record. I therefore translate 'of the Iṁtavhria boys' and abstain from further attempts at explaining *Iṁtavhria*.[1]

The next word *bahalieṇa* I follow Sir John in identifying with Skr. *bāhlīkena*, a man from Balkh. In this connexion it may be of interest to note that Bāhlīkas are mentioned in connexion with Takshaśilā by Varāhamihira, Bṛihatsaṁhitā x. 7. The treatment of intervocalic *k* in this word is in favour of considering it as an Indian word and not as

[1] If *Lotavhria* should, after all, prove to be the correct reading, the name might, as suggested by Dr. Morgenstierne, belong to an Iranian dialect where initial *d* became *l*, as in modern Pashto and Munjānī. *Lota* would then be the well-known *dāta*, corresponding to Skr. *dharma*.

a foreign name. In *prachaga*, i.e. *prachega*, l. 4, intervocalic *k* has, in a similar way, been modified, while it is left unchanged in the foreign name *Urasakena*, l. 1. Moreover, the ensuing remark about the domicile of the donor would be more in its place after the word mentioning his place of origin, than according to the other explanation, where that word comes first, then the personal name, and after that the remark about the domicile.

The latter runs: *Ṇoachae ṇagare vastavena*, where the use of the cerebral *ṇ* both as an initial and between vowels may point to a weakening of the difference between *ṇ* and *n*, just as in the usual Śaurasenī of Indian dramas. The town *Ṇoacha* or *Ṇoachaa* cannot be localized. We do not even know whether it should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Taxila or elsewhere, e.g. in Balkh.

The remaining portion of l. 2 is clear: *tena ime pradistavita bhagavato dhatuo dhamara*. The last three aksharas must be read together with *ïe*, the two first letters of l. 3, as *dhamaraïe*.

The word *dhamaraïe* has been explained to mean 'at the Dharmarājikā stūpa', *Dharmarājikā* being thought to have been the designation of the main stūpa of the Chir Mound.

Dharmarājikā was stated to mean a stūpa by Stanislas Julien,[1] and Professor Vogel[2] states that, more particularly, it denotes a stūpa erected by Aśoka, the Dharmarāja. He refers us to M. Foucher,[3] who quotes the Divyāvadāna, where we read (p. 379): *Aśoko nāma . . . dharmarājo . . . chaturaśītiṁ dharmarājikāsahasraṁ pratishṭhāpayishyati*, Aśoka, the Dharmarāja, will establish eighty-four thousand dharmarājikās. M. Boyer aptly objects that we learn from the same text that Aśoka received the designation Dharmarāja because he was supposed to have erected dharmarājikās.[4] We must therefore explain the word *dharmarājikā* otherwise, and since we know that Aśoka's stūpas were considered to have been erected over relics of the Buddha, the real *Dharmarāja*, it is probable that *dharmarājikā* really denotes a stūpa erected over such relics.

The form *dhamaraïe* cannot belong to an *ā*-base *dhamaraïā*, Skr. *dharmarājikā*. M. Boyer is inclined to consider it as the oblique case of *dhamaraï*, Skr. *dharmarājī*, which might be a short form of *dharmarājikā*. In one of the Dharmarājikā inscriptions, however, we read *Taksha*[*ś**]*ilaami dhamaraïe*, so that *dhamaraïe* is evidently the locative of an adjective *dhamaraïa*, Skr. *dhārmarājika*, connected with a dharmarājikā, the dharmarājikā compound.

The ensuing word *Takshaśie* is evidently miswritten for *Takshaśilae*, and Sir John took it to be the locative of the name *Takshaśilā*. The Dharmarājikā inscription mentioned above, with its *Taksha*[*ś**]*ilaami dhamaraïe*, however, makes me inclined to explain *Takshaśi*[*la**]*e* as the locative of an adjective *Takshaśilaa*, corresponding to Skr. *Tākshaśila*, belonging to Takshaśilā.

Then follows *tanuvae bosisatvagahami*, where *si* in *bosi* is miswritten for *dhi*. The *va* of *tanuvae* seems to be certain.

The word *tanuvae* was taken to be the locative of *Tanuvā*, the name of some locality, by Sir John. M. Boyer explained it as Skr. *tanuvyaye*, at the sacrifice of the body, and referred us to the Jātaka about the Bodhisattva's sacrifice of his own body,[5] thinking that

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[1] *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, par Hiouen-thsang, i, p. 417.

[2] ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 223.

[3] *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*. Paris, 1900, p. 55.

[4] p. 381: *ekasmin divase ekamuhūrte chaturaśīti dharmarājikāsahasraṁ pratishṭhāpitam. Vakshyati cha . . . Mauryaḥ* । *chakre stūpānāṁ śāradābhraprabhānāṁ loke sāśīti śāsad ahnā sahasram* ॥ *Yāvach cha rājñ-Āśokena chaturaśīti dharmarājikāsahasraṁ pratishthāpitaṁ dharmiko dharmarājā saṁvrittah. Tasya Dharmāśoka iti saṁjñā jātā.*

[5] Cf. Jātakamālā, ed. Kern, p. 5: *svāṁ tanum utsasarja*, and, with regard to the formation of the word, *dehavyaya*.

the *bodhisattvagriha* was erected to commemorate this Jātaka. My own old explanation was that Tanuvā was the name of the foundress of the chapel.

Since the appearance of the Kurram casket inscription and the Niya inscriptions, however, we know that *tanuvaa*, *tanuvaka*, is a word meaning 'own', 'belonging to'; cf. e.g. the Niya document 235, where we have *edasra tanuvagra*, belonging to him. It is evidently the same word or a variant which has become the common genitive suffix *tanaü* in Old Gujarātī, *tano* and *no* in Modern Gujarātī, *tano* in Mārwārī. We can only be in some doubt whether we should take it together with the preceding *Takshaśi*[*la*]*e* as meaning 'belonging to Takshaśilā'. I have, however, already stated that other reasons make it probable that *Takshaśi*[*la*]*e* is an adjective, and an idiom *Takshaśilae tanuvaa*, belonging to Takshaśilā, is in itself not likely. In the Kurram inscription *tanuvaka* means 'own', and must be referred to the person who establishes a relic of the Buddha, and the same explanation must evidently be applied to our passage.

Then follows *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushanasa arogadakshinae.* I have stated in the Historical Introduction that I think it necessary to identify this ruler with Kujūla Kadphises, and it seems probable that the inscription was executed not very long after Kujūla Kadphises had been established in power in Taxila. Otherwise we should have had some reason for expecting the ruler's name to have been mentioned in connexion with the date. Even though the record is a private one, it is evident that Urasaka was closely connected with the Kushāṇa ruler.

L. 4 does not present any difficulty: *sarvabudhana puyae prach*[*e**]*gabudhana puyae araha*[*ta**]*na pu*[*ya*]*e sarvasa*[*tva**]*na* [*pu*]*yae matapitu puyae mitramachañatisa-* (L. 5) *lohi*[*ta**]*na puyae.* It will be seen that there are several slips, which can all, however, be corrected with certainty. The first aksharas of l. 5, which must be read together with l. 4, are also absolutely clear in the original, and the missing syllable can be restored from one of the Dharmarājikā inscriptions, where we read *salohidana.* M. Boyer thought that *salohina* might be the genitive plural from *salohin*, formed from *saloha*, *loha* instead of *lohita* occurring in *lohaliṅga*, a certain disease, enumerated in the Mahāvyutpatti 284. 23 between *śosha* and *apamāra*, and usually translated 'a boil or abscess filled with blood'. The existence of such a word *loha* is, however, very uncertain, and the analogy of the Dharmarājikā inscription renders the restoration *salohitana* or, perhaps, *salohidana*, absolutely certain, especially in view of the many slips exactly in this passage.

Then follows *atvano arogadakshinae nivanae hotu*, where there has only been some doubt about the compound letter which I read *tva*, but which has formerly been read sometimes *tva* and sometimes *tma*, according to the different correspondence in Sanskrit, and about the *va* of *nivanae*, which Professor Thomas substituted for Sir John's *nianae.* There is a slight bend at the termination of the horizontal of *va*, but the reading seems to be absolutely certain.

Then follows a damaged letter, which can, however, clearly be made out as *a*, though there is a slight bend of the bottom. After *a* comes a break, followed by an akshara which is certainly *de.* M. Boyer proposed to restore *agade*, Skr. *agratah*, and I accepted that restoration in my edition of the record, though we should expect final *ah* to become *o* in the Taxila dialect. An examination of the original shows that the missing portion of the plate cannot have contained the akshara *ga.* There is an oblique stroke at the left edge of the break, which is so like the left leg of *ya* that there can be little doubt that we should read *ya.* We thus arrive at *ayade*, which can hardly be anything else than Skr. *ayaṁ te. Aya* must then be connected with the last word of the inscription *samaparichago*, which we must follow M. Boyer in explaining as Skr. *samyakparityāgah.* The reading *aya* makes it impossible to correct the text to *sa me parichago.*

TAXILA SILVER SCROLL. YEAR 136

ORIGINAL

TRANSCRIPT

Scale enlarged one-third

It is of interest to see that the last sentence speaks of the donor in the second person. It therefore evidently contains a blessing given as a kind of endorsement by some dignitary, probably by some leading Buddhist connected with the stūpa or the chapel.

After the text the plate shows the symbol ♉, which is known from the coins of Kujūla Kara Kadphises, Wima Kadphises, and Zeionises. I have stated in the Historical Introduction that I do not think that we are allowed to draw any chronological conclusions from its occurrence. Somewhat similar symbols are also found on coins of Guduvhara, and its occurrence in our inscription may have some connexion with the extension of Kushāna power to Taxila.

Text

L. 1 Sa 1 100 20 10 4 1 1 ayasa ashadasa masasa divase 10 4 1 iśa diva[se pradi]stavita bhagavato dhatu[o] Ura[sa]-

2 kena [Iṁ]tavhriaputrana Bahaliena Noachae nagare vastavena Tena ime pradistavita bhagavato dhatuo dhamara-

3 ïe Takshaśi[la*]e tanuvae bosi(dhi)satvagahami maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushanasa arogadakshinae

4 sarva[bu]dhana puyae prach[e*]gabudhaṇa puyae araha[ta*]na pu[ya]e sarvasa-[tva* ṇa puyae matapitu puyae mitramachañatisa-

5 lohi[ta*]na [pu]yae atvano arogadakshinae Nivanae hotu a[ya] de samaparichago.

Translation

Anno 136, on the 15. day of the first month Āshādha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka, of the Iṁtavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Noacha. By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshaśilā, for the bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Khushāna, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of the Arhats, in honour of all beings, in honour of mother and father, in honour of friends, ministers, kinsmen, and blood-relations, for the bestowal of health upon himself.

May this thy right munificence lead to Nirvāna.

XXVIII. Plate XV. 1: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 168

Inscription no. 20 of the Peshāwar Museum is found on a stone, measuring 15 in. by 8 in. by 7 in., which was presented to the Museum by Sir Aurel Stein on the 4th July, 1916.[1] Sir Aurel had received it from Sir Harold Deane, who had no information about its provenance.

The inscribed portion covers 11 in. × 4 in., and the size of individual letters varies from 1 in. to 1¼ in. Below the inscription is a svastika.

The characters are intermediate between the older and the Kushāṇa varieties, and the forms of individual letters are not quite uniform. *Ku* in l. 2 has the shape which we already find in the Kala Sang inscription, where the top-line and the side-limb form one continuous curve. In l. 3 the side-limb is likewise a curve, but placed slightly lower than the top-line. The top of *kha* is long and curved to the right, almost as in the Shakardarra inscription. The bottom is curved to the right in *khe*, and to the left in *kha*, l. 3. The *cha* of l. 1 has a very cursive shape, with an almost straight top and a curve at the bottom, which looks almost like an anusvāra, and is perhaps wrongly transferred from the preceding letter. If the third akshara of l. 2 is *chi*, we there have

[1] Cf. V. Natesa Aiyar, ASIFC, 1916–17, pp. 6 and 27; Majumdar, List, no. 54.

a distinct upper curve and a straight termination of the lower part. The letter *de* in l. 3 has an exceptional shape, consisting of a sloping line with an *e*-stroke protruding above the bottom. It is probably misdrawn. *Ya* has the broadened top which we already find in Kāldarra. The shape of *sa* is inconsistent, looking like a *ra* in *mase*, l. 1, having the same rounded head as in the Kala Sang record in *divase*, l. 1, and being provided with the forward protrusion of the leg which we know from the Patika and Mount Banj records in l. 2.

L. 1 is comparatively clear: *saṁ 1 100 20 20 20 4 4 Jeṭhamase divase paṁchadaś[e]*. There are some dots after the last figure of the date, but they do not seem to form part of an additional figure, which could only have been 1. I take them to indicate the end of the date, in a similar way as in the Fatehjang inscription, and I find a confirmation of this explanation in the fact that a comparatively long interval separates the figures denoting the year from the remaining part of the record.

The *cha* of *paṁchadaśe* looks like *chaṁ*, and it is possible that the anusvāra has been written by mistake, because the preceding akshara was provided with an anusvāra hook. A similar *cha* is, however, found in l. 6 of the Ārā inscription, where we must read *cha* and not *chaṁ*.

The *e* of *śe* is not certain. It is not found on the top of the letter, as usual, but the bottom is connected with the bottom of the preceding *da*, and the projection of the right vertical may be meant to represent an *e*, in a similar way as in *de*, l. 3.

L. 2. The first akshara is evidently *khu*, and the second can only be *da*, though it differs from the other *da*'s, which have a peculiar rectilinear shape.

Then follow two aksharas, of which the first seems to consist of an angle, opening towards the right and resting on a sloping leg, from the middle of which a horizontal protrudes towards the next akshara. The second looks like *e*, but the apparent *e*-stroke stands much higher than in the certain *e* of *kue*, l. 3. Moreover, the akshara is followed by an unmistakable *mi*,[1] so that we evidently have to do with a locative singular in *-ami*. It therefore seems necessary to read the fourth akshara as *a* and take the apparent *e*-stroke as belonging to the preceding letter. Now it will be seen that it can be traced upwards to the termination of the figure standing above in l. 1, and that there are faint traces of a line crossing it and running into the upper leg of the angle of the third akshara. We thus arrive at the result that the third akshara consists of an upper curve over an angular leg, provided with an *i*-stroke, i. e. we must read *chi* and consider the apparent projection from the leg as accidental. And an examination of the original has confirmed me in this view.

The first word of l. 2 is, therefore, *Khudachiami*, and there cannot, I think, be any doubt that we have to do with the same word which occurs in l. 6 of the Mānikiāla inscription, where we must evidently read *Veśpaśiena Khudachiena*, together with Veśpaśia the Khudachian. *Khudachia* is accordingly an adjective formed from the name of a locality, and it is to be regretted that we do not know the find-place of our record, so that we cannot identify it. The name of the place was perhaps *Khudacha*; cf. the local name *Ṇoacha* occurring in the Taxila silver scroll.

The next word might be *sahayana*; cf. the *na* of the Ārā inscription. We shall see later on, however, that the cerebral *ṇ* is used in words such as *danamukhe*, *khaṇavide*, and the fourth akshara is, moreover, almost identical with the *ra* of *viharami*, l. 3. I therefore think that we must read *sahayara*. This *sahayara* is either a slip instead of *sahayarana*, or else it must be connected with the ensuing word into a com-

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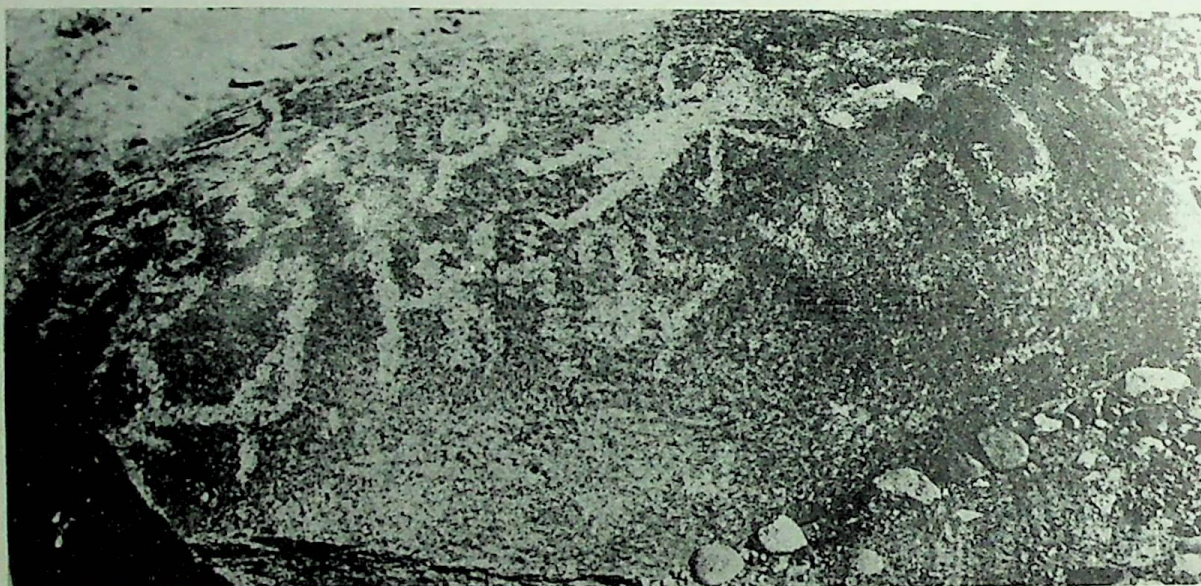
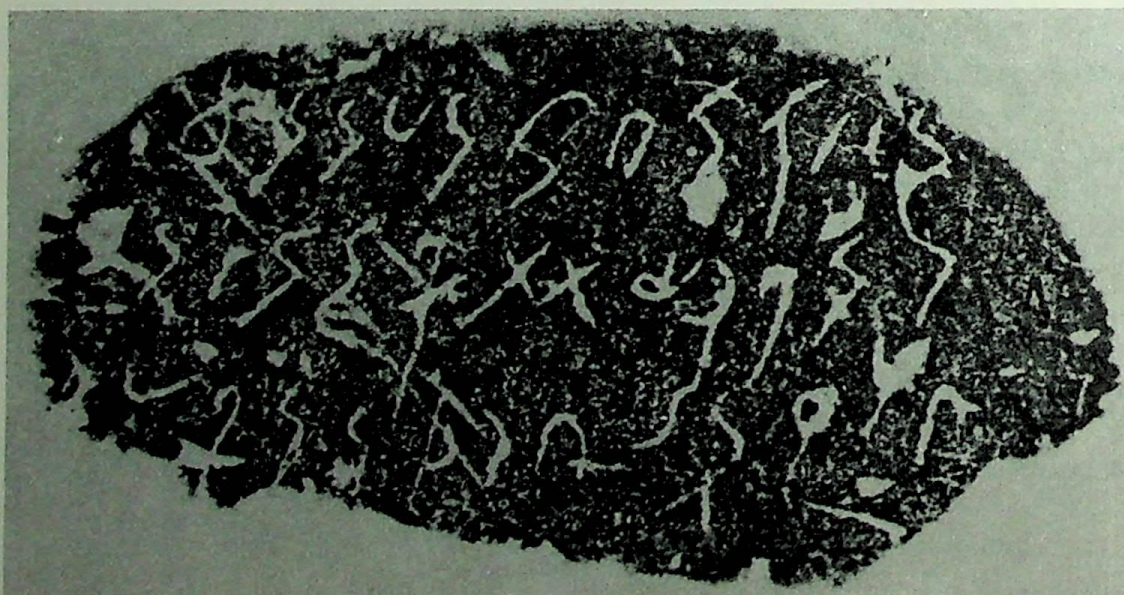
[1] Mr. Majumdar reads *ga*, assuming the letter to be misdrawn or incomplete.

1. PESHĀWAR MUSEUM. YEAR 168

Scale 0·60

2. KHALATSE. YEAR 187

3 DEWAI. YEAR 200

Scale 0·60

pound. In all other Kharoshthī records where *sahayas* or *sahayaras* are mentioned these words are used in the genitive plural.[1]

The next word was read *Travaśashuraṇa* by Mr. Majumdar, who translated 'gift of Agasahaya, the father-in-law of Trapā'. But *śashura* could not represent a Skr. *śvaśura*, because an uncompound *śa* cannot, in the north-western dialect, become *sha*, and the fourth letter is certainly *ku* and not *shu*. The fifth can be *ra*, but it will be seen that the projecting limb is much shorter than in *ra* of *viharami*, l. 3, and the reading is not quite certain. It would be possible to read *Travaśakunaṇa*, and to compare the word *Śakuna* which occurs as the name of a people side by side with *Gāndhāra* in the Mahābhārata vii. 802. But it would be rather extraordinary to find a dental and a cerebral *n* side by side in this way. I therefore read *Travaśakurana* and refrain from any attempt at explaining this name, which is just as unintelligible as the remaining names of associations of *sahāyas* or *sahacharas*.

The next word seems to be rather *daṇaṁmukhe* than *daṇamukhe*. If the anusvāra was actually sounded, it must be explained as an anticipation of the ensuing nasal.

The remaining portion does not present any difficulty. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the date corresponds to the 24th April, A. D. 84.

TEXT

L. 1 Sam 1 100 20 20 20 4 4 . Jethamase divase paṁchadaś[e]
2 Khuda[chi]ami sahayara Travaśakurana danaṁmu-
3 khe kue khanavide viharami.

TRANSLATION

Anno 168, in the month Jyaishtha, on the fifteenth day, (this) well was caused to be dug as the gift of the Travaśakura companions in the Khudacha vihāra.

XXIX. PLATE XV. 2: KHALATSE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 187 (?)

Khalatse is a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh on the trade route. There are several inscriptions near the place, which have been discovered and partly utilized by Dr. A. H. Francke, and among them are a few Kharoshṭhī records.[2]

A photograph of the most important one was sent to Professor Rapson, who wrote to Dr. Francke in a letter of the 23rd September, 1910, that he could read the word *maharajasa*, followed by a name beginning with *a* and ending with the genitive termination *sa*, and, above the name, a date, which he—'with some doubt as to whether three strokes at the end are part of the date or not'—read as 187.

It has proved impossible to get new and better reproductions, and my edition is, therefore, based on the photograph utilized by Professor Rapson and the imperfect plate published by Dr. Francke after a hand-copy.

In such circumstances it is not possible to judge with certainty about the palaeography of the record. The square shape of *ka* and the angular head of *sa*, with a distinct bend of the lower vertical forwards and upwards, remind us so strongly of the Patika and Mount Banj records, that the epigraph makes the impression of being old. In the same neighbourhood was found a Brāhmī inscription, which Professor Vogel[3]

[1] Cf. Fatehjang *Vadhitirana sahayaṇa*, Muchai *sahayaraṇa kue Vashiśugaṇa*, Mārguz *sahaya .... daraṇa*, Kala Sang . . . *yaraṇa Pipalakhaaṇa*.

[2] Cf. A. H. Francke, ZDMG, 61, 1907, pp. 592 f., with plate II; ASIAR, 1909–10, p. 104; *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 94; Konow, *Acta Orientalia* v, pp. 31 ff.; Majumdar, List, no. 25.

[3] Francke, ZDMG, 61, p. 592.

referred to the Maurya period, about 200 B.C. There cannot be any question of assigning such an early date to our inscription, and we must reckon with the possibility that the Kharoshṭhī letters retained their old shape in Khalatse longer than elsewhere.

There are two lines, and above the beginning of l. 2 and to the right of l. 1 there is a rough drawing, which seems to represent a standing warrior or king.

The first line was read by Professor Rapson as *saṁ 1 100 20 20 20 20 4 1 1 1*. He rightly remarks that it is doubtful whether the last three strokes, which are clearly visible in the photograph but absent in Dr. Francke's hand-copy, are part of the date or not. In the former case, we have the year 187, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk, to A. D. 103–4, in the latter it is three years earlier.

The first word of l. 2 is, as stated by Professor Rapson, *maharajasa*. We may note the long right-hand bar of *ma*, which has its parallels in the Takht-i-Bāhī and Mount Banj inscriptions, and the backward bend of the vertical of *ja*, which reminds us of the Zeda and Ārā inscriptions and the possible *ji* of Jauliã 12.

The first letter of the ensuing name does not seem to be *a*, as assumed by Professor Rapson. There is a distinct loop at the bottom, and I think that *u* is to be read. Then comes an akshara which is clearly *vi*, though the *i*-stroke only just projects a little below the horizontal. The next letter is again a distinct *ma*, almost running into the following akshara, which is an unmistakable *ka*. The photograph shows a curved line running downwards from the point where *ma* touches the angle of *ka* and apparently continuing the left bar of *ma*. A comparison of the hand-copy, however, seems to show that there is a flaw in the stone at this point.

Then comes the most difficult akshara of the whole inscription. It consists of a *va*, with a short sloping cross-bar, and with a horizontal running to the left from the bottom and crossed by a broken line, vertical below and bent back towards the vertical of *va* above the point of crossing. At the left-hand termination of the lower horizontal there is another line, running in a curve up towards the ensuing akshara and bent backwards in a sharp angle at the lower termination, below the horizontal. The lower portion of the akshara is similar to the curious St. Andrew's cross attached to the lower vertical of *phi* in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. The chief difference is that it does not cross the vertical, but is placed to the left of it. The curve at the left termination might be an *i*-mātrā, or the short cross-bar of *va* might be meant to mark an *i*. At all events it seems to me that the only possibility is to read *vthi*. Then follows *sasa*, and the whole name accordingly is *Uvimakavthisasa*.

I have no doubt that we here have before us another orthograph of the name of Kadphises II. The initial letter of his name in the coin legends is, as mentioned in the Historical Introduction, apparently *vri*, where the *r*-stroke seems to indicate a modification of the sound of *v* in this word. The same modification is evidently indicated in our record by prefixing *u*. It should be borne in mind that we do not know the etymology of the name. It is no doubt Iranian, and the Greek legend ***OOHMO*** seems to be in thorough agreement with our *Uvima*. With regard to *Kavthisa*, the dental *sa*, as compared with the *śa* of the Kharoshṭhī coin legends, may be compared with the σ of the Greek *Καδφισης*. Instead of *vthi* we might, of course, read *thvi*, in the same way as is usually done in the coin legend, which, according to the usual arrangement of Kharoshṭhī compounds, might also be read *Kaphthiśa*, instead of *Kathphiśa*. I prefer, however, to read *Kavthisa*, which form may also be reflected in the Chinese Kao-chen, i. e. in the T'ang period *Kâu-chi̯ĕn*.

As pointed out in the Historical Introduction, our inscription furnishes the proof that the historical Śaka era was not instituted by Kanishka, provided that it couples the

name of Wima Kadphises with the year 187 or 184. For we know that Wima Kadphises preceded Kanishka, and it is even probable that he was separated from him by an interval. And it is impossible to push the beginning of the old Saka era so far back that the year 187 or 184 can fall earlier than A. D. 78.

It also shows that the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushana* of the Taxila scroll, which is dated fifty years earlier, cannot well be Wima Kadphises, because it is hardly conceivable that he, who succeeded an octogenarian father, should have ruled for fifty years.

On the other hand, our inscription does not militate against my ascription of the institution of the historical Śaka era to Wima Kadphises, because that reckoning was instituted in commemoration of the overthrow of the national Indian dynasty, which had ousted the Sakas in Mālava, and there was no reason for introducing it in those provinces where the old Saka supremacy was still in force and the old Saka era had not been abolished.

I thus arrive at the following reading and interpretation.

TEXT

L. 1 Saṁ 1 100 20 20 20 20 4 [1 1 1]
2 maharajasa Uvima Kavthisasa.

TRANSLATION

Anno 187 (or 184), (during the reign) of the Great King Uvima Kavthisa.

There are also other Kharoshthī inscriptions at Khalatse, and Dr. Francke has reproduced eye-copies of four short ones,[1] with Professor Vogel's tentative readings. No. 2 he read *sakhavasa*, no. 4 *śaśakhasa* or *śaśatasa*, while no. 5 and 6 only consist of one akshara each, viz. *sa*.

It is useless to discuss the reading and interpretation as long as no better materials are available. I shall only draw attention to the fact that no. 4, where the palatal *ś* is certain, shows that the Khalatse dialect cannot have been essentially different from the usual language of Kharoshthī inscriptions.

XXX. PLATE XVI: TAXILA SILVER VASE INSCRIPTION. YEAR 191

During his excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926–7 Sir John Marshall found a silver vase of duck shape, 7 in. high, and bearing a Kharoshthī inscription round the neck.

The inscribed portion is 4½ in. long, and the size of individual letters varies from ⅜ in. to ⅛ in. In the middle, below the handle of the vase, there is a damaged portion where about six aksharas seem to have disappeared. In other respects the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

The letters consist of dots punched into the surface. We may note the compound *khs*, which also occurs on the Patika plate; the *cha*, which reminds us of the Patika plate and the silver scroll, and the *sa*, where the upwards continuation of the leg is shorter than in the Patika plate and most closely resembles that of the *sa* of the silver scroll.

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[1] ZDMG, 61, p. 593, with plate II, no. 2, 4, 5, 6.

The inscription begins below the mouth with a distinct *ka*. There is not enough space in front of this *ka* for restoring [*saṁvatśara*]*k*[*e*]. *Ka* is evidently the first akshara of the record, and it is perhaps an abbreviation, e. g. of *ka*[*le*].

Then follow the numeral figures 1 + 100 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 10 + 1, i. e. the record is dated in the year 191, evidently of the old Saka era, and corresponding, according to the system adopted in this volume, to A.D. 107–108.

Then follows *maharaja*, though there are some apparent dots between *ra* and *ja*, making the *ja* look almost like *mi*.

After *ja* comes a damaged passage, with room for about six aksharas, which cannot be read with certainty.

The first letter seems to be *bhra*, of the same shape as in the Patika plate. Then follow two aksharas of which I cannot see anything, further traces of what looks like *ṇi*, two absolutely defaced aksharas, and an almost certain *sa*.

The remaining portion of the record is absolutely certain, viz. *putrasa Jihonikasa Chukhsasa kshatrapasa*.

Jihoṇika is evidently identical with the kshatrapa Zeionises, whose Kharoshthī coin legends run *Manigulasa kshatrapasa putrasa kshatrapasa Jihoṇiasa*.

Zeionises has been described as ruler of Pushkalāvatī.[1] Our inscription shows that his province was that formerly held by Liaka Kusuluka and Patika, viz. Cukhsa, the modern Chachh, of which Taxila was evidently the capital.

The coin-legends lead me to restore the damaged portion as *maharajabhra*[*ta-Ma*]*ṇi*[*gula*]*sa putrasa*. If this restoration is accepted, we learn that Zeionises' father, Manigula, was the brother of the *mahārāja*, i. e. apparently of some dignitary of higher rank than that of a *kshatrapa*. Who this mahārāja was, we cannot tell with certainty. A comparison of the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 makes me inclined to think of Wima Kadphises. Now if Zeionises was the son of Wima Kadphises' brother, he might consider himself as heir apparent to the imperial power, if Wima Kadphises had no male issue. For there are, as mentioned in the Historical Introduction, indications to show that the order of succession among the Sakas sometimes passed from a ruler to his brother, and further to the brother's son. And since the name of the mahārāja is not given, it is possible that he had died at the time when our inscription was issued. In that case Zeionises would already be a candidate to the imperial throne. We have not, however, any indication in other sources to the effect that there was any Saka emperor between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka. And if Zeionises claimed the position, it may be surmised that he did not meet with success. There was apparently, after Wima Kadphises' demise, a disintegration of Kushāna power, similar to what seems to have taken place after the death of Moga. And it was only after the Indian Kushānas had joined hands with their cousins in Turkestan that the empire rose to new, and this time, much increased power.

TEXT

Ka 1 100 20 20 20 20 10 1 maharaja[bhra][ta Ma*][ṇi][gula*]sa putrasa Jihonikasa Chukhsasa kshatrapasa.

TRANSLATION

Year 191 (during the reign) of Jihonika, the kshatrapa of Chukhsa, the son of Manigula, the brother of the Great King.

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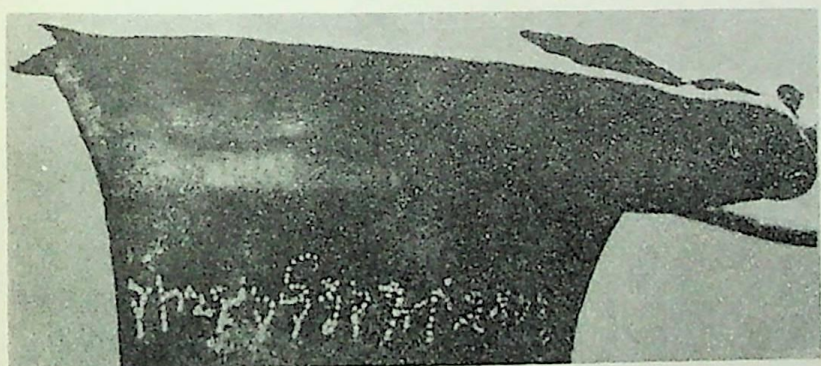
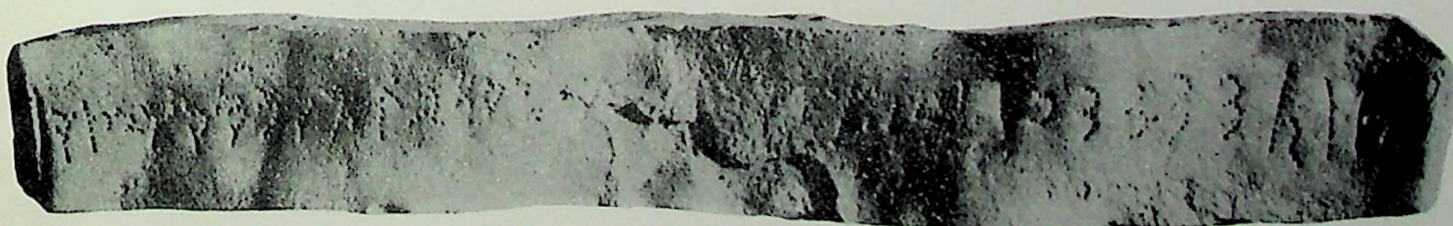
[1] Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 582[1].

SIRKAP. YEAR 191

a

c

b

d

UNDATED TAXILA INSCRIPTIONS

Taxila was an important centre of learning, and especially of Buddhist civilization during a long period. It is therefore not to be wondered at that several inscriptions have been found in the ruins, belonging to different times. The oldest one belongs to the period when Greek rulers still held sway in the Panjāb and has been dealt with together with the oldest Kharoshthī records. The youngest ones seem to take us down to the fifth century of our era, and might be dealt with in connexion with the records dated in the Kanishka era. It seems, however, as if Taxila lost its political importance with the advent of the Kanishka dynasty, and it is therefore preferable to deal with the undated Taxila records in connexion with the inscriptions dated in the older Saka era.

XXXI. Plate XVII. 1: TAXILA GOLD PLATE INSCRIPTION

Of the Taxila ruins the ancient city of Sirkap, on the western spurs of the Hathiāl Hill, seems to be the second in point of age. According to Sir John Marshall[1] it appears to have been in occupation during the Saka, Pahlava, and Kushāna periods, down to the reign of Wiṁa Kadphises.

Outside the northern wall of the Sirkap city was a suburb, now known as Babar-Khāna, and here, to the east, is a group of remains, which Cunningham[2] called the Gāngu group. In one mound, numbered 32 by Cunningham, the villager Nūr discovered some relics, which were described by Messrs. G. D. Westropp,[3] Rajendralala Mitra,[4] Pearse,[5] and Cunningham.[6] To quote Cunningham, 'these relics consisted of a circular stone box, about 1 ft. in diameter and 3 in. in depth, beautifully turned and polished, and covered by a slab of sandstone, inside which there was a small hollow crystal figure of a *haṁsa* or goose, containing a thin gold plate 2¾ in. long and nearly 1 in. broad, inscribed with Ariano-Pali characters. The letters have been punched on the plate from the back, so that they appear in relief on the upper side'.

Cunningham further states that 'the circular stone box and the crystal goose are now in the British Museum, but the inscription is not with them'.

The inscription accordingly seems to have been lost, and our knowledge about it is derived from Rajendralala's reproduction, which has evidently been taken over by Cunningham, who does not appear himself to have seen the plate. It was read by Rajendralala Mitra,[7] E. C. Bayley,[8] Cunningham,[9] and F. W. Thomas,[10] and it is no. 71 in Mr. Majumdar's List.

To judge from the reproduction, Rajendrala Mitra seems to have been fully justified in stating that the letters were in an excellent state of preservation. The more it is to be regretted that the reproduction is not, as he himself admits, quite reliable. It is stated to have been prepared from a sealing-wax impression, and it is probable that what we possess is an eye-copy of this impression. It follows from what I have said above that Cunningham's plate has no independent value, being copied from Rajendralala's.

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[1] ASIAR, 1912–13, p. 23.
[2] ASI, ii, p. 129.
[3] Proceedings ASB, 1861, p. 413.
[4] JASB, xxxi, 1862, pp. 175 ff., with plate, fig. 11.
[5] Proceedings ASB, 1865, pp. 111 ff.
[6] l.c., with plate LIX, no. 5.
[7] l.c.
[8] ibidem, pp. 184 ff.
[9] l.c.
[10] JRAS, 1916, pp. 382 ff., with a reproduction of Rajendralala's and Cunningham's plates and of the goose and the box.

These facts must be borne in mind, when we use the plate, which has been reproduced from Professor Thomas's paper. We must reckon with the possibility of mistakes.

A peculiar feature in this record is the round dot which marks the lower termination of most letters. It is evidently due to the engraver's tool.

The characters on the whole seem to confirm Sir John Marshall's dating of the site. They are, roughly, intermediate between those of the Patika and Takht-i-Bāhī inscriptions. *Ta* and *da* are not always easy to distinguish. Where *ta* is certain, it has the distinct forward slope which we find in the Patika plate, and the unmistakable *de* of l. 3 has the forward bend of the bottom which we know from that record. *Ya* is broad and angular, and we may note the backward slope of the *o*-stroke in *yo*, l. 2, which has its parallels in the Dhammapada manuscript. *La* has almost no bend of the projecting upper limb, as is also the case with some of the *la*'s of the Mathurā capital. *Śa* is strictly angular, as in the Patika plate. The upward prolongation of the bar of *sa* is usually clear, and it is straight as in the Muchai, Pājā, and Mārguz inscriptions.

The inscription consists of three lines, and it can be restored with some approach at certainty.

L. 1. The first word is certainly *śirae.* Cunningham saw in this a reference to some relic of the head-bone (*śirodhātu*) of the Buddha, while Professor Thomas was of opinion that '*Śira* is clearly the name of the place or district, now Sir Kap, in which the stūpa was. It is not necessary to suppose that the name Sir Kap contains any etymological survival of Śīrā—the common view is otherwise—nor would it be reasonable to regard the form as = (Taksha)śilā. It is no doubt a local name'.

This explanation is ingenious. It seems to me, however, that we must necessarily look for the name of the donor in the first word, which is evidently to be taken together with the ensuing participle *prethavetiye.* I therefore take *Śirae* to be the genitive of a female name *Śirā.* If it is not a clerical mistake for *Śivae*, we may perhaps think of the Khotanī-Saka word *śśira*, which is used to render Skr. *śiva.*

The next word is almost certainly *bhagavato*, though *-do* is no doubt possible. Then comes what looks like *dhato.* The apparent *o* is, however, different from the *o* of *bhagavato.* It is slightly curved, and the bottom of *ta* is devoid of the usual dot. I therefore feel convinced that the plate actually had a complete *u*-loop and read *dhat*[*u*].

The ensuing word was read *prevvavetiye* by Bayley and *prethavetiye* by Cunningham. The former adds that the sealing-wax impressions have *ve*, but that the *e* is not visible in the plate. We have no right to reject this statement. The second akshara can, of course, only be *ṭha.* Professor Thomas says: 'Although this word might find a Sanskrit equivalent in *preshṭhāpatya*, "dearest offspring", no one would seriously doubt that it is really an erroneously inscribed *pratiṭhavayati* (stamped from the back), and we shall recall the errors which have been shown in Sir J. H. Marshall's silver scroll inscription from the same city. It would seem that work done in metals, or at least in the precious metals, was less reliable textually than that slowly wrought in stone'.

We must, I think, be very wary in assuming an error in the text. What Mr. Bayley had before himself in the wax impression was evidently *prethavetiye*, and we must try to explain this form as it is. The initial *preth* has been explained by Professor Thomas [1] as standing for *praïṭh* and derived from *pratiṭh* by dissimilation. It will be seen in the Grammatical Introduction that intervocalic *t* is regularly preserved as *t* or *d* in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions and as *d* in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada. The occasional writing *tr*, which is the rule in the Lion Capital inscriptions, may point to a fricative pronunciation, at least in some cases. And it is conceivable that such a fricative was some-

[1] JRAS, 1926, p. 507.

times weakly sounded, so that it might be left unmarked. I have mentioned in the Grammatical Introduction that we occasionally find forms such as *avhaï*, Skr. *ābhāti*, *phashaï*, Skr. *spṛiśati* in the Dhammapada manuscript, and that we have another example of *e* for *ati* in the very word *prati* in the form *prethavide*, Skr. *pratishṭhāpitah*, in the late Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, where Professor Thomas's explanation would also hold good. It does not, therefore, seem necessary to correct our *pre* to *prati*, though the form is suspect in such an old record. *Prethavetiye* is, in other respects, a possible form. The anusvāra is very commonly left unmarked in Kharoshṭhī records, and we are fully justified in explaining our word as standing for *preṭhaventiye*, the oblique form of the female participle *preṭhaventi*, Skr. *pratishthāpayantī*. And, in my opinion, this is the only explanation which is admissible. We must translate: of Śirā, who establishes a relic of the Lord, and, so far as I can see, the form *prethavetiye* definitely shows that *Śirae* is the name of the donor.

The last word of l. 1 is evidently *matu*. The angular shape of the last akshara makes *madu* unlikely.

L. 2. The reading is perfectly certain, if we abstract from the uncertainty regarding *ta* and *da*. Professor Thomas reads *hasisa pitu hasase loodasasi atiyoha*, and continues with l. 3 *dehaja ti*. He takes *hasase* to be a mistake for *hasasa* and translates: In Śira, A[ṁ]tiyoha, sister of Looda, daughter (*dehajā*) of a *haṁsī* mother and a *haṁsa* father, deposits relics of the Bhagavat.

He reminds us of the fact 'that the *haṁsa* is white, so that it is an apt type of a spotless character. . . . Secondly the *haṁsa* pair is famed in poetry for its affectionate union. . . . Thirdly, since the *haṁsa* is a migrant, which after a season takes its departure to Lake Mānasa, . . . it is a fitly chosen synonym for friends departed to a better world. And, lastly, in the language of the Upanishads . . . the word *haṁsa* is a common synonyn for the embodied soul, *jīva*'.

I agree with Professor Thomas in seeing in *haṁsa* a veiled reference to the departed soul, but I do not think it possible to explain *hasisa* as the genitive of *haṁsī*, which would be *ha*[*ṁ*]*siye* on the analogy of *peṭhavetiye*. Nor do I think it likely that the genitives *matu* and *pitu* can depend on the distant *dehaja*, and I know of no instance in Kharoshthī inscriptions where *ti*, Skr. *iti*, is added at the end of a record.

With regard to the reading, I accept Professor Thomas's *pitu*, though *pidu* is also possible, but I think that we must read *ta* and not *da* after *loo*.

In explaining the record we must, I think, bear in mind the fact that the gold plate was actually deposited in a *haṁsa*. Whether the plate was itself considered as a *dhātu* or there was another relic besides, we do not know. But at all events the deposit was made in the crystal *haṁsa*.

Now we have the two words *hasisa* and *hasase*, which evidently mean the crystal *haṁsa* itself. None of them is a regular form of the word *haṁsa*, but both have been copied from the wax impression, and a strong presumption is raised in our minds that the original, be it the wax impression or the engraver's draft, had precisely one and the same form in both cases. And that can hardly have been anything else than *hasasi*. *Hasasi* would be a regular locative of *hasa*, the locative termination *asi* being well known from the Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions of the Aśoka edict and from the Kharoshthī Dhammapada, where it is often written *asa* and has been wrongly explained as the genitive suffix.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that Śira deposited the relic in the *haṁsa* of her mother and father, i.e. the crystal *haṁsa* was to her a symbol of the souls of her departed parents, and the relics were deposited for the benefit of the parents. The idiom comes

to about the same thing as more common expressions such as *matu puyae pitu puyae*. The use of the symbolic *haṁsa*, however, leads us to think more directly of a magic purpose.

With regard to the remaining portion of the inscription, I have already given Professor Thomas's reading, which I accept, only substituting *ta* for his *da* after *loo* l. 2.[1] He suggests to explain *Looda* as a distorted Leontes and *Atiyoha* as representing Antioche, while he takes *sasi* to stand for Skr. *svasā*, sister.

If my explanation of l. 1 is accepted, we cannot look for the names of the donors in ll. 2–3. And *a priori* we should certainly expect to find some additional remark connected with the dedication of the relics. And such is, I think, actually the case.

I take *loo* to correspond to Skr. *lokaḥ* and *tasa* to be the usual genitive of the demonstrative pronoun. In *siati* I see the well-known optative of the base *as*, to be, corresponding to Skr. *syāt* and to *siati* in the Mānsehrā inscription of the year 68.

As *dehajati* of l. 3 regularly corresponds to Skr. *dehajāti*, corporeal birth, *yoha* alone remains unexplained. *Yo* can be the nominative masculine or neuter of the relative pronoun, Skr. *yaḥ* or *yad*, cf. *yo cha me bhuya* and *yo atra aṁtara* on the Wardak Vase. I identify it with Skr. *yad*, used as a conjunction in the sense of 'when'. But then *ha* must be the particle *ha*, which is frequently used with relatives in the old language.

It will be seen that the last sentence contains an imprecation in connexion with the relic. The explanation of the words *loo tasa* is not quite certain. *Loka* may mean 'wide space', in which case the purport would be that wide space might fall to the share of the *haṁsa*, i.e. the soul, when it comes to a new birth. It seems to me, however, that it is more probable that *tasa* should be referred to *dhatu*, and that the meaning is: might it (sc. the *haṁsa*) be its place (i. e. the receptacle of the *dhātu*), when a new birth takes place. It should be remembered that *dhātu* means both 'relic' and 'element'. To wish that the soul of a departed may become the receptacle of a Buddhadhātu in the next existence is, therefore, equivalent to wishing that the departed one may, in his next birth, become a Buddha.

It is of interest to note that the final sentence of the record makes the impression of being metrical, especially if *siati* is read as bisyllabic. We have 7 + 6 or twice seven syllabic instances: – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ (or – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑) – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑. It will be seen that both halves have the same rhythmical exit, and that there is, moreover, a distinct rhyme. Whether the sentence should be considered as metrical or as rhythmical prose, it certainly seems to be intended to be a magical incantation. We have already found a semi-incantation at the end of the Taxila silver scroll, where *ṇivanaė hotu aya de samaparichago* would give a similar rhythm, if *aya de* were omitted: – – – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ – –. Such instances are calculated to throw light on the prevaîling notions about the occult power of written formulas.

Text

L. 1 Śirae bhagavato dhat[u] prethav[e]tiye matu
2 hasisa (hasasi) pitu hasase(-si) Loo tasa siati yo ha
3 dehajati.

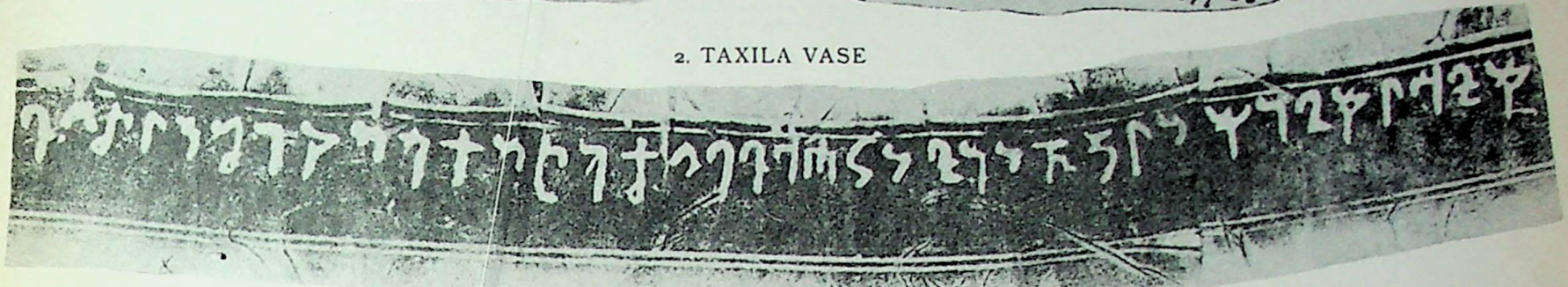
Translation

(Gift) of Śira, depositing a relic of the Lord in the haṁsa of her mother, the haṁsa of her father. Might it become its place when a corporeal birth comes.

[1] I here give the complete readings of the first editors, Rajendralala: *Siric bhagava bodhavo prajna ratiyamatu hasisapiṭa hasasilu iva sasi atiyoha viharati*; Bayley: *Sirae bhagava bodhabo* (or *yc*) *prevvavėtiyc matuha sisa pituha sase loota sasi atyo hra tehajati*; Cunninghaṃ: *Sirae bhagavato dhato prethavetiye Matuha-sisa Pituha sasi Loora-sasi Atiyo hatehajati.*

1. TAXILA GOLD PLATE

RAJENDRALAL

CUNNINGHAM

2. TAXILA VASE

Scale 0·75

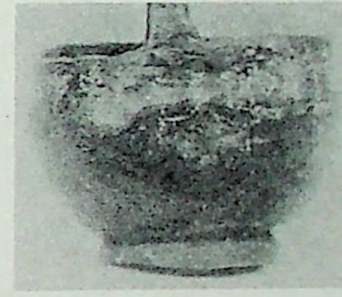
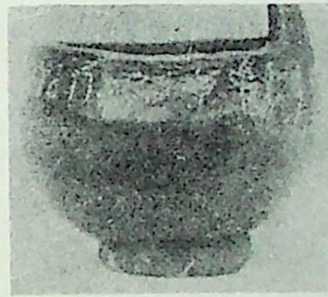
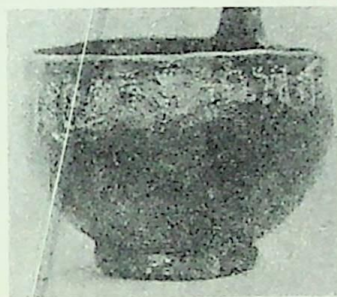
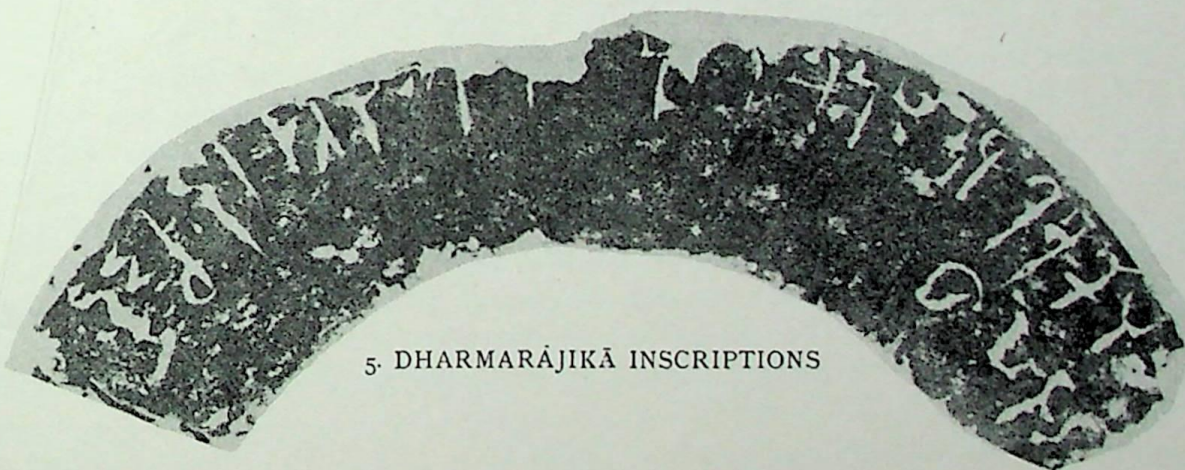
3. TAXILA LADLES

Full size

4. BEDADI LADLE

1

5. DHARMARĀJIKĀ INSCRIPTIONS

2

3

4

5

6

Scale 0·50

XXXII. Plate XVII. 2: TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION

Cunningham states[1] that the villagers of Shāhpur, to the west of the Chir Tope of Taxila, had found an inscribed vase in the mound numbered 13, to the west of the village. He could not trace the vase when he was informed of the find, but he supposed it to be identical with a vase which he found in the Peshāwar Museum and which is now, without any number, in the Lahore Museum, and we have no reason for seriously doubting the correctness of this identification.

The inscription has been edited by Messrs. Dowson,[2] Cunningham,[3] and Lüders,[4] and it is no. 90 in Mr. Majumdar's List. It is incised round the body of the vase and is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of individual letters varies from ¼ in. to ½ in.

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of a fairly ancient type. The top of *kha* is not bent down; *cha* is devoid of the downward prolongation of the lower curve, and the upward prolongation of the leg of *sa* is straight and less pronounced than in the Patika plate, two peculiarities which point to a slightly later date than that record, with which the palaeography agrees in most respects. The form *Takhaśilae* agrees with that inscription as against the later silver scroll.

Reading and interpretation have been settled by Professor Lüders, who has also shown that we have no reason for thinking that the record is metrical, as suggested by Professor Thomas.[5]

Text

Sihilena Siharakshitena cha bhratarehi Takhaśilae ayaṁ thuvo pratithavito savabudhana puyae.

Translation

By Sihila and Siharakshita, the brothers, this stūpa was established in honour of all Buddhas, in Takshaśilā.

XXXIII. Plate XVII. 3: TAXILA COPPER LADLE INSCRIPTION

The Taxila Museum contains some copper ladles, two of which contain an identical Kharoshṭhī inscription round the bowl. They were found during Sir John Marshall's excavations in 1920–1, 1923–4, and 1926–7 at Mahal, close to Sirkap.[6]

I edit the record from casts prepared for the Corpus under Sir John's directions.

The inscription has a length of 6⅞ in., and the letters are from ⅛ in. to ⅜ in. high.

The characters consist of punched dots and are of about the same age as those of the Taxila vase; cf. *kha* without the downward bend; *cha*, which reminds us of the silver scroll; the forward slope of *ta*, and the straight prolongation of the leg of *sa*.

We may note the form of the name *Takshaśila*, which is also found in the silver scroll

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[1] ASI, ii, pp. 124 ff. [2] JRAS, xx, 1863, p. 241, with plate III, fig. 2.

[3] JASB, xxxii, 1863, pp. 151 and 172, with note by Dowson, p. 428; ASI, ii, 1871, p. 125, with plate LIX, fig. 3.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, pp. 296 ff., with plate.

[5] JRAS, 1906, p. 453; cf. Fleet, ibidem, pp. 711 f.; Vogel, ibidem, p. 550; Rouse, ibidem, p. 992; Grierson, ibidem, p. 993; Smith, ibidem, p. 1008.

[6] Cf. Marshall, ASIAR, 1919–20, Pt. I, p. 20, and plate VIII, 6; 1923–4, p. 66, and plate XXVII, 8 and 9, with a reading of the inscription; N. G. Majumdar, J&PASB, xix, 1923, p. 347[1]; List, no. 68.

and the Dharmarājikā inscriptions, while the Patika plate and the vase have *Takhaśila*, and the *śp* for old *śv* in *Iśparaka*, Skr. *Iśvaraka*, for which Sir John reads *Ikutuku*.

The reading and interpretation are perfectly certain. The ladles were the gift of a certain Īśvaraka to the congregation of the four quarters and the property of the Kāśyapīyas in the North-ārāma (*Uttararama*), which was evidently situated to the north of Sirkap. The Kāśyapīyas were a branch of the Sthaviravāda school and were also reckoned to the Sarvāstivādins and considered to observe the Dhutāṅgas more rigidly than other sects.[1]

TEXT

Iśparakasa danamukho saṁghe chatudiśe Utararame Takshaśilae Kaśaviana parigra[he].

TRANSLATION

Gift of Īśvaraka to the congregation of the four quarters in the Uttarārāma of Takshaśilā, in the acceptance of the Kāśyapīyas.

XXXIV. PLATE XVII. 4: BEDADI COPPER LADLE INSCRIPTION

In my edition of the Shahdaur inscription I have drawn attention to some indications which may point to a certain connexion between Taxila and the ancient Uraśā country. They are strengthened by a find which comes from the small village of Bedadi, on the Siran River, some twelve miles by road to the north-north-west of Mānsehrā, which shows that the Kaśyapīyas had a settlement there, which may have had some connexion with the Uttarārāma of Taxila.

According to Sir Aurel Stein [2] the site seems to be of considerable antiquity. Among the coins found there, there are numerous specimens of the coinage of Azes and the Hindu Shāhīs of Kābul, a fine silver coin of Augustus, several Soter Megas coins, and also coins of the early Kushānas.

About 1920, Mr. T. B. Copeland, Deputy Commissioner of the Hazāra District, bought an inscribed copper ladle from a local villager, who stated that he had found it at Bedadi. In 1922 he brought the ladle to England, where it was examined by Professor F. W. Thomas. The ladle has since been presented by Mr. Copeland to the Peshāwar Museum.

In 1924 photographs of the ladle were sent to Mr. Majumdar, who published the inscription with a plate.[3] He states that the ladle is 9 inches in length and weighs 2·7 oz. The bowl is 1·4 inches high and has a diameter of 1·9 inches. The inscription runs round the bowl and the letters consist of punched dots.

The characters seem to be earlier than Kanishka. We may note the angular *ka*, the cursive *cha*, the somewhat square *ya*, the angular *śa*, the absence of the upward prolongation of the leg of *sa* and the loop-shape of anteconsonantic *r*. The nearest parallels to several of these forms are found in the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168, where the *ka* is, however, more cursive.

Mr. Majumdar begins with the letters just to the left of the handle, where we read *saṁghe chadudi . . . śe*, with some dots punched between *di* and *śe*. It seems as if the engraver has made a mistake and begun to punch the dots of the akshara *u* following after *śe*, omitting *śe*, and that he has afterwards cancelled these dots. We shall find a similar cancelling later on.

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[1] Cf. Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1884, vol. ii, pp. 18, 497, 551 ff.

[2] ASIFC, 1904–5, p. 18.

[3] J&PASB, xix, 1923, pp. 345 ff., with plate 14.

It is not easy to decide where we should begin. Usually, however, where the name of the donor is mentioned, it comes first. It would also seem to be the natural thing to hold the handle in the left hand, when beginning to read the legend. I would therefore start with the words to the right of the handle, where we have *Saṁgharakshi*[*dasa da*]*na*. The last aksharas are uncertain. The *da* of *-dasa* seems probable, though Mr. Majumdar reads *ta*. Between *-dasa* and *na* there is room for two letters, and what can be seen in the photograph looks more like *na* than *da*. The reading is, consequently, conjectural.

Then follow the words *saṁghe chadudiśe* and further *Uraśaraje*, i.e. Skr. *Uraśārājye*, in the Uraśā-Kingdom. We have already seen, in connexion with the Shahdaur inscription, that early rulers in Hazāra used the title *rājan*, and our record points to a similar state of things at a somewhat later period. The form *Uraśa* is of interest, as showing that the name was pronounced with a palatal *ś* in the country itself.

Then comes what looks like *acharyanena*, but I have little doubt that the apparent *ne* is only a cancelled *na*.

The next word is clearly *Kashyaviyana*, which Mr. Majumdar rightly identifies with the *Kaśaviana* of the Taxila ladle. The writing *shya* for *śa*, i.e. *śś*, is of interest and finds its explanation in the fact that *shy* regularly became *śś* in the dialect; cf. the frequent *manuśa*, Skr. *manushya* in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada.

Text

Saṁgharakshi[dasa da]na saṁghe chadudiśe Uraśaraje acharya(ne)na Kashyaviyana.

Translation

Gift of Saṁgharakshita to the congregation of the four quarters, in the Uraśā kingdom, of the Kāśyapīya teachers.

XXXV. Plate XVII. 5: DHARMARĀJIKĀ INSCRIPTIONS

During his excavations at Taxila in 1913 and 1914, Sir John Marshall explored the great Chir Tope, the so-called Dharmarājikā, and several minor buildings surrounding it.

To the south-west of the great stūpa was a structure, apparently a chapel, constructed in the large diaper masonry which, according to Sir John, came into use about the close of the first century A.D.

Six fragmentary inscriptions were recovered on objects found in this place and published by Sir John.[1]

The characters are later than those of the silver scroll, but apparently older than Kanishka. *Ta* has the forward slope and *dha* the deep indenture of older records; *mu* has not been turned on the side, but differs from the oldest forms in lengthening the left upright; *sa* occasionally has traces of the upward continuation of the leg; *rya* has a comparatively late form, with a square *ya* and a double-loop for the anteconsonantic *r*.

I retain Sir John's numbering of the records.

No. 1

This inscription is inscribed on the side of a lamp and consists of two lines, 13 in. and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. long respectively, with letters $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high.

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[1] ASIAR, 1912–13, pp. 17 ff., and plate XIV; Majumdar, List, nos. 73–6.

The first word is *Takshaïlaami*, which is evidently a slip instead of *Takshaśilaami*, the locative of *Takshaśilaa*, Skr. *Tākshaśilaka*, belonging to Takshaśilā.[1]

The next word was read *dhamaraïe* by Sir John, and this reading is probably right. There are traces of a cross-bar through the right bar of *ma*, so that we might think of reading *rma* as in Jauliã, but the traces are not sufficiently certain. The *e*-stroke of the final akshara is placed quite at the bottom, and I could not see it in the original. It is therefore possible that we should read *a* and assume that a *mi* has stood in the broken space between this and the following letter, so that we should have to read *dhamaraï-ami*. But then we should have to assume that the *i*-stroke of *mi* was unusually short. I therefore read *dhamaraïe*.

The ensuing akshara was read *dhra* by Sir John. It seems to me, however, that the apparent traces of a *r*-stroke, which protrude a little above the bottom, run on towards the preceding letter and simply represent an unevenness in the stone. I therefore read *dha*. The second letter must have stood above the broken edge and must have been *ma*. If the ensuing downward curve of the edge follows the outline of a *da* and the short stroke to the left of the break is the bottom of a *sa*, we might restore *Dhamadasa*, Skr. *Dharmadāsa*. Of the next akshara we have the lower portion of a vertical and traces of an *i*-stroke running obliquely down from the edge, so that we may think of *bhi*. Then follow a curve which reminds us of *ksha* and a vertical which may have had a loop at the bottom. It is therefore possible to read *kshu*. The next letter consists of a vertical, with an *o*-stroke at the bottom and the beginning of a curve at the top. With every reserve I therefore restore the whole as *Dhamadasabhikshuno*, though the usual genitive of *bhikshu* in Kharoshthī inscriptions is *bhikshusa*.

Then comes a broken akshara which looks like the lower part of an *e*, and afterwards a vertical with traces of a curve above, so that *sha* is possible. I accordingly read *esha*.

The last word of l. 1 is *saputrasa*.

Then follows l. 2, *danamukhe*. The bottom of the last akshara is damaged, and there may have been an *o*-mātrā as well, as in the Jauliã inscription 2. We should certainly expect *danamukho* in a Taxila record, but the *e*-stroke is too pronounced to be accidental.

TEXT

L. 1 Taksha[ś*]ilaami dhamaraï[e Dhamadasabhikshun]o [esha] saputrasa
2 danamukhe(o).

TRANSLATION

In the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshaśilā this is the gift of the friar Dharmadāsa.

No. 2

This inscription is found on two fragments of a frieze, and beginning and end are missing. The length of the record is 18 in., and the size of individual letters varies between ¾ in. and 1¼ in.

The first akshara of which traces remain cannot be made out. It seems to have been provided with an *u*-mātrā and may have been *du*. In that case we might think of restoring *madupidue*, comparing *matupitae* of the Pājā inscription and assuming that *du* had been influenced by the preceding *du* of *madu*. But I prefer to leave the letter untransliterated.

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[1] Sir John, who originally read the last two aksharas as *aga*, accepted my reading, when we examined the original together in 1925.

The remaining portion of the inscription is clear, but I cannot explain the final word *hodreana*, after which there are traces of another akshara, apparently with an *o*-mātrā.

TEXT

. . . e puyae at[va]ṇasa ñatimitrasalohidana arogadakshinae Hodreana . o . . . .

TRANSLATION

in honour of . . ., for the bestowal of health on his relatives, friends and blood-relations, . . . of the Hodreas.

No. 3

This incomplete record, found on a small fragmentary stone, is 5½ in. long, with letters ½ in. to ¾ in. high.

The first word is *mitrae*, apparently the genitive of a female name ending in *-mitrā*. Then follows *iṁdra*, for which Sir John read *iṁda*. The *r*-stroke is, I think, certain. The next two aksharas are quite defaced, but the first may have been *s*. After the break we seem to have *sa*, and I think it possible that we have to read *Iṁdrasenasa*. Then follows *bha* and an akshara which Sir John read *rva*. The top is, however, damaged, and the top-line seems to slope downwards. If it were continued to the left and bent downwards still more, we should have *rya*. With every reserve I therefore restore *bharyae*.

TEXT

. . . mitrae Iṁdra[sena*]sa bhar[yae].

TRANSLATION

Of . . . mitrā, the wife of Indrasena.

No. 4

Another incomplete inscription found on a fragmentary frieze, 3¾ in. long, with letters ¾ in. to 1 in. high.

Sir John read . . *o*(?)*senasa jiba*. The first aksharas are much defaced, and i is hardly possible to restore them with certainty. A comparison of No. 3, however, makes me inclined to read *Iṁdrasenasa*. Then follows an akshara which is qu'te defaced. It seems to be provided with an *u*-loop, and the existing traces may point to *ku*. The next akshara can hardly be *ji*, because there is a distinct stroke joining the lower part of the vertical at an angle. We must evidently read *ti*. The letter *ta* is extremely rare in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions and has only been traced in the Sui Vihār record in the word *kutiṁbini*. Intervocalic *ṭ* probably became *d* in the dialect, and its retention in Sui Vihār seems to be due to the marked Sanskritization of that record. The same has probably been the case in our inscription. The last akshara is damaged, but evidently *b*. The top-stroke may be part of an *i*-mātrā, and the upward termination of *ba* may have stood exactly in the break. There is a blurred line in front of the vertical, but, as it is absent in Sir John's plate, it is probably accidental. I therefore read *bi* and restore *kutibinia*, cf. Pāli *kutimba*. The persons mentioned are evidently the same as in inscription 3.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
[*Imdra*]*seṇasa* [*ku*]*tib*[*i*][*ṇia**] .	of the wife of Indrasena.

No. 5 and 6

These only consist of single letters and are evidently, as stated by Sir John, only masons' marks, *ba* and *tha*, respectively.

XXXVI. Plate XVIII: JAULIÃ INSCRIPTIONS

The Buddhist remains near the village of Jauliã were excavated in the years 1916–18.[1]

They comprise a monastery, one great and several small stūpas, arranged in different courts. The older parts of the walls of the monastery and the lower courses of another wall show the large coarse diaper masonry, which, according to Sir John, came into fashion during the second century A. D. Elsewhere we find the semi-ashlar masonry, which was in use from the third until the fifth century.

The monuments were richly decorated with relievos and sculptures in stucco, of a relatively late date, about the fifth century according to Sir John. And some of them were provided with Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.[2]

On the north side of the stūpa, in one of the bays on the eastern side of the ascending stairs was found a seated Buddha, and on the pedestal below an ex-voto inscription, No. 1.

In a small stūpa, numbered A 15, to the east of the main stūpa, 'the plinth is faced throughout with large diaper masonry . . . and it is likely that this is one of the earliest among the small stūpas, although it was no doubt refaced and redecorated at a later date'. The plinth is decorated with a series of figures of the Buddha, and under six of them are found Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, viz. No. 2 on the east face; No. 3 on the west face; No. 4 and 5 on the south face; No. 6 and 7 on the north face.

Finally, there is a small stūpa, numbered D 5, to the south-west of the main stūpa, where the decoration is sadly damaged, but where some of the images are provided with inscriptions: 8, on the east face; 9 and 10, on the south face, and 11 and 12 on the west face. 'The plinth appears to have undergone renovation, and some of the images may be later than the background to which they have been applied.'

Sir John Marshall draws attention to the interest which these inscriptions possess for the history of Kharoshthī. They show that that alphabet was still occasionally used in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. The inscriptions and the plaster reliefs of A 15 and D 5 are stated to be so fresh that there cannot be any 'doubt that they had not long been executed when they were buried from view, and, inasmuch as the latter event cannot be placed earlier than the second half of the fifth century A. D., it follows that the earliest date to which we can assign the inscriptions is about the beginning of the same century'.

Sir John is of opinion that 'at that time Kharoshṭhī was still the ordinary script of the townspeople of Taxila, just as Prākrit was their ordinary vernacular, and it need not surprise us that the common speech and the common script were employed in donative records intended to be read and understood by all and sundry who might see them'.

It is perhaps unsafe to infer too much from the occurrence of Kharoshṭhī votive inscriptions in the beginning of the fifth century. The find of a Sanskrit manuscript in Brāhmī script in the Jauliã ruins shows that the monks had, by that time, taken up the study of Sanskrit and were conversant with the Brāhmī alphabet. From the history of the Kalpanāmanditikā we can draw the conclusion that this development had already set in in the second century.[3]

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[1] Cf. Natesa Aiyar, ASIFC, 1916–17, pp. 2 ff.; Marshall, MASI, no. 7, Calcutta, 1921; *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 112 ff.

[2] Published by Sir John, MASI, no. 7, pp. 6 ff., with plate XI; cf. Majumdar, List, nos. 77–89.

[3] Cf. Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanditikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926.

On the other hand, the aim of the votive inscriptions was not, perhaps, that they should be read and understood, but to ensure religious merit through the mystic power of the aksharas. Only very few of those who saw the images were able to read the inscriptions.

We might therefore think it possible that such ex-voto inscriptions might have been written in Kharoshthī even after that alphabet had ceased to be the common one in Taxila, in imitation of older inscriptions of the same kind, which would easily lead people to think that Kharoshthī was more efficacious than Brāhmī in such inscriptions, which were more or less some kind of charms, and which would be still more considered as such, if Kharoshṭhī had ceased to be the usual script. It is even conceivable that some of the inscriptions are copies of older ones, executed when the old images and decorations were restored or repaired.

An examination of the palaeography of the Jauliā records makes me inclined towards the last-mentioned explanation. There is a striking lack of uniformity in the letters, and old and new forms occur side by side, though the general impression is that the records are late.

E has the *e*-stroke at the bottom of the vertical in 7, just as in one of the Dharmarājikā records.

Ka has the square shape in 11 and 12, but is rounded in 5.

Kha has a peculiar angular shape, which reminds us of the Zeda and Mānikiāla inscriptions, and still later records such as the Pālāṭū Ḍherī and Jamālgaṛhī pedestals. We may note, in this connexion, the curious combination of an *e*- and an *o*-stroke in *danamukheo*, 2.

Ksha has a peculiar pointed shape of the upper curve in *bhikshusa*, inscription 4, side by side with the regular shape in *Budharakshi*[*dasa*]. The *u*-mātrā of *bhikshusa* is a complete loop in 7; in 2 it consists of an upward bend towards the left, in 4 of a bend towards the right, and in 5 it looks like an *o*-stroke.

Ja has an irregular shape, with a backwards bend of the vertical, in 12, if the reading is correct.

Ṇa and *na* are used promiscuously; thus *dana* in 2, 4, 5, *daṇa* in 7, 8, 10, 12.

Ta has usually the same shape as in the silver scroll. Note that the *o*-mātrā is regularly placed in *to* in 11, 12, 13, but consists of a horizontal stroke parallel to the upper horizontal in 9.

The *e*-stroke of *de* in inscription 2 has a peculiar place above the upper curvature.

The shape of *mu* shows great variety. We have a square, standing, form in 2 and 12, a vertical with a curve in 7; a *mu* raised on the end in 5, and a sloping one in 10.

Sa has the upward prolongation of the leg in 3, 7, and once in 2, while it is absent in 2, 4, 5.

Hu in 7 is quite abnormal, the *u*-mātrā being simply a continuation of the lower termination back towards the upright.

The compound *rm* looks almost like *shu* in 6; in 5 it reminds us of *thu*; in 1 we have an ordinary *ma* with a sloping curve across the right bar.

From this great inconsistency it seems natural to infer that Kharoshṭhī only survived in reminiscences, and that the individual writers tried their best in order to imitate old forms.

No. 1

Incomplete, 8½ in. long, with letters 1 in. to 2 in. high, read *Dhammaṇadisa Budhamitra* by Sir John and *Dhamaratisa Budhamitra*[*sa**] by Mr. Majumdar. I read the second akshara as *rma*. It is slightly different from the initial akshara of the

Sui Vihār and Ārā records, where the cross-bar, which evidently only marks the beginning of the record, is straight, while in our letter it is a curve. We may compare the *rma* of 5 and 6.

Also the third akshara is peculiar, because the backward curve is little pronounced. I think, however, that *na* is more likely than *ra*, because *ra* is more angular in other Jauliã inscriptions; because a similar *na* is perhaps found in 7, and because *Dharmanandin* actually occurs in Buddhist literature. *Dharmanadi*, i. e. *Dharmanandin*, rejoicing in the Dharma, was probably an honorific title.

The final *tra* is damaged, but certain, and we can, with great probability, restore the remaining portion of the record.

TEXT

Dharmanadisa Budhamitra[sa bhikshusa danamukho*].

TRANSLATION

Gift of the friar Buddhamitra Dharmanandin.

Inscriptions 2–7 have been found in the stūpa numbered A 15.

No. 2

Consists of three parts, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., and $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. respectively, with letters $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, respectively. Mr. Majumdar separates it into two records, nos. 78 and 79, but an inspection of the original shows that the three statues enclosed by the inscription are the donation of one and the same donor.

The reading is perfectly certain. We may note the unusual position of the *e*-mātrā in *Budhadevasa*, the incomplete *u*-loop of *ksku* in *bhikshusa*, and the apparent *e*-stroke in addition to the *o*-mātrā in *danamukho.*

TEXT

Saghamitrasa Budhadevasa bhiksh[u]sa danamukh(e)o.

TRANSLATION

Gift of the friar Buddhadeva Saṁghamitra (the friend of the order).

No. 3

$2\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, with letters $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. Only one word.

TEXT

Shamanamitrasa.

TRANSLATION

(Gift of) Śramanamitra.

No. 4

$13\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with letters 1 in. to $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. high. The first word is *Budharakshida*[*sa*], though *Budharakshita*[*sa*] is possible. Then follows an open space, where nothing has ever been written, and *bhikshusa*, with a misshaped *kshu*, and, finally, *danamukho*, where, nowever, the *na* is defaced and the *mu* so indistinct that its shape cannot be made out.

TEXT

Budharakshi[dasa] bhi[kshusa] da[namu]kho.

TRANSLATION

Gift of the friar Buddharakshita.

No. 5

$15\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with letters $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Sir John read the first word as *Dhanamitrasa*, but the second akshara is evidently *rma*. Then follows *bhikshusa*, with an irregular *u*-mātrā consisting only of a projecting bar, and a damaged *sa* ; [*na*]*garaka*[*sa*], and *danamukho*, with a *da*, which looks like a *ṇa*.

TEXT

Dharmamitrasa bhiksh[usa na]garaka[sa] danamukho.

TRANSLATION

Gift of Dharmamitra, the friar from Nagara.

No. 6

16 in. long, with letters $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 2 in. high. Sir John read the first word as *Dhaṇusha* . . ., but again the second letter is evidently *rma*. Of the third only the top of a vertical, surmounted by a horizontal, remains. It may have been a *bha* or a *bhu*. The next letter must have stood in the ensuing break, where there is only room for a short akshara. Then follows the lower part of a vertical, which we can confidently restore as *sa*. The whole may have been *Dharmabhutisa*.

Then come the ends of two verticals, which must represent the bottom of a *bhi*; an almost complete *kshu*, an open space, where nothing seems to have been written; traces of a *sa* ; a break with room enough for three letters, of which the second seems to have ended in a long upright, and, finally, part of a *kho*. We may restore the whole as follows :

TEXT

Dharma[bhutisa*] [bhi]kshusa [danamu*]kho.

TRANSLATION

Gift of the friar Dharmabhūti.

No. 7

$14\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, with letters 1 in. to 2 in. high. The first word was read as *Rahulasa* by Sir John, and this reading is probably right, though the *u* of *hu* is quite irregular, consisting of a bar from the bottom of *ha* up to the vertical. It should be borne in mind that the name *Rāhula* figures in lists of old Sarvāstivāda teachers and would be quite likely also in later times.

Then follows *vanaeasa*, which Sir John translates 'of Vanaya'. Mr. Majumdar translates 'of Vanāyu', which, he says, has been identified with Bannu or with Arabia. If I am right in assuming that the Jauliã records are partly copies of older inscriptions, we may, however, reckon with the possibility of a clerical mistake. If we, further, bear in mind the fact that the Sarvāstivādins had a Vinaya of their own, and that the front leaf of a Tibetan manuscript of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, examined by Csoma Körösi, has a picture representing the Buddha with Śāriputra and Rāhula on his two sides,[1] we become inclined to think that *vanaeasa* has been misread for *venaïasa*, the *e* of *ve* having been overlooked and the *i* misread as *e*. *Venaïa* corresponds to Skr. *vainayika*, and Pāli *venayika*, which is explained by Kachchāyana[2] to mean 'versed in the Vinaya'.

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[1] Cf. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, London [1925], p. 282.
[2] Ed. Senart, p. 391 (p. 189 of the reprint).

There are, so far as I can see, some distinct indications that our record is a copy of an older one. In the first place, the *sa* everywhere shows the prolongation of the lower vertical up towards the top, which is characteristic of old Kharoshthī. Then we have the cerebral *n* in the last word of the inscription, *danamukho*, which also has a *mu* of the shape which we find in the Tīrath inscription.

The remaining portion of the record is beyond doubt.

TEXT

Ra[hu]lasa v[e*]nae(i)asa bhikshusa danamukho.

TRANSLATION

Gift of Rāhula, the friar versed in the Vinaya.

The remaining inscriptions are found in the stūpa numbered D 5.

No. 8

10½ in. long, with letters 1 in. to 1½ in. high. Much damaged. The first visible traces consist of a vertical, which may be part of a *mi*, followed by a curve, which may have been the lower part of a *tra*. Then comes a defaced portion, with sufficient room for three or four aksharas, the last of which has left some traces of an upper curve and a vertical, so that it is possible to read *kshu*. Then comes the lower portion of a letter, which may have been *sa*; *daṇa*; a defaced spot sufficient for one akshara, and, finally, *kho*. I tentatively restore the legend as follows:

TEXT

[Dharma*][m]i[t]ra[sa bhi*][kshusa] dana[mu]kho.

TRANSLATION

Gift of the friar Dharmamitra.

No. 9

10 in. long, with letters 1¼ in. to 2 in. high. The first akshara has disappeared and the two following ones are damaged, but can be made out to be *śavo*, so that we can restore *Kaśavo*, Skr. *Kāśyapah*. Then comes *tathagato*, with the *o*-stroke of the final akshara placed irregularly as a horizontal projection from the middle of the leg.

What follows was read as *sa . . . sa* by Sir John, and it is hardly possible to improve on this reading. The first akshara seems to be *s*. Of the second a vertical remains. The apparent projection to the right seems to represent damage to the plaster coating. Then come traces which may represent *ka*, *bha*, or *pa*, and further a distinct *ha*, followed by *sa* and apparently *śa*. I cannot make anything out of this state of things.

TEXT

[Kaśav]o tathagato s . . . . . hasa śa . . . .

TRANSLATION

Kāśyapa the Tathāgata . . .

No. 10

Fragment, 6 in. long, with letters ¾ in. to 1½ in. high. There are traces of four aksharas, which may perhaps be *śavasa da*, and two distinct letters, viz. *namu*. We may perhaps restore as follows:

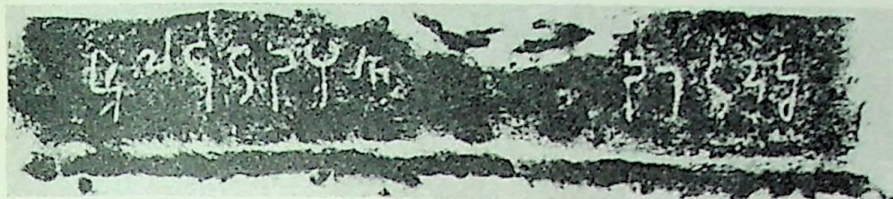
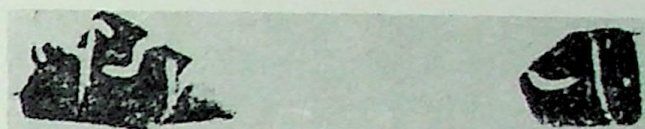
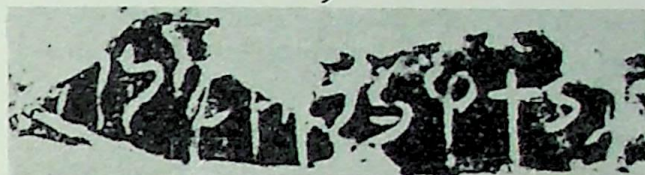
TEXT	TRANSLATION
[Kaśavasa da]namu[kho].	Gift of Kāśyapa.

1

3

2

4

8

9

5

10

6

11

7

13

12

14

Scale 0·30

In that case Kāśyapa must be the name of the donor, and it is possible that his designations preceded in the broken portion at the beginning.

No. 11

7 in. long, with letters 1⅓ in. to 1⅝ in. high. Perfectly legible.

TEXT

Kaśavo tathagato.

TRANSLATION

Kāśyapa, the Tathāgata.

No. 12

14 in. long, with letters ¾ in. to 1¾ in. high. The beginning is quite clear: *Śakamu tathagato*, which evidently stands for *Śakamuṇi tathagato*. The omission of the akshara *ni* perhaps points to the inscription being a copy of an older record. Sir John read the remaining portion as *jinaeśa dana*[*mukho*], translating the whole as 'Śākyamuni Tathāgata, lord of Jinas—a pious gift'. I have some doubts about this reading. The top of the first akshara looks like the top of *cha* or *chha*, but it may be a distorted *ji*. The second looks more like *ra* than *na*. Besides, the dental *na* would make some difficulty in face of the distinct *ṇa* which follows. The third letter is certainly *e*, but the fourth is much shorter than the *śa* of *Śakamu* and is more likely to be *ya*. The fifth seems to be *ta* and not *da*. The sixth is certainly *na*. The seventh has a hook protruding from a vertical and bears no similarity to the *mu* of *Śakamu*. The existing traces point to *ka*, *pa*, or *bha*. The last letter, finally, consist of a vertical with remnants of the anteconsonantic *r*-loop at the bottom and may be *rva*. We might think of reading *chirae yatanapurva*, Skr. *chirāya yatnapūrva*, or *Jivae Yatanabharya* . ., but I do not venture to deviate from Sir John.

TEXT

Śakamu[ṇi*] tathagato ji(?)na(?)eśa(?) da(?)ṇamukho(?).

TRANSLATION

Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, lord of Jinas, a gift.

No. 13

Received as copied in the same stūpa D 5; not previously noticed. Only a fragment, 6½ in. long, with letters 1 in. to 1½ in. high. The record is so damaged that I refrain from any attempt at reading it.

No. 14

Received as hailing from Jauliã and as unidentified. Bears the number d. No. 1564. One letter and part of a second one: *to śa* (or, *ya*).

XXXVII. PLATES XIX, XX: MINOR TAXILA INSCRIPTIONS

The excavations at Sirkap, which yielded the silver vase containing the Zeionises inscription of the year 191, have also brought to light several other antiquities bearing Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, which can conveniently be dealt with in this place.

1–2. *Inscribed silver cups*

Sk. 4081/24, excavated in the year 1926–7, are two silver cups, 5¼ in. in diameter, apparently meant for keeping grain or flowers. Each of them contains a Kharoshthī legend, giving the name of the donor.

There is no difference in the letters of the two copies. They consist of dots punched into the surface, and the bottom of the aksharas is bent and twisted in various ways. In the case of *sa* the result is a letter which reminds us of *sya*. This letter only occurs in the genitive termination *asa*, so that it is possible to think of *sya*. We shall see, however, below in No. 3 that the same sign there occurs for an initial *s*, where *sya* is out of the question. It therefore seems more probable that we have before us a modified, perhaps a voiced *s*. I shall write *s*(*y*)*a*.

There is no upward continuation of the leg of *sa*. Nevertheless there cannot be much doubt that the inscriptions are about contemporaneous with the Jihonika record.

The reading is absolutely certain: *Theütaras*(*y*)*a Thavaraputras*(*y*)*a*, of Theütara, the son of Thavara.

There can hardly be any doubt that *Theütara* is the Greek name Theodoros, which we have found in the form *Theüdora* on the Swāt vase and as *Thaïdora* in the Kāldarra inscription. The writing *t* for *d* probably finds its explanation in the usual voicing of intervocalic *t*, and *a*, i.e. *ā* for Greek omega, does not present any difficulty.

Thavara can hardly be a Greek name, but may represent Skr. *sthāvara*.

TEXT

Theütaras(y)a Thavaraputras(y)a.

TRANSLATION

(Gift) of Theodoros, the son of Thavara.

3. *Inscribed silver plate with three legs*

Sk. 4081/20, found in the year 1926–7, is a rectangular silver plate, 8½ in. by 6 in., with three legs, probably intended for offerings.

The back contains a short Kharoshthī inscription, with letters consisting of punched dots. The characters are of the same kind as in Nos. 1 and 2, and the *sa* has the terminating loop which seems to represent a subscript *y*, so that we should perhaps read *sya*. The same sign is, however, also used as an initial, and I shall transliterate *s*(*y*)*a*. It should be noted that there is, in this record, a distinct upwards prolongation of the lower part of *sa*.

The first word is *Muṁjukritas*(*y*)*a*, of Muṁjukrita. I do not know any such name. In No. 4 we shall find it again, in the form *Miṁjukrita*, which shows that the first vowel was probably difficult to render, i.e. the name is probably un-Indian. The last part, *krita*, is perhaps the Greek *kritos* in names such as *Demokritos*.

Then follows *sya* 20 *dra* 1. There can hardly be any doubt that *sya* and *dra* are abbreviations of *satera*, *drakhma*, Greek στατήρ, δραχμή, respectively, and that the value of the silver plate is here given.

It is of interest that the Greek word *stater* has here, as in Turkestan, been borrowed in the form *satera*. Professor Thomas has quoted[1] some examples of its use in the Kharoshthī Documents from Niya, and in one of them, no. 43, the word is written *s*(*r*)*adera*, i.e. with the modified *s*, which perhaps denotes a voiced pronunciation. This coincidence adds some probability to the explanation suggested above that *sya* stands for a voiced *s*, though it is difficult to understand how the *s* of *satera* could become voiced.

TEXT

Muṁjukritas(y)a s(y)a 20 dra 1.

TRANSLATION

(Gift) of Muṁjukrita, 20 staters, 1 drakhm.

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[1] JRAS, 1924, pp. 671 f.; cf. 1926, p. 507, and Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, vi, pp. 255 f.

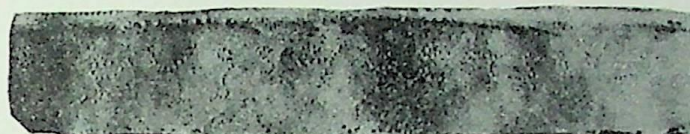
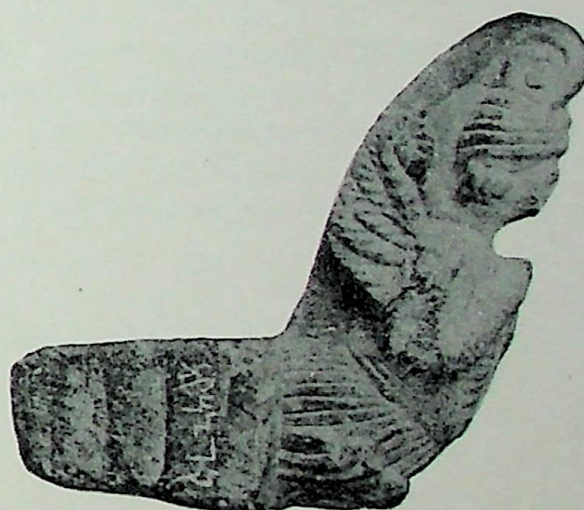
SIRKAP INSCRIPTIONS

1. SILVER CUP

2. SILVER CUP

3. SILVER PLATE

4. CIRCULAR PLATE

5. SILVER SIEVE

6. VOLUTE BRACKET

4. *Inscribed circular silver plate*

No. 4081/21, found in the year 1926–7, is a circular silver plate, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, with the centre raised and ending in a knot. The plate was probably intended to hold offerings.

On the outside is a Kharoshṭhī inscription, with letters punched in dots into the silver. It is of the same kind as in No. 3 above, but the lower part of *sa* here ends in a bend and not in a loop, wherefore we can only read *sa*. The reading is perfectly clear. The form *Miṁjukrita* has already been mentioned. Instead of the *dra* for drakhme of No. 3 we here find *dha*, but it would be unsafe to base any conclusions on this writing.

TEXT

Miṁjukritasa sa 20 10 dha 2.

TRANSLATION

(Gift) of Miṁjukrita, 30 staters, 2 drakhms.

5. *Inscribed silver sieve*

Sk. 4081/19, found in the year 1926–7, is a round conical silver sieve, 8 in. in upper diameter, with two handles. The upper border is of solid silver, the sieve itself is made of plaited silver wire. On the outside, just below the rim, runs a Kharoshthī legend, with letters consisting of punched dots.

The aksharas are of the same kind as in the above inscriptions. The *sa* of the termination *asa* can be read as *sya* and has the upwards continuation of the leg.

The reading is not subject to doubt. It runs *Gomanadaputras(y)a Jhaṁda-namas(y)a*, where it can only be questioned whether the last *na* should not be read as *naṁ*. I cannot identify these names; the initial *jha* of the second one points to the conclusion that they are not Indian.

TEXT

Gomanadaputras(y)a Jhaṁdanamas(y)a.

TRANSLATION

(Gift) of Jhaṁdanama, the son of Gomanada.

6. *Inscribed volute bracket*

No. 1457, excavated in the year 1926–7, is a volute bracket representing a kneeling figure, with folded hands, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, with a base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, which runs backwards from the bottom of the sculpture.

The back bears a Kharoshṭhī inscription, and letters are also found on the top of the base, running backwards from the bottom of the sculpture, and on the proper right side of the base, where they run upwards.

The aksharas are stiff, but evidently of the same age as in the records dealt with above. The leg of *sa* has a distinct upwards prolongation. The dental *n* is used as an initial, while *n* is written between vowels.

The arrangement of the legend is peculiar. On the back we read, beginning from above *pitu puyae*, then after a short interval, *savatratena niyatito vihare mata*, where the *ya* of *niyatito* and the *re* of *vihare* are slightly mutilated. On the top of the base we find *devadato*, followed by some blurred marks which do not seem to be parts of letters. The legend on the right side of the base is *savatratena ni*, i.e. it is identical with part of the inscription on the back.

It is evident that we must read the legend on the back as *Savatratena niyatito vihare matapitu puyae*, and the repetition of the aksharas *savatratena ni* on the base seems to be meant as an indication that the record begins with *Savatratena* and not with *pitu puyae*.

With regard to the remaining word *Devadato*, we may doubt whether it is the name of some person, different from the donor, e.g. of the navakarmika, or a designation of the sculpture. If the kneeling figure is a Nāga, we might think of the name Devadatta applied to a Nāga in the Bhāgavata Purāna.

TEXT

Savatratena niyatito vihare matapitu puyae Devadato.

TRANSLATION

Presented by Sarvatrāta in the Vihāra, in honour of (his) mother and father, Devadatta.

PLATE XX contains reproductions of some seals and dies, and of older epigraphical fragments found at Taxila.

1. *Inscribed gold ring*

Sk. 194/8 is a plain gold finger-ring, 6¾ in. in diameter, with flattened bezel, engraved with Nandipada symbol and a Kharoshthī legend, which Sir John Marshall [1] read as *Sadralasa* (?). To judge from photographs and a cast the first two aksharas are much defaced. The second seems to me to be *dha*. With great reserve I therefore read:

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Sadhalasa.	Of Sadhala.

2. *Inscribed gold hoop finger-ring*

Sk. 194/10 is a gold hoop finger-ring, ⅞ in. in diameter, with oval bezel enclosing silver inlay and containing a legend in two lines,[2] one in Brāhmī, the other in Kharoshthī.

TEXT

Mahayaśaputrasa Manavasa.

TRANSLATION

Of Mānava, the son of Mahāyaśa.

3. *Inscribed copper ring*

A finger-ring of copper, ¾ in. in diameter, engraved with a sleeping lion and a Kharoshthī inscription, has been described by Sir John Marshall,[3] who read the inscription as *Mahajanaputra Dhaladapriyasa*. The accompanying plate seems to me to show:

TEXT

Mahajhanaputrasa Jhanapriyasa.

TRANSLATION

Of Dhyānapriya, the son of Mahādhyāna.

4. *Rectangular copper seal*

Sk. 1556 of 1925 is a rectangular copper seal, ½ in. × 1/32 in., showing a humped bull, above which there is a Kharoshthī legend, which seems to run *Yavalatrasa* or *Yavaletrasa*.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Yavala(le ?)trasa.	Of Yavalatra (or, Yavaletra).

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[1] ASIAR, 1912–13, p. 27 and plate XXI b 6.

[2] Cf. Marshall, ASIAR, 1912–13, p. 27 and plate XXI b 8.

[3] ASIAR, 1923–4, p. 66, plate XXVII, 3.

SEAL INSCRIPTIONS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

14 15

16

5. *Circular copper seal*

Sk. 1 of 1921 is a circular copper seal, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, showing a standing figure and a Kharoshthī legend which I cannot read with certainty. In front of the figure it seems possible to read *Yolamoṇalatra . . sa*, and behind *Budhalatrasa.* With the utmost reserve I read:

TEXT

Yolamonalatra[putra]sa Budhalatrasa.

TRANSLATION

Of Buddhalatra, the son of Yola Monalatra.

6. *Oval copper seal*

Sk. 1416 of 1925 is an oval copper seal, $\frac{6}{8}$ in. × $\frac{5}{8}$ in., showing a standing figure and a Kharoshthī legend, which has suffered much from corrosion. Behind the figure it seems possible to read *Matajha[ṇa]putrasa* and in front . . *jhanasa*, but the reading is extremely uncertain.

TEXT

Matajha[ṇa]putrasa . . jhanasa.

TRANSLATION

Of . . dhyāna, the son of Matadhyāna.

7. *Another oval copper seal*

Sk. 1301 of 1913–14 is another oval copper seal, $\frac{12}{16}$ in. × $\frac{11}{16}$ in., with a legend, which seems to be *denipasa*, though the first akshara might be *ja*.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Denipasa.	Of Denipa.

8. *Square copper seal with Brahman*

Sk. 3889 of 1926–7 is a square copper seal, $\frac{7}{16}$ in. × $\frac{7}{16}$ in., showing a Brahman sitting in a hut before an altar, with a Kharoshthī legend in front.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Bramadatasa.	Of Brahmadatta.

9. *Square copper seal with Nandipada*

Sk. 4263 of 1926–7 is a square copper seal, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $\frac{5}{8}$ in., showing a Nandipada and above a Kharoshthī legend.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Arajhamdasa.	Of Arajhanda.

10. *Terra-cotta seal*

Sk. 132 of 1926–7 is a round terra-cotta seal, 1 in. in diameter, with a Kharoshthī legend in two lines.

TEXT

L. 1 atavihare Mu-
2 drasatasa.

TRANSLATION

Of Mudrasata, in his own Vihāra.

11. *Copper seal with figure of Śiva*

A round copper seal, measuring 1·35 × 1·35 in., with two rings on the back, was found at Sirkap in the year 1914–15. It shows the figure of Śiva with trident in left hand and club in right. In the right field a Nandipada and a Kharoshthī legend in letters which strongly remind us of the Shahdaur inscription B of Śivarakshita. In the left field the same legend in Brāhmī.[1]

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Śivarakshitasa.	Of Śivarakshita.

12. *Bronze seal with Herakles*

An oval bronze seal, measuring 0·7 × 0·6 in., and acquired in the same year, shows Herakles trampling down a bull-shaped dragon. The Kharoshṭhī legend was read by Sir John Marshall[2] as *Tidusa Vibhumitrasa* (?). The first akshara is, however, so far as I can see, *ba*. *Baḍu* corresponds to Skr. *baṭu*, a Brahman boy. The second syllable of the second word seems to me to be an unmistakable *śpa*. I therefore read :

TEXT

Badusa Viśpamitrasa.

TRANSLATION

Of the young Brahman Viśvāmitra.

13. *Inscribed stone matrix*

An inscribed stone matrix was found in the year 1919–20.[3] In the right corner there is a distinct Kharoshthī *ga*, and in the centre, within an irregular circle, four aksharas which I would read as *Gayalasa*, of Gayala. There are two dots, under *ya* and *la* respectively, which I cannot explain.

14. *Inscribed pillar*

To the south-west of Sirkap, in a ravine close to the right bank of the Tamrā Nala and near the village of Dhibiā̃, Cunningham found the remains of a large monolith, called *chura* by the villagers, lying in five pieces. One of the pieces bore traces of a Kharoshṭhī inscription.[4] To judge from Cunningham's plate there were remnants of two lines. The first was read by Cunningham as *seracha*, and, if his plate is reliable, it must be fairly ancient, the shape of *sa* and *cha* being of about the same kind as in the Patika plate. In the second line we seem to have *sakha* and some blurred letters. The *sa* is, however, different from the *sa* of the first line, and may be misread for *ta*, in which case we might think of restoring *Takhaśilae*.

15. *Jandiāl pillar*

Another pillar was dug out by Cunningham in a mound to the north of Jandiāl, where Sir John Marshall later on laid bare a stūpa of two periods, 'built in the Scytho-Parthian epoch and rebuilt probably in the third century of our era'.[5] This pillar[6] was marked with a letter which Cunningham took to be a numerical figure. To judge from the reproduction, it may be a *da*.

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[1] See Marshall, ASIAR, 1914–15, p. 35, plate XXIV, 51.
[2] ASIAR, 1914–15, p. 35, plate XXIV, 50.
[3] ASIAR, 1919–20, p. 20, plate VIII, 1.
[4] Cunningham, ASI, ii, p. 126 and plate LIX, fig. 5.
[5] *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 94.
[6] Cunningham, l.c., p. 135, and plate LIX, fig. 6.

Lost silver roll

Cunningham mentions still another inscription from the same neighbourhood, which he had not himself seen. He says :[1] 'Mr. Delmerick has since made a discovery in this immediate neighbourhood: "To the west of Seri-ki-Pind, about a gunshot from the village, at a spot called *Thupi*, about 8 feet below the surface", was found a stone box, holding a wooden box, which held a silver box, inside which was a gold box, containing some small pearls, bits of gold, &c. The stone box was found in a square compartment, near which in a mass of earth was found a small roll of very thin silver, scarcely one inch in breadth and very friable, containing an inscription in Arian letters'. This silver scroll has apparently disappeared and there is no probability of its being ever recovered. For the remaining antiquities mentioned by Mr. Delmerick were evidently not taken care of, and some of them, viz. 'a small silver casket lenticular in shape, containing a smaller one of the same pattern in gold, and in the latter a small fragment of bone', seem to have been actually recovered by Sir John Marshall in the spoil earth at the side of the stūpa.[2]

XXXVIII. Plate XX. 16: SEAL INSCRIPTION OF ŚIVASENA

The name of a kshatrapa Śivasena occurs in the legend of a copper seal ring, which was found by Mr. Bayley in the Panjāb and described by Cunningham,[3] but which has since disappeared.

Cunningham read the seal legend as *Śivasena kshatrapa Atri naraṁ Pathanavare*, Śivasena, of the race of Atri, satrap of Pothowar, and saw in *Pathanavara* the old name of Pothowar, which is part of the Rāwalpiṇḍī district.

Professor Dowson gave a new reading,[4] viz. *Śivasena kshatrapa Atridara paṭana are* . . ., Śivasena kshatrapa, city of Atridara.

To judge from the plates *Śivasena kshatrapa* are certain, as is also the ensuing *a*. The next akshara, however, looks like *vri*, and the following one is perhaps *sa*. *Avrisara* may, of course, be misread for *avhisara*. Now if we bear in mind that intervocalic *bh* becomes *vh* or *v* in several cases in the Kharoshthī Dhammapada, and that *vr* is used in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises for an aspirated or strongly labialized *v*, it is perhaps possible to see in *avrisara* or *avhisara* the well-known *Abhisāra*, which has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein[5] with the hills between the Jhelam and the Chenāb and some time comprised also Hazāra.

The remaining portion of the legend seems to be *pathanaare*, followed by some unidentified symbols, though neither the *ṇa* nor the *a* appear to have been quite certain. It is perhaps possible to explain *patha* as corresponding to Skr. *prastha* and *ṇaare* as representing *nagare*, though the dropping of an intervocalic *g* is unparalleled, and the absence of reliable reproductions makes it necessary to consider every explanation as little more than a guess.

Text

Śivaseṇa kshatrapa Avri[sa]rapathanaare.

Translation

Śivasena, the kshatrapa in the town of Abhisāraprastha.

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[1] l. c., p. 135, footnote.

[2] See *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 95.

[3] JASB, xxiii, 1854, p. 698, and plate XXXV, no. 23.

[4] JRAS, xx, 1863, p. 249, and plate IV, fig. 6.

[5] Rājataraṅginī, i. 180; *The Geographical Journal*, 1927, p. 426.

XXXIX. Plate XV. 3: DEWAI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 200

Dewai is a small fort in the territory of the Nawāb of Amb, on the eastern slope of Mahāban, with some ancient remains, which were visited by Sir Aurel Stein in November 1904.[1] One of the inscribed stones collected by Sir Harold Deane was stated to have been found at Dewai. It is now Nr. I. 44 of the Lahore Museum. It is very rough, but has, on one side, a smoothened surface, 9 in. by 5 in., with three lines of Kharoshṭhī letters, varying in size between ½ in. and 2 in.

A photograph of the stone was sent by Sir Harold to M. Senart, who published the inscription with a plate.[2]

The characters are irregular and inconsistent, and it is evident that the engraver has been in possession of little skill. The distinct prolongation of the lower part of *sa* in the initial *saṁ*, the second *sa* of *masasa* and the *se* of *divase* seems to show that the letters of his draft belonged to a period intermediate between the Taxila silver scroll and Kanishka.

The reading of the date is quite certain: *saṁ 1 1 100 Veśakhasa masasa divase athame 4 4*, i. e. the 8th Vaiśākha 200, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk, to the 24th March, A.D. 116.

We may note the great diversity in the shape of the *sa*, and, on the whole, the careless execution of the aksharas. The first *sa* is fairly regular, with the projection of the leg which we know from old records, but the anusvāra curve runs into the head of *va* below. The *sa* of *Veśakhasa* and the first *sa* of *masasa* look like *ra*, while the second *sa* of *masasa* is provided with a sloping projection from the almost straight line formed by the lower bar of the head and the leg. A similar form is found in *divase*, where the top-stroke is continued in the *e*-mātrā. The *ve* of *Veśakhasa* looks almost like the *sa* of the same word. The *tha* of *athame* is continued in a flourish, which runs into the line below, and the *me* looks almost like a Brāhmī *ma*.

After the date M. Senart read *isme khanasa*, which he explained as corresponding to Skr. *asmin kshane*. The second akshara, however, does not seem to be *sme*, but *tra*. The only unusual feature is the backward curve of the bottom of *t*, below the *r*-stroke. A similar curve has sometimes, it is true, been transliterated as *m* in the compound *tma*, but there the curve is narrower and turned upwards at the termination. Moreover, the reading *tma* is, as indicated in connexion with the Taxila silver scroll, certainly wrong and should be replaced by *tva*. I therefore read *itra*, cf. *etra* in the Mānikiāla inscription. The next word is certainly *khaṇasa*, and this is evidently the same locative which we find in *asvi loki parasa yi*, Skr. *asmin loke parasmin cha*, A[3]6, C[ro] 30; *namaruvasa*, Skr. *nāmarūpe*, B 38, in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada, where we find the same change of *asi* to *asa*. *Khana* instead of the more usual *kshuna* should be compared with *Takhaśila* side by side with *Takshaśila*.

After *khanasa* comes an akshara which is almost invisible in M. Senart's plate, but which is evidently *da*. It must be drawn to l. 3.

L. 3. The next word was read as *nagachhatra*, or, in my transliteration, *ṇagakshatra*, by M. Senart, who compared Bühler's reading[3] *samanachhatra* in the Mathurā Lion

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[1] Cf. ASIFC, 1904–5, p. 32.

[2] JA, IX, iv, 1894, pp. 510 ff., and plate V, no. 34; cf. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 46, 68; Majumdar, List, no. 9.

[3] JRAS, 1894, p. 536.

Capital inscription E, which Bühler thought 'may perhaps be justified by the use of the term *chhattrī*, which in Rajputana and Gujarat is frequently used to denote the cenotaphs of princes and monks, over which an umbrella-like dome is erected'. *Chhattrī*, however, has an old *chh*, which is never written *ksha* in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

Nor do I think that M. Senart's reading can be accepted. The second akshara is, so far as I can see, a *mu*, of the same shape as in A 3 of the Mathurā Lion Capital, where it is likewise raised above the line. The left bar of an ordinary *ma* has been added, so that the akshara looks almost like *mo*. We may compare the *mu* of the Mount Banj inscription. The raised position makes, I think, the reading *mu* certain.

The next akshara seems to be *ho*. It might be *kho*, but the *o*-stroke stands too low down and the backward curve and continuation of the bottom is too pronounced to be accidental, and the *kha* of ll. 1 and 2 is too different. I therefore read the whole word as *daṇamuho*.

The next akshara was read *tra* by M. Senart, but it seems to me that we must read *to*, though we have not the same backward curve as in *itra*, l. 2, and though there is a projection of the lower limb above the *o*-stroke. To read *so* seems unlikely in face of the other *sa*'s.

What follows after *to* was taken to be a *da* by M. Senart, but I have already stated that I think it belongs to the *ṭha* of l. 2. A comparison of the difficult passage following after *rajami* in l. 2 of the Zeda inscription shows that such must be the case. There we have an akshara resembling what I have read as *to*, followed by a distinct *ya*, with a hook attached to the right limb. In the same way we have, after the *to* and M. Senart's *da*, a *ya*, with a long line at the bottom. The same word is evidently contained in both records, and we must infer that nothing intervenes between *to* and *ya*. The Zeda inscription also shows that the akshara after *to* cannot be *śa*, as read by M. Senart, but must be *ya*. The meaning of the horizontal crossing the right bar of this *ya* must evidently be the same as that of the hook attached to the corresponding *ya* of the Zeda inscription, which, in its turn, is so like the anusvāra of *saṁ*, the first akshara of the inscription, that it seems necessary to read the letter as *yaṁ*.

The ensuing letter was left untransliterated by M. Senart. Its shape is irregular, but it bears resemblance to the *da* of *divase* above, and as the corresponding letter in the Zeda inscription is certainly *da*, I read it as *da*. We thus get at a word *toyada* or *toyaṁda*, which is only known from these two inscriptions. It seems to be formed in the same way as *dhanaṁjaya*, and to mean 'water-giver'. In the Zeda inscription the *toyaṁda* is mentioned in connexion with a well, and it seems likely that it denotes some contrivance or place for drawing or serving water. But we cannot say what is exactly meant.

The next letter was also left untransliterated by M. Senart. It consist of a long vertical, with a sloping top-line and a semicircle attached to its middle. The semicircle reminds us of the back-limb of *bha* in the Wardak Vase inscription, and it is perhaps possible to read *bha*. The next two letters were read *trasa* by M. Senart, but it also seems possible to read *drasa*, and, with every reserve, I read the whole as *bhadrasa*.

After this word M. Senart read *ima*. It will be seen, however, that the bottom of the first letter is curved backwards and that the *i*-stroke has not the same slope as in *i* of l. 2. I therefore think that we must read *hi*. Moreover, there are traces of a damaged letter after *ma*, which I take to have been *sa*. I therefore read *himasa* and see in this the genitive of a name which may be compared with the name *Himmaka*, Rājataraṅginī VI. 213 ff.

The reading and interpretation of the record are, as it will be seen, partly uncertain, in consequence of the careless execution.

TEXT

L. 1 sa[ṁ] 1 1 100 Veśakhasa masasa di-
2 vase aṭhame 4 4 itra khanasa [da]-
3 ṇamu[ho] toyaṁ[da] bha[dra]sa Hima[sa].

TRANSLATION

Anno 200, on the eighth, 8., day of the month Vaiśākha, at this instant a water-giver is the gift of the worthy Hima.

XL. PLATE XXI. 1: LORIYĀN TANGAI PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 318

The ruined stūpa of Loriyān Tangai is situated in the valley (*tangai*) of Loriyān, or, according to M. Foucher,[1] perhaps Rālyan, near the northern opening of the Shāhkot pass into Lower Swāt, to the south-east of the Aladand fortress and near the village Piyalāna. It was excavated in the spring of 1896 by Mr. A. E. Caddy, and the result was a collection of Gandhāra sculptures, most of which are now to be found in the Calcutta Museum.

According to M. Foucher,[2] the period of the stūpa is late, perhaps the second century A.D.

Among the sculptures is a statue, No. 4901 of the Calcutta Museum, which has been illustrated and described by Professor Vogel.[3] It is much injured, the head, the left foot, and the two hands being broken off. The pedestal shows, in the centre, a seated Bodhisattva, with two male devotees to the left and two female ones to the right.

Beneath this relief is a raised border, and below a plain surface containing a Kharoshṭhī inscription in two lines, which has been noticed or edited by Messrs. Hoernle,[4] Senart,[5] Vogel,[6] Banerji,[7] and Majumdar.[8]

The length of the two lines is 16 in. and 8½ in., respectively, and the size of individual letters varies between ½ in. and 1½ in.

The characters are evidently late. We may note the short vertical terminating the horizontals in *ṭha*, *va* and *ra*, and the square *ya* with the left limb projecting above the top-line, which we know from the Ārā inscription.

The date is quite clear, viz. *sa 1 1 1 100 10 4 4 Proṭhavadasa di 20 4 1 1 1*, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, to the 27th August A.D. 234.

Then follows *Budhaghoshasa daṇamukhe*, where only the final akshara, the last of l. 1, is damaged.

L. 2 opens with *Saghorumasa*, which name Professor Vogel has rightly explained

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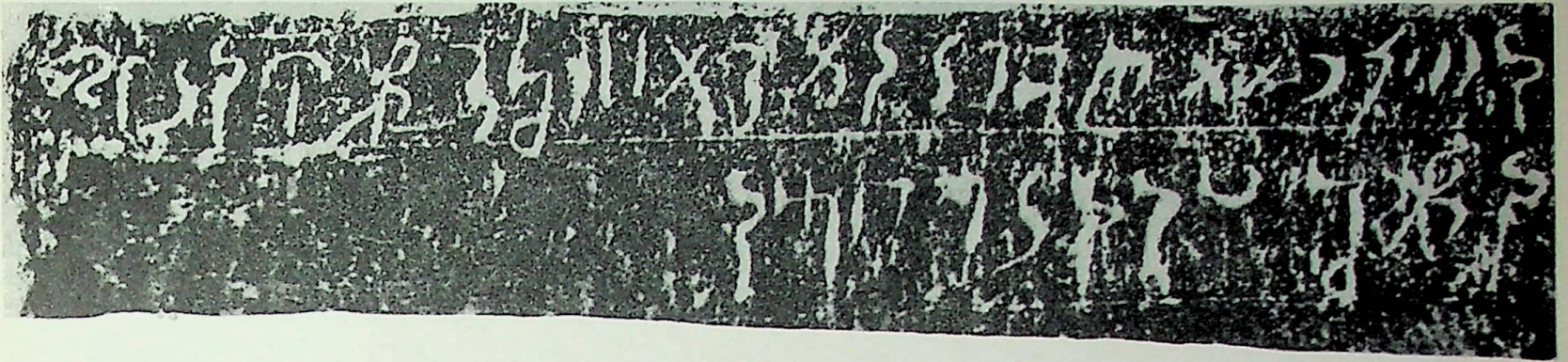
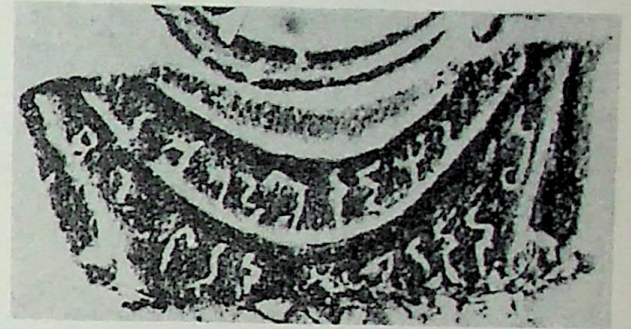
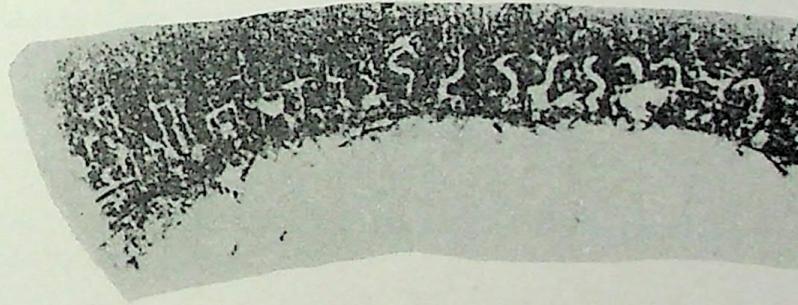
1 JA, IX, xiii, 1899, p. 528.
2 *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, ii, p. 490[1].
3 ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 251, plate LXIX b.
4 A. Caddy, *Report to the Government of Bengal* (Chakdara, the 13th May, and Mansahera, the 18th July, 1896), pp. 10 f.
5 JA, IX, xiii, 1899, pp. 526 ff., with plate.
6 ASIPU, 1903–4, pp. 50, 53; 1904–5, pp. 20 f.; ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 251 ff., and plate LXX, no. 5.
7 *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 40.
8 J&PASB, xviii, 1922, pp. 63 f., and plate IV; List, no. 33.

LORIYĀN TANGAI

1. No. 4901. YEAR 318

2. No. 4860

3. No. 4871

4. No. 4995

5. No. 5095

as corresponding to Skr. *Saṁghavarma*, taking Saṁghavarma to be a second donor in addition to Buddhaghosha.

The last word was read as *sadarabhatisa*, 'together with his wife and brother', by M. Senart, and as *sadareśarisa* by Professor Vogel and Mr. Majumdar, the latter adding the translation 'together with his wife Īśvarī'.

Now we shall see that the same word recurs in other Loriyān Tangai inscriptions, in connexion with other names, and we should have to infer that the name Īśvarī must have been very common, if Mr. Majumdar's translation were right.

Moreover, we have no examples of the mentioning of two donors in this way, and, further, it would not be good grammar to draw the concluding word to the last name only.

A priori we should expect the last word of the record to indicate some relationship between the two persons mentioned. We may compare, e.g., the Brāhmī inscriptions nos. 29, 40, 918, and 925 of Lüders' List: *aryya-Oghasya śishya gaṇisya aryya-Pālasya śraddhacharo vāchakasya aryya-Dattasya śishyo vāchako arrya-Sīhā*, the preacher Ārya-Siṁha, the pupil of the preacher Ārya-Datta, (who was) the companion (*sārdhaṁchara*) of the *gaṇin* Ārya-Pāla, (who was) the pupil of Ārya-Ogha; *dānaṁ bhīkshusya Buddhadāsasya Saṅghamītrasadevihārisa*, gift of the monk Buddhadāsa, the companion of Saṁghamitra; *bhikshusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevihārisya bhikshusya Balasya*, of the friar Bala, the companion of the friar Pushyavṛiddhi.

These inscriptions give us the clue to the correct reading and interpretation of this and other Loriyān Tangai records.

The third akshara, after *sada* is, so far as I can see, whether *ra* nor *re*, but *vi*, and the fourth is, as already stated, clearly the same *ya* as is found in the Ārā inscription. We must, therefore, read *sadaviyarisa*, and it is evident that this means the same thing as *sārdhaṁchara* and *sārdhaṁvihārin* in the Brāhmī inscriptions quoted above, one of which had the same *d* for *dh* as our record. We may compare the *sārdhaṁvihārin* of the Divyāvadāna and Pāli *saddhivihārī*, which show how familiar this word was with ancient Buddhists. We have already seen that we must reckon with a rather advanced stage of development in the Loriyān Tangai dialect, where *Saṁghavarma* becomes *Saṁghoruma*, and the substitution of *y* for *h* in *sadaviyari* cannot make difficulties. It is, however, possible that the word represents Skr. **sārdhaṁvichārin*. The meaning remains the same.

Text

L. 1 Sa 1 1 1 100 10 4 4 Prothavadasa di 20 4 1 1 1 Budhaghoshasa danamu[khe]
2 Saghorumasa sadaviyarisa.

Translation

Anno 318, the 27. d. of Praushṭhapada, gift of Buddhaghosha, the companion of Saṁghavarma.

XLI. Plate XXI. 2: LORIYĀN TANGAI INSCRIPTION, No. 4860

No. 4860 of the Calcutta Museum, entered in the books on the 20th January, 1898, as brought from Loriyān Tangai by Mr. Caddy, is a statue, representing the Buddha sitting cross-legged, in the dhyānamudrā, on a lotus fruit.

Below the folds of the garment is a Kharoshṭhī inscription in two lines, 5 in. and 3¼ in. long respectively, which has not formerly been noticed.

The aksharas, which are of the same kind as in other Loriyān Tangai inscriptions, vary in size from ¼ in. to 1¼ in., and are badly drawn and executed with little

care and understanding. We may note the late shape of *bu*, which reminds us of the Jauliã records, the quite exceptional *mu*, and the ancient *sa*, with a distinct prolongation of the lower limb. There cannot be any doubt that the style is very debased.

The first letter is clearly *bu*, and the next *dho*. The top-stroke is very faint, but the alignment of the akshara shows that it cannot be *ro*. The third is *ru*, with a defective *u*-loop, and the fourth and fifth *masa*. We must, consequently, read *Budhorumasa*, a form of the same kind as *Saghoruma* in the preceding inscription.

The next word is clearly *daṇamukh*[*e*], though the writing is rather irregular. The *da* and the *ṇa* have been connected by bending the vertical of *ṇa* backwards; the *mu* has an exceptional shape, and the *e*-stroke of *khe* is almost invisible.

The second line presents so many curious forms that the reading can only be conjectural.

The first akshara may be *khaṁ* and the second *da*. The third reminds us of the second *ba* of the Loriyān Tangai inscription No. 4871. But there we have a horizontal top-bar continued in a small curve forwards instead of a vertical. Here we have a letter looking like an *a*, with a broad curve attached to the termination. If we compare the writing of *dana* in l. 1, we become inclined to think of a cursive *vaṇa*. *Khaṁdavana* might be compared with the name *Khandagiri* and be considered as the name of the place where the stūpa is situated. Then follows an akshara which might be *ru*, or rather *tu*. The *u*-curve seems to be of the same kind as in *ru*, l. 1. The next akshara is apparently *ba*, of an older shape than in l. 1, and then follows what is almost certainly *ga*. The last letter, finally, might be *mi*. *Tubagami* might be a contamination of *stubagami* and *thubagami* and represent a Skr. *stūpake*.[1] With the utmost reserve I therefore read as follows:

TEXT

L. 1 Bu[dh]orumasa danamukh[e]
2 Khaṁda[vanatu]baga[mi].

TRANSLATION

Gift of Buddhavarma, in the Khandavana stūpa.

XLII. PLATE XXI. 3: LORIYĀN TANGAI INSCRIPTION, No. 4871

No. 4871 of the Calcutta Museum, entered in the books on the 20th January, 1898, is a statue from Loriyān Tangai, which has been illustrated and described by Professor Vogel[2] as probably belonging to a comparatively late date. It represents the Buddha, seated cross-legged on an ornamental stool.

The sculpture is provided with a Kharoshṭhī inscription in two lines, 4½ in. and 5 in. long, incised on the cloth hanging down from the Buddha's seat and following the folds of the drapery. The size of individual letters varies from ½ in. to 1 in. The middle portion of the second line is defaced.

The inscription was read by Professor Vogel[3] as *Budhamitrasa Budharakshidasa sada*[*reśari*]*sa daṇamukhe.*

The first akshara stands alone between two folds, and is of the same kind as in No. 4860. The second *bu* has its top turned into a forward curve, probably on account of the rounding of the stone. The *kshi* is irregular and looks almost like a *di*.

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[1] Cf. Prākrit *tena*, Skr. *stena*, &c.; Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 307.
[2] ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 253, with plate LXVIII a.
[3] l. c., pp. 245, no. 9, 253, with plate LXX, no. 8; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 32.

L. 2. The first three aksharas are clearly *sasada*, though the third might be *dra*. The fourth consists of a sloping angle and can hardly be anything else than *ya*. The fifth is a damaged *ri*, and it is separated from the ensuing *sa* by an interval. We thus have *sadayarisa*, which may be a slip for *sadaviyarisa* or a synonym, Skr. **sārdhaṁchārin*. The two last aksharas are damaged, but certainly *mukhe*.

TEXT

L. 1 Budhamitrasa [Bu]dharakshida-
2 sa sadayarisa dana[mukhe].

TRANSLATION

Gift of Buddhamitra, the companion of Buddharakshita.

XLIII. PLATE XXI. 4: LORIYĀN TANGAI INSCRIPTION, No. 4995

No. 4995 of the Calcutta Museum, entered in the Museum register on the 21st January, 1898, is a headless statue from Loriyān Tangai, representing a Bodhisattva, sitting in European fashion on a stool. The right leg has been drawn up; the left foot and the sandal of the right one are placed on a footstool shaped like a lotus-fruit.

The footstool bears a Kharoshthī inscription, which is much damaged, because the bottom of the stone is broken. It has been edited by Professor Vogel, with plates illustrating the image and the inscription.[1]

The inscription consists of one line, with some aksharas added above the last letters, and is about 7 in. long, the size of individual letters varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The bottom of most aksharas is damaged, and the reading is, on the whole, beset with difficulties.

The characters are of the same late type as in other Loriyān Tangai records. We may note the shape of *mu*, the position of the *e*-stroke above the head of *kha*, and the *pa*-like *ya*.

Professor Vogel read the two first words as *Amohakasa danamukhe* and left the remaining portion untransliterated.

The first akshara is almost certainly *a*. The second may be *mo*, though the *o*-stroke is placed at the right extremity of the upper curve and seems to project a little above the curve. This projection is, however, perhaps not intended. On the other hand, our akshara is strikingly like the *ksha* of *Budharakshidasa* in no. 4871, and as the bottom is broken off, the vertical has evidently been longer. I therefore think it probable that we should read *ksha* or *kshe*. The third letter can be *i* or *hi*. The bottom is broken, so that we cannot see whether it was curved back or not. The *i*-stroke is certain. Then follows the top of an *a*. The apparent *i*-stroke is nothing else than the broken edge of the stone. The ensuing *sa* is certain. With every reserve I therefore read *akshaïasa* or *aksheiasa*, taking *akshaïa*, *aksheia* to be a name, Skr. *akshayika* or *akshayya*.

The next word is *danamukhe*, with a dental *n*.

The next letter is evidently the upper portion of a *sa*, and what follows looks like the *dha* of the Jauliã inscriptions. Then comes a letter which might be *thu* or *rma*. It seems possible to read the two next aksharas as *rata*, and the whole may be *sadharmarata*, Skr. *saddharmarata*, rejoicing in the true law.

Then comes an akshara which looks like *śa*, and further a continuation of the left upright in a broad curve, so that the whole looks like *śama*, written together somewhat like *dana* in no. 4860. A long vertical is then drawn parallel to the left bar, perhaps as

[1] ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 254, and plates LXVIII c and LXX, fig. 7; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 30.

a correction in order to separate *śa* and *ma*. The next akshara may be *na*. Then comes a vertical, with an indenture towards the top, followed by a *sa*, raised above the line, and a *da*. Above the last aksharas we can distinguish a *ya*, a *ri* at a somewhat higher level, and a *sa*. With great reserve I therefore read *śamanasa sadayarisa* and restore the whole as follows:

TEXT

A[kshaï]asa danamukhe Sa[dharmarataśamanasa sadayarisa].

TRANSLATION

Gift of Akshayika, the companion of the Śramana Saddharmarata.

XLIV. Plate XXI. 5: LORIYĀN TANGAI INSCRIPTION, No. 5095

No. 5095 of the Calcutta Museum, entered in the register on the 25th January, 1898, is a fragmentary bas-relief from Loriyān Tangai, representing a preaching Buddha sitting cross-legged on a full-blown lotus.

Below is a Kharoshṭhī inscription, 7¾ in. long, with letters ½ in. to ¾ in. high, which has been edited by Professor Vogel.[1]

With regard to the characters we may again note the position of the *e*-stroke in (*danamu*)*khe*.

The first words are certainly, as read by Professor Vogel, *Sihamitrasa danamukhe*, though the *i*-stroke of *Si* is very indistinct.

The third word he read as *Sahilaasa*, Skr. *Sāhilakasya*, and this reading is perhaps the most likely one. In the photograph, however, there are faint traces of an *i*-stroke across the first akshara, and I am inclined to read *si*; cf. the name *Sihila* in the Taxila Vase inscription. The bottom stroke of *hi* is almost invisible, but certain. There is a very distinct line running obliquely into the front-limb of *la*, and it seems necessary to read *li*. *Sihilia* may be compared with *Akshaïa* of no. 4995.

Then follow *sa*, *da*, and, so far as I can see, *vi*, for which Dr. Vogel read *re*. I restore *sadaviyarisa*.

TEXT

Sihamitrasa danamukhe S[i]hil[i]asa sadavi[yarisa*].

TRANSLATION

Gift of Siṁhamitra, the companion of Sihilika.

XLV. Plate XXII. 1: JAMĀLGARHĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 359

According to Cunningham,[2] Jamālgarhī is a village to the south of the Pājā ridge, which separates Lūnkhor from Sūdam, just at the point where the Gadar Rūd breaks through the hills. It is nearly equidistant from Mardān, Takht-i-Bāhī, and Shāhbāz-garhī. From the first it bears nearly due north eight miles; from the second it bears east-north-east; and from the last it is nearly north-west. It is situated in 34° 20′ N. and 72° 5′ E.

During the excavations carried on by the Archaeological Department in the winter 1920–1 an inscribed stone was found in removing the debris in court 7. Estampages were sent to the Director General, at whose request Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni

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[1] ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 253 f., with plates LXVIII b and LXX, fig. 6; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 31.
[2] ASI, v, 1875, p. 46.

prepared a preliminary transcript, which was published by Mr. Hargreaves[1] with some remarks contributed by Professor Thomas.

Mr. Hargreaves describes the stone as a rough block of greenish mica schist, measuring 21 in. × 10 in. × 3 in. The inscribed portion is 20 in. × 3 in. and is smoothly dressed. The stone is broken at both ends and the back is irregular. Mr. Hargreaves thinks that it was one of the courses of a wall, as both ends and the back were not originally carefully dressed. From the general appearance he infers that the missing portion cannot have been great.

The stone is now in the Peshāwar Museum as Inscription no. 23.

The inscription consists of two lines, separated by a deep line over the whole surface, and the average height of the aksharas is 1 in. They are deeply cut and regular in shape, and can, on the whole, be read without any difficulty. There is, however, a damaged portion towards the end of l. 1, and in a few places the engraving has caused the stone to peel off outside the outlines of the letters.

The execution of the characters seems to be very careful, and they have a very ornamental look. On the other hand, there are almost no characteristic features, which enable us to draw chronological conclusions. We may note the *ña* of l. 2, with the curve at the top of the vertical, which has its nearest parallels in Aśoka's inscriptions. The general impression left by the inscription is that it has been drawn up by a calligrapher and not by a person who was in the habit of using the alphabet for practical purposes. Moreover, we are sometimes reminded of the Jauliã inscriptions, where we find something of the same ornamentalism and very similar forms of individual letters; cf. *ka*, *ga*, *ta*, *da*, *dha*, *na*, *ra*, and *sa*.

L. 1 opens with the date, and it is not likely that anything is missing. The first akshara is *saṁ*, where the anusvāra is marked by a slight forward bend of the vertical. Then follow the figures 1 1 1 100 20 20 10 4 4 1, i. e. 359, where the second 20 is written so near the ensuing 10 that it has evidently been added subsequently. It also stands so near the preceding 20 that it cannot well have been written before the 10 had been incised. The engraver evidently first wrote 339, and then noticed that he had made a mistake and added the second 20. It is less likely that he has wanted to correct 339 to 349, because the 10 was evidently there in his draft.

Then follows a word which Mr. Daya Ram suggested to read as *iśpaïlasa* or *ikaïlasa*, but which Professor Thomas was no doubt right in reading as *aśpaïusa*, Skr. *aśvayujaḥ*. It will be seen that the stone has peeled off in several places, so that it looks as if there were a horizontal across the head of the initial *a*, an *u*-loop below *ï*, and only traces of the loop of *u*. Then follows *paḍhaṁmaṁmi*, with anticipation of the ensuing nasal in the second and third syllables; cf. *daṇaṁmukhe* in the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168.

The date is, accordingly, the first Aśvayuj 359, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, to the 24th August A. D. 275.

Then follows *shavaena*, i. e. Skr. *śrāvakeṇa*, and *Podaena*, where the stone has peeled off, so that the head of *e* looks as if it were broken above, and, on the other hand, joined the curve of *na*, which is, in its turn, damaged, the result being an akshara looking like *ksha*. Moreover, the peeling off has brought about the appearance of a big loop at the bottom of *na*. There cannot, however, be any doubt about the reading *Podaena*, which word gives the name of the *śrāvaka*. We may compare names such as Pota, Potaya, which occur in later inscriptions.[2]

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[1] ASIFC, 1920–1, pp. 5 f., 21, no. 42; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 14.

[2] Cf. e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, v, p. 68; viii, p. 10; xi, p. 316; xiii, pp. 2, 10.

After *Podaena* the peeling off is more extensive than elsewhere, and the lines visible are rather confused. Mr. Majumdar reads *su*, which he connects with the ensuing letters, *haehi*, to *suhaehi*, Skr. *suhṛidaiḥ*, with his friends. The plate will show that the stone is damaged in this place, in addition to the peeling off consequent of the engraving. Even the deep line separating ll. 1 and 2 has disappeared, and also the aksharas in l. 2 below are damaged. It therefore seems to me that the big loop below the missing akshara is of the same kind as the apparent loop below the preceding *na*, and I read *sahaehi*, Skr. *sahāyaiḥ* or *sahāyebhyaḥ*, the same word as is used in the Fatehjang and Peshāwar Museum inscriptions, though *saha ehi*, together with these, is also possible.

Then follow *pida* and a damaged akshara which cannot be anything else than *pu*. We shall see below that only two aksharas seem to be missing in l. 2. If we assume that not more has been lost in l. 1 neither, we become inclined to restore *pidaputrehi*.

L. 2. The first akshara is damaged. The existing traces are more in favour of *u* than of *o*. Then comes *ḍiliakehi*, with peelings off producing the appearance of a continuous line from the right end of the *i*-stroke of *hi* and to the upright of *a*. *Uḍiliaka* is evidently the designation of the companions, *sahāyas*, mentioned in l. 1, who apparently comprise a family, and it is just as inexplicable as other designations of such associations (*sahāyas*, *sahacharas*) in other inscriptions.[1]

The next four letters were read as *iveruña* by Mr. Daya Ram, while Mr. Majumdar seems to read *ive radna*, which he translates 'a jewel, i. e. an image of the Buddha'. I follow him in thinking that the marks in front of *ra*, which Mr. Daya Ram took to be an *u*-loop, are simply due to the peeling off of the stone. The last akshara, on the other hand, is certainly *ñe*. If we compare *rajarañami* of the Hidda and *tanuvakaṁmi raṁñaṁmi* of the Kurram inscription, it seems probable that *rañe* is Prākrit *raṇṇe*, Skr. *araṇye*, in the forest, grove.

The preceding *ive* is more difficult. We might think of explaining *i* as corresponding to Skr. *cha*[2] and *vẹ* to *vai*. If we compare the shortening of the left limb of *śa* in *śe* of the first line of the Pājā inscription, which hails from the same neighbourhood, we shall, however, become inclined to think that *ive* is misdrawn for *iśe*.

Then follows *preṭhavide*, which evidently corresponds to Skr. *pratishṭhāpitaḥ*. We have already found *pre* for *prati* in the Taxila gold plate.

The next word was read *dhamaükhe* by Mr. Daya Ram, who tentatively explained it as corresponding to Skr. *dharmavṛikshaḥ*. I think, however, that Professor Thomas was right in reading *dhamaüte*, Skr. *dharmayukta*. There is a short stroke to the right of *ma*, but it is evidently due to the peeling off of the stone. In *ute* for *yuktaḥ* we may note the regular *t* for *tt*, old *kt*, while an uncompound intervocalic *t* becomes *d* in *Podaena*, *pida-*, *preṭhavide*.

Of the next word, which cannot have contained more than two aksharas, only the first one is partly preserved. It seems to be *o*. If we compare what follows with the fifth akshara of the line, we shall find so much similarity that I feel justified in restoring *ke*, explaining *oke* as corresponding to Skr. *okaḥ*, Pāli *okaṁ*, a homestead, an asylum.

The remaining aksharas are perfectly clear, *parigrahe sarvasa*, and as the traces of a letter visible after *sa* seem to be the angular back-limb of a *pa*, we can restore the last word as *sarvasapana*.

It is accordingly possible to restore the whole record with great probability as follows:

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[1] We may perhaps compare forms of the name Udyāna such as those mentioned by Professor Thomas, JRAS, 1906, p. 461.

[2] Cf. *ya* in the Mathurā Lion Capital and Wardak Vase inscriptions, *yi* in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada A[3] 6, B 34; *i*, ibidem, B 17, 36.

1. JAMĀLGAṚHĪ. YEAR 359

Scale 0·40

2. JAMALGAṚHI PEDESTAL

Scale 0·50

3. JAMĀLGAṚHĪ HALO. CUNNINGHAM

4. JAMĀLGAṚHĪ PILASTER

5. LAHORE HALO

Scale 0·50

6. LAHORE PEDESTAL

Full size

7. JAMĀLGAṚHĪ LAMP

Scale 0·40

8. JAMĀLGAṚHĪ SLAB

Scale 0 25

9. PĀLĀṬŪ ḌHERĪ PEDESTAL

Scale 0·80

10. HASHTNAGAR. YEAR 384

Scale 0·6c

TEXT

L. 1 saṁ 1 1 1 100 20 20 10 4 4 1 Aśpaï[u]sa paḍhaṁmaṁmi shavaena Poda[ena sa]haehi pida[pu][trehi*]

2 [U]ḍiliakehi i[ś]e rañe preṭhavide dhamaüte [oke] parigrahe sarvasa[pana*].

TRANSLATION

Anno 359, on the first of Aśvayuj, an asylum connected with religion was established in this grove by the śrāvaka Potaka, with (*or*, for) the Uḍḍiliaka companions, father and sons, in the acceptance of all beings.

XLVI. PLATE XXII. 2: JAMĀLGAṚHĪ PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

In the year 1907–8 Dr. Spooner obtained a fragment of a small sculpture from a peasant at Jamālgaṛhī, who stated that it had been found in a neighbouring field.[1] On his visit to the site in January 1912 Sir Aurel Stein purchased another fragment from a cultivator, probably the very person who brought the first one.[2]

The two pieces fit together and form the pedestal of a standing statue, of which only the feet are left. It is now in the Peshāwar Museum, No. 501.

Below the statue is a defaced figure, seated cross-legged on a throne, between Corinthian pilasters, and with two attendants on each side, and further down is a Kharoshṭhī inscription[3] in two lines, the lower, longer, one 11 in., the upper $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. The characters are from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 1 in. high.

The characters are on the whole well drawn, but the *ga* of l. 2 is misshapen and looks like *ti*, with a small vertical in the top angle, which has its parallel in the *ga* of the upper line of the Shahr-i-Nāpursān pedestal inscription. They are evidently late. *Kha* reminds us of the Ārā and Jauliā̃ inscriptions, *ṭha* of the Ārā and Dewai records, *ya* of the Wardak Vase, and *sa* of the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, and, in the word *vaseṭha*, of the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168.

L. 1. The first letter is hopelessly defaced. The existing traces may be interpreted as pointing to *a* or *aṁ*. The second seems to be *ba*, and the third is *e*. We may perhaps restore *aṁbae* and see in this the genitive of *aṁbā*. There are some indistinct traces of letters in the space above, and it is possible that it contained the name of a person in the genitive, in which case we should have to translate 'by the mother of . . .'. Or else *Ambā* may be the name of a woman.

Then follows a *sa*, with a small vertical above the head, which might be an *e*-stroke. If we compare the unmistakable *se* which follows, however, and the sixth akshara from the end, where we have a similar vertical, we become inclined to consider the apparent vertical as accidental and to read *sa*. The next aksharas are clearly *vaseṭhabhariae*,[4] and we must, accordingly, read *savaseṭhabhariae*, which can hardly mean anything else than 'together with Vaseṭha's (Vāsishṭha's) wife'. It is accordingly tempting to restore *Vaseṭhasa aṁbae savaseṭhabhariae*, of the mother of Vāsishṭha together with Vāsishṭha's wife.

The next words are *daṇamukhe sa[rvasa]tvaṇa puyae*, where the *ṇa* of *daṇa* has an

[1] Cf. ASIFC, 1907–8, p. 3.

[2] Ibidem, 1911–12, p. v; ASIAR, 1911–12, Pt. I, pp. 23 f.

[3] Majumdar, List, no. 20.

[4] It is hardly possible to read *savaseṭhabhatiae*, together with her brother (*bhrātṛika*) Vāsishṭha, if we compare the difference in shape between *tva*, l. 1, and *ro*, l. 2.

unusual bend of the vertical, *rva* is damaged, and the ensuing *sa* has disappeared in the break between the two pieces of which the pedestal consists.

Then follows a *sa* with a curve to the right, which might be explained as a subscript *pa*, assuming *sva* to have become *spa* in the same way as *śva* becomes *śpa*. It seems, however, more probable that the curved hook is the sign of length which we find, in this form, in the Sanskrit verses contained in one of the Kharoshṭhī documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan,[1] and I therefore read *sā*, and take this together with the ensuing aksharas, *miasa*, to represent Skr. *svāmikasya*, of the master, wherewith it is difficult to say whether the 'master' is the husband or the ruler or principal.

The next akshara seems to be *cha*, but the head is damaged. Then follows an incomplete *a*, which is to be connected with the letters written above in the upper line, which are evidently meant to be *rogadakshiṇi*, though the *ga* is misdrawn and looks like *ti*, with a small vertical in the angle of the head, as mentioned above. It is possible that the draft has had *gha*, as in the Taxila meridarkh plate, which helps us to restore the whole as *arogadakshiṇiae*.

TEXT

L. 1 [aṁ]bae saVaseṭhabhariae daṇamukhe sa[rva][sa*]tvaṇa puyae sāmiasa [cha a-]
2 ro[ga]dakshiṇi[ae*].

TRANSLATION

Gift of the mother (*or*, Ambā), together with the wife of Vāsishṭha, in honour of all beings and for the benefit of health for the Master.

XLVII. PLATE XXII. 3: JAMĀLGAṚHĪ IMAGE HALO INSCRIPTION

On the halo of a statue from Jamālgaṛhī, which seems at the present day to have disappeared, Cunningham found a short Kharoshṭhī inscription, which he read as *saphae danamukha*.[2] M. Senart[3] suggested to read the first word as *saphala*, and Professor Vogel[4] read *saphale*, while Mr. Majumdar[5] seems to read *saphae*, but translates 'fruitful'.

If any reliance can be placed in Cunningham's plate, we can only read *saphae*, or, perhaps, *suphae*. And the analogy of all records containing the word *daṇamukha* shows that it must be the genitive of a name, denoting the donor. *Sapha* or *Supha* might correspond to Greek Σόφη.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Saphae daṇamukha.	Gift of Saphā.

XLVIII. PLATE XXII. 4: JAMĀLGAṚHĪ PILASTER BASE INSCRIPTION

Cunningham also found at Jamālgaṛhī part of a pilaster base, bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription.[6] A new reading was given by Professor Vogel.[7]

The fragment was deposited in the Calcutta Museum, but has been lost sight of. I now edit the inscription from a photograph.[8]

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[1] Cf. Stein, *Serindia*, plate XXIV.
[2] ASI, v, 1875, pp. 49, 63 f., and plate XVI, 8.
[3] JA, VIII, XV, 1890, p. 132.
[4] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 53; ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 248 f.
[5] List, no. 16.
[6] l. c., p. 63, and plate XVI, 7.
[7] ll. cs. pp. 52 and 54, and p. 248; Majumdar, no. 15.
[8] Bloch, *List of Negatives, Indian Museum*, no. 997.

It consists of two lines, the first of which is incomplete. The characters seem to be of the same kind as in the Hashtnagar inscription.

The first word was restored by Professor Vogel as *Budhavarumasa*, Skr. *Buddhavarmaṇaḥ*. Cunningham read *Budhavara masa*. A *Buddhavarma* is mentioned in a Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 51.[1]

After *Budhavarumasa* we have a distinct *che*, which may perhaps be restored into *chetiye*, Skr. *chaitye*. After this we should expect some such word as *danamukhe*.

L. 2 was read by Professor Vogel as [*eka*] *thuna*, Skr. *ekā sthūṇā*, one pillar. We may compare the gift of Chaitya pillars (*chetiyakhabha*) registered in two Amarāvatī inscriptions.[2]

TEXT

L. 1 Budhavarumasa che[tiye danamukhe*]
2 [eka] thuna.

TRANSLATION

(Gift) of Buddhavarma (in the) chai(tya), one pillar.

XLIX. PLATE XXII. 5: LAHORE MUSEUM HALO INSCRIPTION

The Budhavaruma inscription bears great similarity to a fragmentary record found on a broken Buddha image of unknown provenance, which is now No. 257 of the Lahore Museum.[3]

The inscription is found on the broken halo behind the head. It is only a fragment, 3½ in. long, and the characters are ¼ in. to 1¼ in. high.

It has been published by Professor Vogel,[4] whose reading and restoration are *Bosavarumasa da*[*ṇamukhe**]. The name *Bosavaruma*, with its dental *s*, does not look Indian. Professor Lüders has suggested to me that *bosa* may be the Chinese *p'u-sa*, a Bodhisattva, and it is tempting to accept this explanation. At the time when our inscription was drawn up Chinese *p'u-sa* was certainly pronounced with a *b* and an *o*. The pronunciation in the T'ang period was, according to Karlgren No. 1167, *b'uo-sât*.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Bosavarumasa da[namukhe*].	Gift of Bosavarman.

L. PLATE XXII. 6: LAHORE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

There is also another fragmentary inscription, of unknown origin, which seems to agree with the Jamālgaṛhī records in palaeography. It is found on a pedestal, No. 679 of the Lahore Museum, showing the feet of a Bodhisattva, with a relief below.[5]

On the border below the relief are two Kharoshthī letters, ¾ in. high, after which the surface of the stone is destroyed over a distance of 2½ in., so that not more than ten aksharas can have been lost.

The record has been edited by Professor Vogel,[6] who read the aksharas as *saṁhe*

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[1] Lüders, List, no. 52.

[2] Lüders, List, no. 1210, 1229.

[3] Vogel, ASIAR, 1903–4, pl. LXVI. 3.

[4] ASIPU, 1903–4, pp. 50, 53, and l.c., pp. 244, no. 3, p. 249, and plate LXX. 2; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 27.

[5] Burgess, *Journal of Indian Art and Indust.*, viii, no. 62, pl. XIII, 4; Vogel, ASIAR, 1903–4, pl. LXVI, 4.

[6] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 50; l.c., p. 249 and pl. LXX. 3; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 29.

and took this as the beginning of the donor's name in the genitive, after which the word *daṇamukhe* has probably followed. The first akshara is like the initial *saṁ* of the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, but the reading *su* seems to be preferable.

Text	Translation
Suhe . . .	(Gift of) Suhe . . .

LI. Plate XXII. 7: JAMĀLGAṚHĪ LAMP INSCRIPTION

A fragment of a stone lamp was unearthed during the excavations at Jamālgaṛhī in February, 1921, and is now in the Peshāwar Museum, as No. 01874. It is $3\frac{7}{10}$ in. long and $2\frac{4}{10}$ in. high, and is inscribed with six complete and one fragmentary Kharoshṭhī letters, varying in size from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The inscription was read by Mr. Hargreaves[1] as *śamijiḍabuva*[*ma*].

The letters are deeply cut, but partly badly drawn. The third can, as it stands, hardly be *ji*, or *je*, unless we assume that it has been turned the wrong way. It may be a damaged *e*. The fifth is too short to be *bu*, and I should prefer to read *tu*. If we read *śamieḍatuvam*., it is perhaps likely that *śami* is the last part of the locative of a word ending in *śa*, and that *eḍatuvam*. should be restored as *eḍatuvami*, where *tu* might be of the same kind as in No. XLI, so that the meaning might be 'in the stūpa of Aiḍa', or 'in the ram-stūpa'. It would also be possible to consider the short stroke at the bottom of *ḍa* as remnants of an *u*-mātrā and to compare *eḍu* with *eḍūka*, which we have thought to find in the Kala Sang inscription. But we cannot well read *ḍu* in face of the distinct *u*-loop of the ensuing akshara. As a mere guess I therefore arrive at the following reading and interpretation:

Text

. . . śami eḍatuvam[i*].

Translation

in . . . śa, in the Aiḍa-stūpa.

LII. Plate XXII. 8: JAMĀLGAṚHĪ PAVEMENT STONE INSCRIPTION

During a visit to Jamālgaṛhī in the beginning of 1912 Sir Aurel Stein 'discovered a Kharoshṭhī inscription of eleven characters, each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, incised into one of the slabs of slaty stone which form the pavement round the main stūpa excavated under General Cunningham's order in 1873. . . . The inscription . . . shows plainly characters of the Kushāṇa period. Its chronological interest is evident; for placed as it was and scratched into a stone of no great hardness it could not have retained its legibility if it had lain exposed for a long series of years. . . . It seems therefore probable that the period when the Stūpa court was finally abandoned is not separated by a very great interval from the time when these characters were scratched in, perhaps by some pious visitor'.[2]

The stone is now in the Peshāwar Museum, as No. 01873. According to Mr. Majumdar it 'contains a number of holes, which were intended, as Mr. Hargreaves rightly suggests, to hold offerings of coins, a custom that continues even to the present day. A

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[1] ASIFC, 1920–1, pp. 6, 27, no. 228; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 18.

[2] Cf. ASIFC, 1911–12, p. v; ASIAR, 1911–12, P. 1, pp. 12, 23 f.; Majumdar, List, no. 19.

pavement slab, with a copper coin of Vāsudeva in one of its holes, has actually been found at Jamālgaṛhī'.

The heads of the first aksharas are missing, and the reading is, consequently, uncertain.

Of the first only an *u*-mātrā remains. I feel, however, confident that it was *bu*. Of the second we see the lower part of a vertical, with an evident bend at about the level of the top of the *u*-mātrā of [*b*]*u*, wherefore we must almost certainly read *dha*. Then comes a somewhat longer vertical, which I take to represent *ra*, and afterwards traces, which Sir Aurel took to represent two letters, but which I feel convinced belong together and must be read as *kshi*. It looks as if the engraver has misunderstood his draft and separated the right limb from the rest.

The ensuing akshara is certainly *da*, and then comes what looks like the head of a *sa*, followed by an *e*. The state of things met with in the case of *kshi*, leads me to think that the engraver has again misunderstood his draft and separated the *sa* into two aksharas, taking the head as a separate letter. In that case we should have to assume that the *sa* was provided with the projection of the leg which we find in old inscriptions and in later ones where we have some reason for suspecting that the writers were more influenced by traditional patterns than by daily practice.

I therefore read the beginning as [*B*]*u*[*dharakshi*]*da*[*sa*].

Then comes a distinct *ta*, followed by an akshara which seems to be a badly drawn *na* and a very long *ma*. The unusual length of the right termination of the last akshara leads me to think that the engraver had before him *mu* and not *ma*, and to restore the whole as *tanam*[*u*]*khe*, where the writing *ta* for *da* can be explained by the confusion between *ta* and *da* occasioned by the voicing of intervocalic *t*.

I find some confirmation of my reading in a Jamālgaṛhī inscription mentioned by Mr. Majumdar,[1] which has evidently been lost sight of. Mr. Majumdar could not trace it in the Museum, but he saw impressions which seem to have given the reading *Budharakshitasa bhikshusa daṇamukha*.

I therefore read as follows:

TEXT

[B]u[dharakshi]da[sa] ta(da)naṁ[ukhe*].

TRANSLATION

Gift of Buddharakshita.

LIII. PLATE XXII. 10: HASHTNAGAR PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 384

Hashtnagar, i.e. the eight towns, is a modern name given to eight small villages on the left bank of the Swāt river, above its confluence with the Kābul river, on the site of the ancient town Pushkalāvatī, the Peukelaotis of Greek writers. The modern names of the villages, from south to north, are Prāng, Chārsadda, Rājaṛ, Utmanzai, Tarangzai, Umarzai, Sherpao, and Tangai.

The history of the site has been summed up by Messrs. Marshall and Vogel in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1902–3, pp. 141 ff. It was conquered by Alexander, who established a Macedonian garrison there. Hüan-tsang states that two of its stūpas were built by Aśoka, and Fa-hien narrates that Aśoka's son Dharmavivardhana ruled in the place where the Buddha had made a gift of his

[1] List, No. 17.

eyes, i.e. at Pushkalāvatī. At a later date, and probably under Kanishka, the capital was transferred to Peshāwar, and Pushkalāvatī lost its political position. Buddhist religion and art, however, continued to flourish, perhaps down to the sixth century, when Mihirakula, the ruler of the White Huns, destroyed the stūpas of Gandhāra. When Hüan-tsang visited the place between A.D. 629 and 645 the monuments were ruined.

The history of Hashtnagar consequently extends far down into the period of Kanishka and his successors. The era instituted by him does not, however, seem to have been regularly used there, any more than in Loriyān Tangai and Jamālgaṛhī.

At the village of Rājaṛ a road runs eastwards to Ḳhānmai, and on the north side of this road, about half a mile from Rājaṛ, lies a mound known as the Pālāṭū Ḍherī, which was excavated by Marshall and Vogel in April 1903. They found remnants of a Buddhist monument, which had evidently met with a violent end. 'About what time this happened may be surmised from the coins found in the courtyard which belong to the late Kushāṇa period. The date of its erection is more difficult to determine, but some hint may be obtained from the fact that the sculptures found here are of superior style, and presumably earlier than those from the adjacent stūpa, while such evidence as there is goes to show that the latter is to be referred to the reign of Zeionises'.

A banyā of Rājaṛ named Ratan had formerly used the mound as a quarry, in order to obtain stones for a dharmśālā, and found a statue of the Buddha, which the Hindūs of Rājaṛ readily recognized as an image of Kālikā Devī, and as such it is still worshipped in the dharmśālā.

It is without arms, and the old head is missing and has been replaced by another. Professors Vogel[1] and Foucher,[2] however, agree in praising the good style of the garment, and the latter states that it must be older than the Buddhas of Kanishka, and draws[3] attention to the fact mentioned[4] by Marshall and Vogel that a Kadphises coin has been found *in situ* under the base by Ratan, who himself brought it to Marshall and Vogel. The coin, however, can at the utmost prove that the statue is not older than Kadphises.

About 1883 the statue was seen by Mr. L. White King, I.C.S., who was permitted by the villagers to saw off the pedestal, which he found contained a Kharoshṭhī inscription, and this pedestal, which is commonly spoken of as the Hashtnagar pedestal, has been frequently described and illustrated.[5]

The date of the pedestal has been discussed, without reference to the statue, by several scholars. Mr. V. A. Smith[6] thought that its style assigns it to a late date, say the third or fourth century A.D.; Colonel Waddell[7] speaks of its style as fairly good, and M. Foucher[8] thinks that the Corinthian pilasters with panels and the introduction of the donor prevent us from dating it before our era, while the still reasonable disproportion between the Bodhisattva and the two attendants, the individual character of the long-haired Brahmā and the turbaned Indra, the naturalness of the gestures and the pliable drapery are as many features anterior to the style of Kanishka.

It will be seen that the best authorities are inclined to assign a high age not only

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[1] ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 258, with plate LXIX a.

[2] *L'art gréco-bouddhique*, ii, pp. 490 f., with plate 478.

[3] l. c., p. 548.

[4] ASIAR, 1902–3, p. 161.

[5] Cf. V. A. Smith, JASB, LVIII, Pt. i, 1889, pp. 144 ff., with pl. x; *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 1889, p. 257, with facsimile; J. Burgess, *Journal of Indian Art*, viii, no. 62, 1898, p. 28, with pl. v, fig. 3, cf. no. 69, 1900, p. 89; Foucher, l. c., pp. 88, 493, fig. 479.

[6] JRAS, 1903, pp. 14, 42.

[7] JRAS, 1913, p. 949.

[8] l. c., p. 552.

to the statue, but also to the pedestal. But then it should be remembered that the sculptures excavated at this site are, as mentioned above, said to be, on the whole, of particularly good style. If the high date assigned to the best Gandhāra art is right, we must, therefore, reckon with the possibility that the artistic tradition in this particular place remained strongly hellenistic and pure down to a comparatively late period. The isolated position of the place may have, in this respect, exercised an influence as in the case of the retention of the old Saka era even after the accession of the Kanishka dynasty.

The inscription is engraved on a band underneath the relief and does not contain anything beside the date. A portion of $2\frac{4}{5}$ inches is, however, broken away on the left side of the pedestal, and, if the writing was continued to the left to the same length as to the right, there may have been about four aksharas after the date.

The date was first read for Mr. King by Sir A. Cunningham [1] as *saṁ 274 emborasmasa masasa mi pañchami 5*, where *emborasma* was explained as representing Greek ἐμβολισμός, intercalated. M. Senart [2] saw that the last figures of the date were 84 and the month *Proṭhavada*, and Bühler [3] had simultaneously and independently arrived at similar results, reading the name of the month as *Postavadasa*. Vincent Smith [4] compared the readings of these two scholars, and [5] adopted Cunningham's view that the era was the Śaka era, and Bühler remarked [6] that the palaeography of the record does not furnish us with sufficient facts for dating it at a great distance from the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka. Finally M. Senart [7] read the year as 384, and his reading was, with a slight modification (*paṁchami* for *paṁchame*), adopted by Professor Vogel [8] and Mr. Pargiter.[9]

There cannot be any doubt about the reading, the execution of individual letters being throughout excellent. The only thing to be remarked is that the anusvāra hook is everywhere to be found in the field below the raised band where the inscription is incised. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to base conclusions on the palaeography. The *cha* has the later, cursive, shape, and may be compared with the forms found in the Ārā and Wardak records, and *sa* is of a similar kind. We may note the form *paṁchami* for *paṁchame*, which is evidently influenced by the preceding *divasaṁmi*.

After the date there are traces of an akshara, but it is impossible to say which. We should expect the name of the donor in the genitive, followed by *dana* or *danamukhe*.

The only difficulty connected with the record is the question about the era, which has been discussed in the Introduction, where the various views propounded by other scholars have been mentioned and reasons have been given for referring the date to the old Saka era. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations it then corresponds to the 7th June, A. D. 300.

TEXT

Saṁ 1 1 1 100 20 20 20 20 4 Proṭhavadasa masasa divasaṁmi paṁchami 4 1.

TRANSLATION

Anno 384, on the fifth, 5., day of the month Praushṭhapada.

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[1] See V. A. Smith, JASB, LVIII, i, 1889, pp. 144 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 1889, pp. 257 ff.

[2] JA, VIII, xv, 1889, pp. 124 f.

[3] *Anzeiger der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, xxxiii, pp. 64 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 1891, p. 394.

[4] JASB, LXI, i, 1892, pp. 54 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 1892, pp. 166 f.

[5] JASB, LXII, i, 1893, p. 85.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, xxv, 1896, pp. 311 ff.; cf. *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368.

[7] JA, IX, xiii, 1899, pp. 530 f.

[8] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 53; ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 250 ff.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 302, with plate. Cf. also Rapson, JRAS, 1900, p. 389; Bergny, ibidem, p. 414; Smith, ibidem, 1903, p. 42[2]; Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 40; Majumdar, List, no. 12.

LIV. PLATE XXII. 9: PĀLĀṬŪ ḌHERĪ PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

During their excavations at Pālāṭū Ḍherī in April 1903, Marshall and Vogel found a pedestal of a standing Buddha, which is now No. 626 of the Peshāwar Museum. Of the statue only the feet remain. On the front is a disfigured relief and below a Kharoshṭhī inscription, 2 inches long, with seven letters, each, on an average, ½ in. high. The first akshara is damaged, only the lower part of a vertical remaining.

The inscription was read by the discoverers[1] as [*Ga*]*dasa danamukhe*, with reference to an intaglio said to contain the name *Gada*, which, as I have stated in the Introduction, plays a role in the legend of St. Thomas and Gondophernes.

I agree with Mr. Majumdar in not being able to read the first letter as *ga*. What is left is only part of a vertical and, perhaps, traces of an *i*-, or, perhaps, *o*-mātrā, so that we might think of *ti*, *bi*, *ri* or *vi*. If the traces of an *i*-stroke are accidental, *ga* is a possible reading, but *ksha*, *mi*, *vha* and several other possibilities are just as likely.

The second akshara is more like *ta* than *da*. We might think of the name *Tita* found by M. Boyer[2] in a Kharoshṭhī legend from Miran in Chinese Turkestan.

It is, however, impossible to do more than to transliterate what can be made out with some degree of certainty.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
.. tasa danamukhe.	Gift of . . ta.

LV. PLATE XXIII. 1–3: PĀLĀṬŪ ḌHERĪ JARS INSCRIPTIONS

The excavation of the Pālāṭū Ḍherī mound also brought to light some more inscriptions, written in a thin wash on the walls of some jars, which were found in a row from north to south in the south-eastern portion of the mound, each covered with a flat stone.[3]

The characters were almost effaced when the jars were found, so that their form could only be traced after moisture had been applied. They are now practically invisible, and we have to rely on eye-copies made at the time of discovery, from which the accompanying plate has been prepared.

There are three inscribed jars, distinguished as A, B, C, respectively. The inscriptions run in one line horizontally round the body of the vessels, the distance from the spring of the neck being 3 in. to 3½ in. in A, 3 in. to 4½ in. in B, and 1 in. in C.

The discoverers have made an attempt at reading the inscriptions in the second of the publications quoted in the footnote, where some remarks contributed by Messrs. Senart, Boyer, and Lüders have been added. The last mentioned scholar made a further contribution to the reading and interpretation of the records in the same Annual Report for 1903–4.[4] Jar B has now the number 414, and C 413 in the Peshāwar Museum, while A does not bear any number.

A

Inscription A consists of two fragments, each 9 inches long and consisting of ten aksharas, of an average size of 1½ in. I refrain from making any remarks on palaeographical features. The general impression is that all these records are late.

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[1] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 54; ASIAR, 1902–3, p. 167, with fig. 16; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 7.

[2] JA, x, xvii, pp. 413 ff.

[3] Cf. Vogel, ASIPU, 1903–4, pp. 6 ff.; Marshall and Vogel, ASIAR, 1902–3, pp 163 f., with reproductions from eye-copies.

[4] pp. 289 ff.; cf. Majumdar, List, nos. 4–6.

M. Senart read what he considered to be the first half as *saṁgh[e] chatudiśe shama . . da.* The *e* of *saṁghe* is absolutely invisible, and the second word is almost certainly, as stated by Professor Lüders, *chadudiśi,* though the continuation of the vowel-stroke below the horizontal may be due to a slip of the brush. The *di* of *chadudiśi* has become so effaced that it looks like *e* in the eye-copy before me.

I also follow Lüders in reading the next word as *shamanana*, Skr. *śramaṇānām.* It should be noted that only the dental *n* is used in this record.

The other half was read by M. Boyer as . . . *ga amata eta danamukha*, this jar (Skr. *amatra*) is a gift. Professor Lüders reads . . *rigaha Ksharaasa* (or *Moraasa*), and restores . . *rigaha* as *parigaha*, supposing the name of the special sect which received the gift to have been given in the lost word preceding [*pa*]*rigaha.*

So far as I can see, Lüders' reading and explanation are evidently right. I have only some doubt about the reading of the word preceding *danamukha*, which seems more like *gadaasa* than *ksharaasa.* A name *Gada* is well known both from the Krishṇa legend, and, as already mentioned, from the Christian tradition about St. Thomas.

With regard to the particular sect mentioned in the lost word or words preceding [*pa*]*rigaha* we can apparently infer from inscription B that it was that of the Kāśyapīyas.

We thus arrive at the following reading:

Text

[saṁ]g[he*] chadud[iśi] shama[na]na . . . . . [pa*][ri]gah[e*] [Ga]daa[sa] danamukh[e*].

Translation

To the Order of the four quarters, in the acceptance of the . . . śramaṇas, the gift of Gadaka (?).

B

The remaining portion of inscription B is 18 inches long, and the average size of the aksharas is 1 inch. Messrs. Lüders and Senart read it as *sa*[*ṁ*]*ghe chatudiśe shamana*-[*na*], and the former remarked that the *tu* of *chatudiśe* is very faint and that the form appearing in the tracing does not bear resemblance to any known Kharoshṭhī letter, but that it is probably *tu* or *du.* The akshara has now disappeared almost entirely, but seems to be *du.* Also the last akshara of *shamanana* is slightly different from the preceding one, but must evidently be read as *na.*

Then follows an akshara, which may be *ba* or *yu*, and then apparently *ha.* The next letter looks like a *ja* or *ḍa.* In the eye-copy before me it has the vertical curved towards the right, while it is turned the other way in the plate published in the Report of the Archaeological Survey, where it is, moreover, separated from the preceding one by a longer interval than in the copy before me. If the head was continued to the right of the vertical, we might think of reading *shu.* The ensuing letter might be *mi*, but the curve is quite different from *ma* in *shamanana*, and I think it possible that *ti* may have stood on the jar. Then follow traces of an *a*, followed by the remains of two verticals, which may have belonged to a *ka*, and a distinct *na.* As a possibility I may mention the reading *bah*[*u*]*shutiakana*, Skr. *bahuśrutīyakānām.* According to Tāranātha [1] the Sarvāstivādins reckoned the Bahuśrutīyas, who are elsewhere mentioned as belonging to the Mahāsāṁghikas, as one of their own sub-schools, as was also the case with the Kāśyapīyas.

The next word seems to be *Kashaviyana*, where, however, the *sha* ends in a curve,

[1] Transl. by Schiefner, p. 272.

which may perhaps be the subscript *ya*. We have already found the writing *kashyaviyana* for *kaśaviyana* on the Bedadi copper ladle and seen that it finds its explanation in the fact that *shy* became *śś*.

The remaining akshara may be *ya*, i.e. Skr. *cha*, or part of a *pa*.

The inscription may accordingly be restored as follows:

Text

Saṁgh[e*] cha[du]diśe shamanana Bah[u*][shuti]a[ka]na Kash[y]aviyana [parigrahe*].

Translation

To the order of the four quarters in the acceptance of the Bahuśrutīyaka and Kāśyapīya śramaṇas.

C

The lettering is fainter than in the case of A and B and could only be copied with great difficulty. The length of that portion which could be traced was 6 inches, and the average size of the letters ½ inch.

The inscription was read by M. Boyer as *Yasavada samadañadimitrasa*, gift of Yasavat with his mother, relatives, and friends. I do not know of any such name as *Yasavat*. It cannot represent Skr. *Yaśovat*, because *ś* never becomes *s* in the dialect. Moreover, the first akshara seems to be the head of a *sha*, and the first word is perhaps *shavaasa*, Skr. *śrāvakasya*. The next akshara can hardly be anything else than *dha*, and if the following one is *ma*, it is perhaps possible to read *Dhamasa*. Then comes the stroke which M. Boyer took to be a damaged *ña*, a clear *di*, and an akshara which may be *mi*, but also a damaged *ga*. The last two letters are apparently remnants of *saṁghe*. With every reserve I therefore read:

Text

shavaasa Dhamasa [ña]di[gasaṁghe].

Translation

(Gift) of the śrāvaka Dharma to the congregation of his relatives.

LVI. Plate XXIII. 4: SAHR-I-BAHLOL POTSHERDS

A similar legend has already been met with in some fragments found at Takht-i-Bāhī, and Professor Lüders has shown[1] that an inscription which Cunningham[2] found incised on a piece of black pottery at Sahr-i-Bahlol and which he read as *Maghe cha*, is to be read as *sa[ṁ]ghe cha*, i.e. *saṁghe chadudiśe*.

During his excavations at Sahr-i-Bahlol in the year 1909–10 Dr. Spooner found a considerable number of pottery fragments with Kharoshṭhī inscriptions in ink, and on some of them he read the word *parigrahe*.[3] Sir Aurel Stein[4] found other fragments of the same kind, one of them bearing not less than 18 aksharas.

No materials are available from which I can form any opinion about the contents. It may be surmised that it has run *saṁghe chadudiśe acharyana Kaśaviyana parigrahe*.

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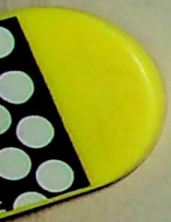
[1] ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 291. [2] ASI, v, 1875, pp. 44, 63, plate XVI, 6.

[3] ASIFC, 1909–10, p. 3; ASIAR, 1906–7, pp. 102 ff.: 1909–10, pp. 46 ff.

[4] ASIFC, 1911–12, p. v; ASIAR, 1911–12, pp. 109 ff.; Marshall, ibidem, Pt. I, pp. 14 and 24; cf. Majumdar, List, Addenda ii.

LVII. Plate XXIII. 5: GHAZ ḌHERĪ PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

Ghaz Ḍherī is a mound opposite Pālāṭū Ḍherī, to the south of the road leading to Khānmai. During their excavations there in 1903, Messrs. Marshall and Vogel found a fragmentary Bodhisattva statue, with traces of a Kharoshṭhī inscription on the pedestal.[1]

The pedestal is reported to have been deposited in the Peshāwar Museum, where it cannot, however, be traced. Marshall and Vogel say: 'The proper right part of the legend is entirely destroyed. On the left side the lettering can be traced for a distance of 8 inches, but here also several characters are missing or injured. This part, containing the first half of the inscription, probably contained 16 aksharas, the distance between the letters, as well as their average height being about ½ in. We read it—*kha* (?) *laviśae ksha*(?)*tra*(?)*pa*(?)*sya*(?)—*da*(?)*dha*(?)*sa*. It will be seen that the greater part of the reading is doubtful. The only aksharas which may be said to be certain are *la vi śa e* in the beginning and *sa* at the end. Before *la* there is room for not more than three letters, but as the initial letter probably stood at some distance from the edge we may assume that there were only two. Of these the second can still be traced and approaches most the sign for *kha*. If we insert *pu* for the missing initial, we shall read *Pukhalaviśae* (Skr. *Pushkalavishaye*), "in the district of Pushkala". The next word is perhaps the genitive of . . . *kshatrapa*, "satrap", and for the third word we naturally expect a proper name.'

So far as I can see *viśae* cannot represent Skr. *vishaye*, because *sha* never becomes *śa*, unless it is followed by *y* in the compound *shya*. Moreover, the word after . . . *laviśae* seems to be *danamukhe*. The raised *mu* is, so far as I can see, certain. But then the word ending in *laviśae* can only be the genitive of the name of a female donor.

The next word certainly ended in *sa*, and a comparison of the Shahr-i-Nāpursān pedestal inscription makes me inclined to supply *arogadakshiṇae* after this word.

Text

. . . . laviśae [danamukhe] . . . . sa [arogadakshiṇae*].

Translation

Gift of . . . . laviśā, (for the bestowal of health on) . . .

LVIII. Plate XXIII. 6: SHAHR-I-NĀPURSĀN PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

No. 1194 of the Lahore Museum is a Bodhisattva pedestal, excavated in 1882 by Lieutenant M. Martin at Shahr-i-Nāpursān, between Rājaṛ and Utmanzai in Hashtnagar. Of the statue only the feet are left, but on the pedestal is pictured a Bodhisattva with two standing figures on each side, and below is a Kharoshṭhī inscription, which has been published by Professors Bühler[2] and Vogel.[3]

The inscription consists of two lines, a long one, and a short one above the termination of the former. The longer is 14½ in. and the shorter 2 in. long, and the average size of letters is 1 in. in the former and ⅝ in. in the latter.

Bühler drew attention to the cursive forms of such letters as *da*, *bu*, *mu*, which

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[1] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 50; ASIAR, 1902–3, p. 176 and figure 23; 1903–4, p. 245, no. 14; Majumdar, List, no. 8.

[2] *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philologisch-Historische Classe*, xxxiii, 1896, pp. 64 ff., with plate; *Ind. Ant.*, xxv, 1896, pp. 311 ff.

[3] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 53; ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 249 ff., and plates LXVII, 1, LXX 4; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 11.

reminded him of the Zeda, Sui Vihār, Māṇikiāla, and Wardak Vase inscriptions, and assigned the record to the Kanishka-Vāsudeva period. Similar forms are also found in Jauliā̃.

Bühler and Vogel began the reading at the right corner, where we have *aroga*, followed by remnants of a *da* and a gap sufficient for three or four letters.

There cannot, however, be much doubt that the inscription begins after the gap, with *Saṁghamitrasaṁ*. The last akshara of the name was read as *sa* by Bühler, while Vogel thinks that it may stand for *sya*, though it looks like *saṁ*. The compound *sya*, which we know from Sui Vihār, is, however, different and ends in a distinct loop. Moreover, the ensuing word *shamaṇasa* has, as remarked by Vogel, the regular termination *sa*, and there can be little doubt that our *saṁ* is a slip for *sa*.

The *ṇa* of *shamaṇasa* is damaged. The remaining letters of the line are absolutely certain: *daṇamukhe Budhorumasa*. The form *Budhoruma* for *Budhavarma* has already been met with in Loriyān Tangai.

As on the Jamālgaṛhī pedestal the continuation follows in an upper line, where we read *arogada*[*kshi*], which can be restored as *arogadakshiṇae*. We may note the short upright above the head of *ga*, which we have already found on the Jamālgaṛhī pedestal.

It has the appearance as if the engraver has not been able to complete the last word, for want of space, and that he has therefore written it once more before the first word of the inscription, where the last three aksharas have subsequently peeled off.

TEXT

L. 1 (arogada[kshiṇae*]) Saṁghamitrasa(ṁ) shamaṇasa da[ṇa]mukhe Budhorumasa

2 arogadakshi[ṇae*].

TRANSLATION

Gift of the śramaṇa Saṁghamitra, for the bestowal of health on Buddhavarma.

LIX. PLATE XXIII. 7: MĪR ZIYĀRAT CLAY SHERD

One of the mounds in the Shahr-i-Nāpursān group is now called Mīr Ziyārat, where a broken sherd of coarse black clay, hand-polished and with some Kharoshṭhī letters scratched on it, was excavated by Messrs. Marshall and Vogel.[1]

The letters seem to be mere scrawls, and they are not arranged in a line. In the proper left corner, at an angle towards the upper end of the sherd, is a letter which may be *ḍa* or *ba*. Then follows an akshara which seems to be *ma* or *mu*, and further, pointing upwards towards the edge, a *ya*, and, finally, at a somewhat higher level, a *vi*.

LX. PLATE XXIII. 8: SKĀRAH ḌHERĪ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 399

Skārah Ḍherī, or the Charcoal Mound, is situated in 34° 16′ N. and 71° 47′ E., near the village of Spinvarī, eight miles north of Chārsadda. It is the find-place of an inscribed Hāritī statue, which is now no. 1625 of the Lahore Museum.[2]

According to M. Foucher, the style of the image and its execution betray a late date.

The inscription consists of two lines, 16 in. and 13 in. long respectively, the height of individual letters varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. It bears a date.

[1] See ASIAR, 1902–3, pp. 154 ff., and fig. 10, p. 157.

[2] See Vogel, ASIPU, 1900–1, para. 39; 1901–2, para. 16.

The date portion was first read by Dr. Stratton,[1] whose reading was reproduced by Professor Vogel.[2] A reading of the whole record was subsequently given by M. Boyer.[3]

A new reading of the date was proposed by Dr. Fleet,[4] and accepted by Mr. Kennedy[5] and myself,[6] while M. Boyer, according to M. Foucher,[7] Mr. Banerji,[8] and Mr. Majumdar[9] stick to the old reading, and Professor Thomas[10] leaves the question open. A new reading of the record was finally given by myself.[11]

The inscription is cut vertically to the proper left of the image, and is very rough. The characters seem to be late. We may note the cursive *cha*, where the head is connected with the lower part in a large loop; *de*, which reminds us of the Sui Vihār inscription; the broad *ya*, which has its nearest parallels in the Wardak inscription; and the *sa*, which sometimes strongly reminds us of Jauliã.

L. 1. The first word was read *vashra* by Dr. Stratton, and *varsha* by M. Boyer. The long line which crosses the lower part of *sha* seems to be continued through the ensuing akshara and can hardly be a *r*. Besides the regular dialect form of *varsha* is evidently *vasha*; cf. the Takht-i-Bāhī and Kāldarra inscriptions. I cannot see any trace of an *e*-stroke, but *vashe* is evidently intended.

Dr. Stratton held the next word to be either *ekunaśitiśatimae* or *ekanavatiśatimae*, and M. Boyer is positive that the former is the correct reading. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, read *ekuṇachaduśatimae.* M. Majumdar objects against this reading that *chaduśatimae* can only mean 'the 104th'. But in Sanskrit we have *chatuḥśata*, 400, and similarly *chaüsaa* in Prākrit. Such numerals were ambiguous, but there is no ambiguity when *ekuṇa* precedes.

There is not, therefore, any *a priori* reason for rejecting Dr. Fleet's reading, which seems to be the only possible one.

The *u*-mātrā of *ku* is rather indistinct, but I think it is probable. *Ekaṇa* would represent Skr. *ekānna*. The letter following after *ṇa* is peculiar, but cannot be *va* or *śi*. I follow Dr. Fleet in taking it to be a cursive *cha*. The ensuing akshara is absolutely certain and cannot be anything else than *du*. *Ti*, which follows after the ensuing *śa*, is quite different.

Then comes *ashaḍasa masasa*, where we may note the *sa* of *ashaḍasa*, in which the head has become separated from the lower vertical.

After *masasa* comes a cross, which Dr. Stratton took to be the numeral 4, but which M. Boyer rightly read as *di*.

The ensuing akshara, which was left untransliterated by Dr. Stratton, was taker by M. Boyer to be the figure 10. It seems to me, however, that it is an unmistakable *va*.

The last four letters of l. 1 were read as *budhavare* by Dr. Stratton, while M. Boyer read *Khuto* . ., supposing *Khuto* to be the name of the donor and some such word as *haritimurti* to have followed.

So far as I can see the first akshara is certainly *sa*, with an unusually high top-stroke, which evidently contains the *e*-mātrā. I therefore take it to the preceding

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[1] JAOS, xxiv, 1903, pp. 1 ff. [2] ASIPU, 1903–4, p. 53.

[3] BEFEO, iv, 1904, pp. 680 ff.; cf. Vogel, ASIAR, 1903–4, pp. 254 f., with plates LXIX c (the image) and LXX, 9 (the inscription).

[4] JRAS, 1907, pp. 184 f.; 1913, pp. 985 f. [5] JRAS, 1912, p. 686[1].

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 136[12]; *Acta Orientalia*, iii, p. 70[2].

[7] *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, ii, p. 573[1]. [8] JRAS, 1920, p. 203.

[9] List, no. 63. [10] JRAS, 1913, p. 1034[6].

[11] *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, v, pp. 129 ff.

diva and read *divase*. But then the remaining signs can only be numerical figures, and the first one does indeed look more like a 20 than anything else. The two last ones are peculiar, but as nothing seems to have been written to the left of them, and nothing can, accordingly, be supplied, I take them to be the figures 1 1, i. e. 2.

The date is then the 22. Āshāḍha 399, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, to the 10th May, A. D. 315.

L. 2. M. Boyer read *sagabha dana śamayeta duśamya ma[shu]ra tanayeshu* and translated the whole, supplying *haritimuti* at the end of l. 1, as follows: 'The gift of Khuto (a statue of Hāritī) together with a niche (*garbha*). May she heal on children the small-pox, which is difficult to heal'. He thought that *mashura* might be derived from *māsha*, which according to lexicographers can signify a cutaneous eruption resembling beans, and denote some eruptive disease, which attacks children, presumably small-pox. He compared the word *masūrī*, which is stated by lexicographers to mean small-pox.

This ingenious reading has been accepted by M. Foucher and Mr. Majumdar.

The two first aksharas are certainly *saga*. The bottom is, however, damaged, and we should be justified in reading *svarga*. The third one can hardly be *bha*, because there is no top-stroke. It seems to be a regular *pa*. Then comes a short vertical bent towards the right both at the top and the bottom, which is almost identical with the *de* of the Sui Vihār inscription. I therefore think that we must read *sagapade* or *svargapade*, and, in either case, take the word to represent Skr. *svargapade*, in the heavenly place, in heaven; cf. Pāli *saggapadaṁ*.

The next akshara might be *na*, but everywhere else the dental *n* is replaced by the cerebral one, and I therefore read *da*, which I take together with the ensuing *śama* as *daśama*, Skr. *daśamam*.

Then comes, so far as I can see, a distinct *bha*, followed by a letter, which looks more like a *ra* than a *ta*, and a distinct *du*. I therefore read the beginning of l. 2 as *s[var]gapade daśama bharadu*, may she carry the tenth in, or to, heaven.

It should be borne in mind that the sculpture represents Hāritī carrying a child. In other representations she bears one babe in her arms, and three, five, or eight children are playing about, and in the legend she has 500 sons, the youngest one being Piṅgala, her favourite.[1] It is possible that our sculpture bears witness to another version, according to which the number of her babes was ten. Or there may be a reference to a child of the donor, which may have been carried away by small-pox.

I accept M. Boyer's reading *śamama* for the next three aksharas, but I take the bar crossing the right limb of the first *ma* to be a *r*. The ensuing letter, which M. Boyer read *shu*, is quite different from *sha* in l. 1. The stroke which seems to run downwards through the top is probably an unintended continuation of the *ḍa* standing above in l. 1. Lower down there is a cross-bar, and what M. Boyer took to be an *u* seems to me to be an *r*-loop. I therefore read *rtha*. The next letter does not look like *ra*, because the upper vertical is missing. It might be *va*, but it is still more like the *e* of line 1; only the *e*-stroke has run into the unintended continuation of the cross-bar of the preceding akshara. I therefore read *śarmamarthae* and follow a suggestion made by Mr. Helmer Smith, to explain *arthae* as corresponding to Skr. *arthaye*, I request.[2]

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[1] Cf. Foucher, *The beginnings of Buddhist art and other essays*. Transl. by L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas. Paris, London, 1917, pp. 271 ff.

[2] It would be possible to read *śarmarthae* or *śarmarthaa*, for the purpose of protection, taking the apparent [*r*]*mama* as one akshara, *rma*, but such a reading does not seem to be likely.

For the last word I accept the reading *taṇayeshu*, though the *e* of *ye* and the *u* of *shu* are uncertain.

My reading and interpretation are, accordingly, as follows:

TEXT

L. 1 vash[e*] ek[u]ṇa[cha]duśatimae ashaḍasa masasa divase 20 1 1
2 s[var]gapade daśama bharadu śa[r]mam artha[e] taṇay[e]sh[u].

TRANSLATION

In the four-hundredth year less one (i. e. 399), on the 22. day of the month Āshāḍha. In heaven may she carry the tenth. I ask for protection of the children.

Mr. Helmer Smith agrees with me in thinking that l. 2 is probably metrical, and thinks it possible that we have before us a primitive dohā: —⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑⏑ (6 + 4 + 3), —⏑—⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑ (6 + 4 + 3), instead of the usual 6 + 4 + 3, 6 + 4 + 1. If we are right, this is the earliest known example of a such a metre, and the inscription may prove of importance for the history of Indian metrics.

LXI. PLATE XXIII. 9: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION, No. 1

No dated inscriptions have been found in the Khudu Khel country, to the west of Mahāban, and we do not know whether the old Saka era remained in use there also after the accession of Kanishka, or was replaced by the reckoning introduced by him. *A priori* we should be inclined to think that the state of things was the same as in Hashtnagar. I therefore deal with the records found there in this connexion.

No. 1 of the Peshāwar Museum is the upper left-hand corner of a slab, 8½ in. high, which has been brought by Colonel Pipon from the Khudu Khel country. The exact find-place is not recorded.

The fragment contains the termination of two lines of Kharoshṭhī letters, written in a cursive hand and sloping downwards. The size of individual aksharas varies between ½ in. and 2 in.[1]

The characters remind us of the Wardak Vase, the Dhammapada manuscript, and the Niya documents, especially the final akshara of l. 1, which looks exactly like the sign which Professor Rapson transliterates as an underlined *sa* in the Niya documents and which also occurs in l. 1 of the Wardak inscription.

L. 1 contains six aksharas, the first of which is defaced. It is perhaps *vi*. The second is almost certainly *ha*, and the third *ra*, or rather *raṁ*, with the same irrational anusvara as in *esha viharaṁ* in the last line of the Wardak inscription. The next akshara looks like the *sva* of the Sui Vihār and Māṇikiāla inscriptions, but might also be *tva*. Then follows *ma*, with faint traces of an *i*-mātrā, and the cursive *sa* mentioned above. The backward bend of the vertical looks like an *r*-stroke, and I therefore transliterate *s(r)a*, as in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription, assuming that the sign denotes a modification of the sound, perhaps towards a voiced *s*. The whole word, therefore, seems to be *[vi]hara(ṁ)svam[i]s(r)a*, corresponding to Skr. *vihārasvāminaḥ*.

L. 2 likewise consists of six aksharas, and again the first one is defaced, but may be *vi*. Also the second is damaged, but may be *to*. Then follows an *a* with a curious curve attached to the top and traces of an *e*-stroke. I take it to be an *e* corrected to an *a*. Or the engraver may have worked from a rough ink draft and subsequently have found traces

[1] Cf. Majumdar, List, no. 49.

of the draft remaining after he had finished, wherefore he also incised the old outline. The next akshara is *ya*, and I therefore read [*a*]*ya*, Skr. *ayam*. The ensuing akshara may be *khu*, with an irregular angular *u* to the right of the vertical. If the second akshara is *to*, however, we may also read *tu*, and as the last letter is certainly *bo*, I read *tubo* and take this to be a contamination of *stubo* and *thubo*; cf. the inscriptions Loriyān Tangai, No. 4860, and on the Jamālgaṛhī lamp.[1]

With every reserve I therefore read:

TEXT

L. 1 [vi]hara(ṁ)svam[i]s(r)a
2 [pratiṭha*][vito] [a]ya [tu]bo.

TRANSLATION

of the master of the Vihāra . . . this stūpa was established.

LXII. PLATE XXIII. 10: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION, No. 4

No. 4 of the Peshāwar Museum is a wedge-shaped fragment, 9 in. × 11 in., which has been brought from the Khudu Khel country by Colonel Pipon. It contains remnants of two lines in Kharoshṭhī writing, with letters ¾ in. to 1¼ in. high.[2]

The characters have no characteristic features, but make the impression of being comparatively late. We may note the shape of *da*, which reminds us of the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359.

L. 1. The first of the remaining letters is much defaced, but may be *ri*. The second is *ra* or, rather, *raṁ*. I therefore restore *śariram*. Then follows *pratiṭhavedi*, with two blurred strokes protruding from the point where the hook of *pra* joins the vertical, so that it would be possible to read *pre*. These strokes are, however, almost certainly due to the peeling off of the stone.

Then comes *ga*, followed by a letter which I cannot identify with certainty. It may be the same akshara which has been read as *vhra* in the Taxila silver scroll, with the same rounding of the top as in the Dhammapada manuscript. The long upright prevents us from reading *he*. I therefore tentatively read *gavhra* and think it possible that *bha* has been omitted before *ga*, so that we have to supply *bhagavhra*, which may stand for *bhag*(*r*)*avha*, with *vh* for *v*, as we shall also find in the Māṇikiāla and Nowshera inscriptions. The word would then probably represent Skr. *bhagavataḥ*.

L. 2 is much defaced all through. The first akshara may be *da* and the second *ṇa*. The third resembles the letter which I read *mu* in *muroḍasa* in the Zeda inscription; the fourth seems to be *kho*, and the fifth may be *cha*. With every reserve I would therefore read:

TEXT

L. 1 . . . . [śa*][ri]ra[ṁ] pratiṭhavedi [bha*]gavhra[to*]
2 . . . [daṇamu]kh[o cha].

TRANSLATION

establishes a relic of Bhagavat . . . and the gift . . .

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[1] Above, pp. 108 and 116.

[2] Majumdar, List, no. 52.

LXIII. PLATE XXIV. 1: NAUGRĀM INSCRIPTION

Naugrām is a village in the Khudu Khel country, situated in 34° 14′ N. and 72° 29′ E. In September 1902 Mr. G. O. Roos Keppel found a stone, 1 ft. 10 in. long and 3½ in. broad, and bearing an incomplete and partly defaced Kharoshṭhī inscription, in an old building near the village.[1] The stone is now no. I. 154 of the Lahore Museum.

The characters, which vary in size between 1 in. and 1½ in., remind us of the Dharmarājikā inscriptions; cf. especially the *ya*. The akshara *e* has a curious forward curve of the vertical, which may be compared with the flourish in the last letter of the Takht-i-Bāhī record.

The beginning of the record is missing. The first akshara which is preserved seems to be *ta*, the second may be *kha*, or *ba*. There are apparently traces of a vertical joining the sloping leg near the broken edge, but they are perhaps due to the peeling off of the stone. I tentatively read *kha*. Then follows *lae*, and the first word is consequently [*takha*]*lae*, which must be the genitive of a female noun or name, which may be complete or incomplete.

The next word is clear, being *arogadakshiṇae*, whereafter six aksharas have become so much defaced that I cannot make them out. It seems possible to read *vradhichhaya*, Skr. *vṛiddhīchchhayā*, but the reading is too uncertain. After two more defaced letters we have *la*, followed by a raised vertical, which is placed so near the hook of *la* that it can scarcely be anything else than the *i*-mātrā. The last two letters are *yaṇa*, and *liyaṇa* is perhaps the genitive plural of a noun derived from the name or noun occurring in the beginning of the line.

TEXT

[Takha]lae arogadakshiṇae [vradhichhaya ?] . . . . liyaṇa.

TRANSLATION

For the bestowal of health on Takhalā (?) . . of the . . liyas.

LXIV. PLATE XXIV. 3: PESHĀWAR INSCRIPTION ON WRITING-BOARD

No. 347 of the Peshāwar Museum is a sculpture showing the Bodhisattva seated with a writing-board in his lap.[2] The sculpture belongs to the Pipon collection, and it is therefore probable that it hails from the Khudu Khel country.

On the writing-board are some Kharoshṭhī letters, which have been tentatively read by Mr. Majumdar[3] as *parana*[*hi*]*da*.

The letters vary in size from ¼ in. to ½ in., and seem to be fairly well preserved. Their shape is, however, partly peculiar, and I am not able to read the record with certainty.

The first akshara looks like a defective *saṁ*. The greater portion of the head is missing, and there is a short vertical in front of the anusvāra-curve. A similar mutilated *saṁ*, without this vertical, is found as the first akshara of a Lahore inscription, representing the Bodhisattva in school.

The second letter looks like the compound *tśa* of the Sui Vihār record. Only the front vertical of the subscribed *śa* is missing. Then comes *re*, and the first three aksharas might accordingly be *saṁtśare*. Now we find in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada that Skr.

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[1] See Vogel, ASIAR, 1903–4, p. 250²; Majumdar, List, no. 44.

[2] See Spooner, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, p. 9. [3] List, no. 56.

ṁs becomes *tś*, i.e. *ṁtś*; thus *satśara*, Skr. *saṁsāra* A² 6. I think therefore that we are justified in explaining the three first aksharas of our record as corresponding to Skr. *saṁsāre*, in the world of phenomena.

Then comes an akshara which looks like *la*, with a sloping line across the head. Though the line slopes the wrong way, I think it possible to read *li*.

The next akshara seems to be *de*, with the *e*-stroke protruding from the upper curve of the letter and running into the *i* of *li*. Then comes a fairly clear *va*, and, finally, apparently a broad *ma*.

If this reading is correct, we should have: *saṁtśare li devama*, and this reminds us of the passage in the Lalitavistara,[1] where the Bodhisattva shows his superiority in writing and other arts: *mānushyaloke 'tha cha devaloke* ı *gandharvaloke 'py asurendraloke* ıı *yāvanti kechil lipi sarvaloke* ı *tatraisha pāraṁgatu śuddhasattvaḥ*, in the world of men and in the world of gods, in the Gandharva world also, in the world of the Asura chiefs, as many writings as there are in the whole world, with them this pure being is thoroughly conversant.

If our inscription contains the same idea, we must assume that *li* is an abbreviation for *livi* and that the scene illustrated belongs to the Śilpasaṁdarśanaparivarta and not to the Lipiśālāsaṁdarśanaparivarta.

TEXT

saṁtśare li devama . . .

TRANSLATION

in the world (whichever) writings (of) gods and men (there are).

LXV. PLATE XXIV. 2: LAHORE INSCRIPTION ON WRITING-BOARD

No. 206 of the Lahore Museum, of unknown provenance, represents the Bodhisattva standing in front of the teacher Viśvāmitra, who holds a writing-board on which some Kharoshṭhī letters are visible. They have been read by M. Boyer[2] as *saparana . . ta*, i. e. *saparana hita*, Skr. *svaparāṇāṁ hitam*. This has been explained as a reference to the Bodhisattva's words in the Lipiśālāsaṁdarśanaparivarta of the Lalitavistara,[3] which deals with his first visit to school. When he was examined in the alphabet, he recited an appropriate stanza connected with each letter. When the short *a* was spoken, he uttered the words about the impermanence of the Saṁskāras: *a*(*nityasarvasaṁskāra-śabdaḥ*). After having heard the long *ā*, he recited the words about one's own welfare and that of others: *ā*(*tmaparahitaśabdaḥ*), &c.

M. Foucher thought that we must supply *hi*, as suggested by M. Boyer, under the teacher's right hand, and *ata*, hidden by the left hand. He consequently read [*ata**]*sa parana* [*hi**]*ta*,[4] and explained the inscription as a reference to the school scene narrated in the Lalitavistara. He is aware of the fact that we should expect the legend to bear reference to the very first words of the Bodhisattva at the rehearsal of the alphabet, which the Lalitavistara gives as *anityaḥ sarvasaṁskāraśabdaḥ*, and thinks that the sculptor has had in his mind the Prākrit *attā*, which begins with a short *a*. We should accordingly have to assume that the tradition about the events during the Bodhisattva's visit to school

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[1] Ed. Lefmann, p. 146.

[2] BEFEO, iv, 1904, pp. 685 ff.; cf. Vogel, ASIPU, 1903-4, p. 50; ASIAR, 1903-4, pp. 245 ff., and plate LXVI, no. 1; Majumdar, List, no. 28.

[3] Ed. Lefmann, pp. 123 ff.

[4] *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, i, pp. 323 ff.

1. NAUGRĀM

Scale 0·40

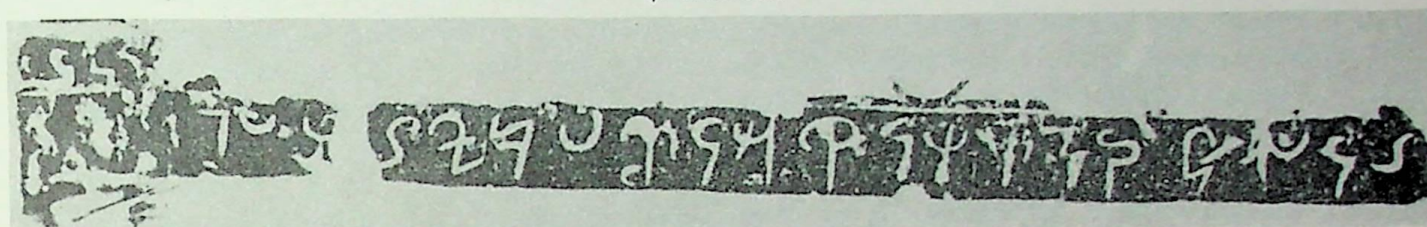
2. LAHORE WRITING-BOARD

Full size

3. PESHĀWAR WRITING-BOARD

Full size

4. YAKUBI

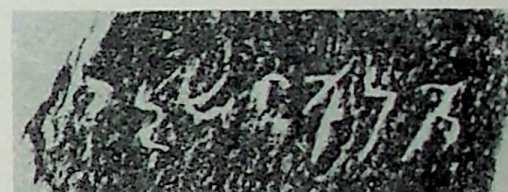
Scale 0·50

7. PESHĀWAR MUSEUM, 5

Scale 0·40

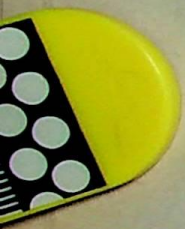
6. PESHĀWAR MUSEUM, 7

Scale 0·40

5. PESHĀWAR MUSEUM, 3

Scale 0·25

8. PESHĀWAR MUSEUM, 1938

9. NOWSHERA

Full size

has been recast in the Lalitavistara. The *ātmaparahitaśabdaḥ* was, in the old tale, connected with the first letter of the alphabet, the short *a*. To the author of the Lalitavistara, on the other hand, the word for 'self' was *ātman*, with a long *ā*, and the *ātmaparahitaśabdaḥ* must, accordingly, be transferred from the first to the second letter of the alphabet. M. Foucher sees, in this state of affairs, a proof of the relative independence of the monuments with reference to the texts.

An examination of the plate, which is reproduced from a cast, will show some features which were invisible in the plates from which M. Boyer read the inscription. The first akshara cannot be *sa*, but is a mutilated *saṁ*, where the head must be imagined under the Bodhisattva's left hand. In the second a horizontal protrudes from the upper part of the vertical of the apparent *pa*, i. e. we have the same modified form of *ka* which occurs in the words *saṁk'ara* and *dukhak'andha* of the Kurram casket inscription.

We must therefore evidently read *saṁk'araṇa*, Skr. *saṁskārāṇām*. Now there is sufficient room for two or three aksharas under the teacher's right hand, and then follows a letter which seems to be *ta*. We may accordingly restore the whole as *saṁk'araṇa aṇichata*, or, *dharmata*, i. e. there is a thorough agreement between the sculpture and the Lalitavistara, a result which is of some interest for our understanding of the art of Gandhāra.

The scene depicted is not, then, the same as in no. lxiv, where the Bodhisattva and not the teacher holds the writing-board.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
[s]aṁk'araṇa [aṇicha*]ta.	(the impermanence) of the Saṁskāras.

I add some records which may belong to the period after the introduction of the Kanishka era, but where we have no indications to show that they hail from districts where it replaced the old Saka reckoning.

LXVI. PLATE XXIV. 4: YĀKUBI IMAGE INSCRIPTION

No. 280 of the Peshāwar Museum is a sculpture, presented by Mr. Wilson-Johnston, I.C.S., as found in a nallah near Yākubi in the Swābi Tahsīl of the Peshāwar District. According to M. Foucher[1] the sculpture represents the miracle of Śrāvastī, through which the Buddha triumphed over his rivals, the six chiefs of sects.

Dr. Spooner[2] thought that this identification was very doubtful and stated that it is not supported by the inscription found on the sculpture.

The latter is incised on the band below the sculpture and has been published by Dr. Spooner,[3] with remarks by Mr. Venkayya and Professor Vogel. It is 13½ in. long, and the average size of letters is ¾ in.

The right-hand portion of the sculpture has been broken away, with the result that about six aksharas are missing at the beginning. Also the left-hand corner is damaged, with the consequent disappearance of about three letters. Above this defaced portion some letters, originally apparently three, have been incised in an upper line. Two of them are still visible.

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[1] JA, x, xiii, 1909, pp. 5 ff., translated in *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris, London, 1917, pp. 147 ff.

[2] ASIAR, 1908–9, pp. 130 ff., with plate XLVII; cf. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, p. 50, with plate.

[3] l. c., cf. Majumdar, List, no. 94.

The characters point to a comparatively late date. *Ka* reminds us of the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168; *kha* of Zeda and Ārā; *cha* of Māṇikiāla; *ja* and *sa* of Wardak.

The missing beginning must have contained the name of the donor in the genitive. The first word which is preserved is *danamukhe*, where *mu* has the same form as in the Ghaz Ḍherī inscription.

The next word was read as *Sadhakamitrasha* by Dr. Spooner, who took this to be the name of the donor in the genitive. But the termination *asya* cannot become *asha* in the dialect. The first letter is certainly *sa*, but the second seems to be *cha*, of the same shape as in the Māṇikiāla inscription, the upper horizontal apparently protruding in a slight curve to the right of the vertical. The third is absolutely different from the *ka* in the following *jinakumaro*, and the top-line protrudes on both sides of the vertical. I therefore read *bha* or, perhaps, *bhra*. Then follows *mi* and an akshara, which I agree with Dr. Spooner in reading as *ta*. I cannot see any trace of a *r*-stroke below, but I take the line which slopes backwards at the top to be an *e*-mātrā; cf. the *e* of *danamukhe*. There are some traces of a forward curve at the bottom, which might be taken for an *u*-loop, but they seem to be due to a mistake of the engraver. The next akshara is almost certainly *sha*, and I think that the *u*-loop has originally stood at the bottom of this *sha*. I therefore read *sachabhamitesh*[*u*], Skr. *satyabhramiteshu*, among those who had become confounded through the truth, and see in this word a reference to the tīrthyas whom the Buddha confounded through his miracles and preaching at Śrāvastī.

The next word is *jinakumaro*. Here as in the Panjtār inscription masculine *a*-bases seem to form their nominative in *o*, while *e* is the termination of neuter *a*-bases. *Jinakumaro* can hardly mean 'Royal Buddha', as suggested by Dr. Spooner, or 'pious monk', as translated by Mr. Venkayya, but means 'the young *jina*', and the term finds its explanation in Buddhist tradition, according to which the Buddha was a younger teacher than the tīrthyas whom he confounded, one of whom, Sañjaya, had been the teacher of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, before they joined the Buddha. The miracle seems to be placed by tradition in the interval between the sixth and seventh rainy seasons after the Bodhi,[1] i.e. the Buddha was about 40 years old.

After *jinakumaro* comes *hidagama* or, rather, *hidagrama*. Professor Vogel read *ḥidagama* and explained this as Skr. *hitakāma*, but the word is devoid of a case suffix and must evidently be connected with what follows. Dr. Spooner explained *hida* as corresponding to Skr. *iha* as in Aśoka's edicts, but no such form is found in later Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Moreover, we never find such indefinite terms as 'in this village'. I therefore think that *Hida* is the name of a village.

The next akshara is *va*. Dr. Spooner states that it may be *vu*, but I agree with him in thinking that an examination of the original makes the reading *va* almost certain. He suggests to supply *sinaṁ va* and to go on with the upper line, which he reads *rada*. Or else, he thinks, 'the stone was injured either before the inscription was begun . . . or while it was inscribed; for it seems easy to read the existing letters as one word, °*varada* an epithet of the Buddha'. He thus arrives at the following translation: 'this royal Buddha [to be] a source of blessing for this village, . . . *or*, for the people of this village'.

The last aksharas of the line cannot be restored. The existing traces are not absolutely against reading *stavena*, and *Hidagramavastavena* would mean 'by the resident of the Hida village'.

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[1] Cf. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 32 ff.

In the upper line there has evidently been three letters, the first of which seems to have been *ra*. The second seems to be identical with the letter which I read *cha* in *sacha*, but shows traces of an *i*-stroke. The third looks like the akshara which I read *te* in *bhamitesh*[*u*], but seems to be provided with an *o*-stroke. I therefore read *rachito*. It is possible, but perhaps not likely, that the name of the artist was contained in an upper line above the beginning of the record.

I thus arrive at the following reading and interpretation :

TEXT

L. 1 . . . . . danamukhe sa[chabha]mitesh[u] jinakumaro Hidag[r]amava[stavena*]
2 rachito.

TRANSLATION

Gift (of . . . .), the young Jina among those who were confounded through truth, executed by the resident of Hida village . . .

LXVII. Plate XXIV. 5: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION, No. 3

No. 3 of the Peshāwar Museum is a fragment of a building stone, belonging to the Deane collection. On one side is a rough drawing of a hand, and on the face above two letters, evidently masons' marks, placed obliquely against each other and measuring 1 in. and 2 in. respectively.[1] One of them is *mi*, the other probably *me*, though it might be *sha*.

LXVIII. Plate XXIV. 7: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION, No. 5

No. 5 of the Peshāwar Museum is a small stone of unknown provenance, measuring 9 in. by 6¾ in., and belonging to the Deane collection.

It bears a fragmentary Kharoshṭhī inscription of seven aksharas,[2] varying in size from ¾ in. to 1¼ in.

The characters are similar to those of the Ārā inscription. Note especially *ka*, *de*, and *ya*. The left-hand vertical of *ya* is, however, exceptionally long. The *ma* of *me* has been placed almost on end.

The reading does not present any difficulty.

TEXT

karavide Metrey[e][ṇa*].

TRANSLATION

Caused to be made by Maitreya.

LXIX. Plate XXIV. 6: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION, No. 7

No. 7 of the Peshāwar Museum is another fragment, belonging to the same collection, with a few letters, ¾ in. to 1¼ in. high, in two lines.

L. 1 contains traces of an unidentifiable letter followed by *daṇi*.

L. 2 traces of what may be *dhe*, and then *a*.

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[1] See Majumdar, List, no. 50.

[2] Majumdar, List, no. 53.

LXX. Plate XXIV. 8: PESHĀWAR SCULPTURE, No. 1938

No. 1938 of the Peshāwar Museum is a sculpture representing two wrestlers. In the upper right-hand corner is a short Kharoshṭhī legend, consisting of four aksharas, $\frac{5}{8}$ to 1 inch high. The type of the characters points to the later Kushāṇa period.

The reading is perfectly certain, viz. *Miṇaṁdrasa*, of Miṇaṁdra, and probably gives the name of the donor. *Miṇaṁdra* is the Greek Menandros and represents an older form of the name than Pāli Milinda.[1]

The chief importance of the inscription rests with the fact that it furnishes a new instance of the use of Greek names in North-western India at a comparatively late date.

LXXI. Plate XXIV. 9: NOWSHERA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

On the pedestal of a sculpture in the Officers' Mess of the then 82nd Panjāb Infantry regiment the chaplain, Rev. J. E. H. Williams, discovered a Kharoshṭhī inscription.[2] The regiment has since been removed to Buner, as the $^5/_1$ Panjāb Regiment.

The inscription is 5 inches long and consists of twelve aksharas, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high. The characters remind us of the Kala Sang and Shakardarra stones and the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168 (*ka*), of the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada (*dha*), and of the Ārā and Hashtnagar inscriptions (*sa*).

The first akshara is evidently *dhi*, of the same shape as is often found in the Dhammapada manuscript; the second is the same letter which I have read as *vha* in the Peshāwar Museum inscription, No. 4; the third is the same *ka* which occurs in the records mentioned above, and the fourth and fifth are *ra* and *sa*. *Dhivhakarasa* may correspond to Skr. *Dīpaṁkarasya* and be the name of the donor or of the Buddha pictured in the sculpture. We may compare *ddhivajha* for *divasa* in a Kharoshṭhī document from Turkestan.[3]

Then follow *ta* and a curious letter which seems to be *khti*; two aksharas which I read as *dreṇa*, and three letters which seem to be *karide*. The curious *takhtidra* must, accordingly, be the name of the sculptor or of the donor.

Reading and explanation are, throughout, uncertain.

TEXT

Dhivhakarasa Takhtidreṇa karide.

TRANSLATION

Of Dīpaṁkara, made by Takhtidra.

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[1] Cf. Pelliot, JA, XI, iv, 1914, pp. 380 f., 384 f.; Lüders, Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, p. 34[7].

[2] Cf. Wasi-ud-Din, ASIFC, 1912–13, p. iii; Marshall, ASIAR, 1912–13, P. I, p. 33; Majumdar, List, no. 45.

[3] Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 124 ff.

C. INSCRIPTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE KANISHKA ERA

THE Kanishka era is used in inscriptions found over a wide area, from Sārnāth in the east and to Khawat in the west, from Jalālābād and Māṇikiāla in the north, and to Bahāwalpur in the south. Only one certain instance of its use has, on the other hand, been found to the north of the Kābul River. I here bring together those records which are dated in this era, and some other ones which have been found in such localities where we have every reason for thinking that it was used during the rule of the Kanishka dynasty.

LXXII. PLATE XXV. 1: KANISHKA CASKET INSCRIPTIONS

Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī was the name of two large mounds outside the Ganj gate of Peshāwar city, where Cunningham and Foucher had located the big Kanishka stūpa mentioned by Chinese pilgrims. This location has been proved to be correct through Dr. Spooner's excavations in the years 1908 and 1909.[1]

He found extensive remains of a large stūpa, and within it a rude relic chamber, containing a relic casket, composed of an alloy, in which copper predominates and which seems to have been originally guilded. The main body of the casket, which is cylindrical, measures 5 in. in diameter, with a height of 4 in. On this body fitted a deep lid, supporting three figures in the round, giving a total height of 7¾ in. The three figures represent the Buddha, Brahmā, and Indra. The upper surface of the lid has a decoration consisting of the incised petals of a full-blown lotus. The lip which fits on to the top of the casket proper shows a highly ornamented band of geese or swans in low relief. The main body of the casket is decorated with a series of three seated Buddha figures, supported by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes, with larger worshipping figures at intervals, which device terminates at a larger group of figures, representing King Kanishka standing between the Sun and the Moon, the *Miïro* and *Mao* of Kanishka's coins.[2]

The casket carries some lines of Kharoshṭhī writing, punched into the metal in a series of faint dots. They occur on the upper surface of the lid, between the flying geese on the lower edge of the lid and in the level spaces above and below the figures decorating the main body of the casket.

The inscriptions have been edited by Dr. Spooner,[3] whose readings can now be checked by means of the excellent photographs supplied by Mr. Hargreaves.

The letters are, generally speaking, well executed. There is frequently a short bottom-stroke projecting to the left, as in the Kurram casket inscription. Intervocalic *g* is, if we abstract from the evidently foreign name *Agiśala*, always provided with an *r*-stroke, added in a sharp angle, i. e. it was probably a fricative. The role of the cerebral

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[1] Cf. ASIFC, 1907–8, pp. 17 ff.: 1908–9, pp. 14 ff.; ASIAR, 1908–9, pp. 38 ff.: 1909–10, pp. 135 ff.; Marshall, JRAS, 1909, pp. 1056 ff., with plate II.

[2] Cf. the illustrations ASIAR, 1908–9, pl. XII, XIII; Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, ii, pl. VI.

[3] ASIAR, 1908–9, pp. 51 ff.; 1909–10, pp. 135 ff., with plates LII and LIII; cf. Majumdar List, no. 60.

and dental *n*'s seems to be inverted, the former being used as an initial, the latter between vowels. The letter *ya* has a broad head, almost as in some of the *ya*'s of the Wardak vase. We may also note the compounds *rya* and *rva*.

Dr. Spooner distinguishes four different records.

I

The first is incised on the upper surface of the lid, beginning behind the figure of the Buddha and running across the petals of the lotus with which the surface is decorated. The reading is perfectly clear: *acharyana*(*ṇa*) *sarvastivatina*(*ṇa*) *pratigrahe*. As already noted, I take the dental *na* to denote the cerebral. Dr. Spooner took the bottom-stroke of *sarvastivatina* to indicate the anusvāra, but exactly the same stroke is found in the preceding *va*, where there cannot be any question of reading *vaṁ*. In his last paper he also read *parigrahe*, but *pratigrahe* is perfectly certain. It should be noted that the *r*-stroke of *-grahe* is different from where *gr* seems to indicate a fricative *g*.

II

A second inscription is found on the lower edge of the lid, between the figures of the flying geese. It is much defaced, and Dr. Spooner, who originally thought that he could see three connected aksharas, *ka*, *na*, *shka*, did not venture to maintain even this hypothetical reading. With the help of Mr. Hargreaves's photographs it now seems possible to read at least parts of the record.

It evidently begins below the Buddha figure, to the left of the goose below the beginning of the upper legend, and the first akshara is *saṁ*, so that it is clear that we have to do with a date. Unfortunately the ensuing passage is badly corroded, but it seems possible to read the signs following after *saṃ* as *1 ma*, i.e. the casket is dated in the first year of the Kanishka era.

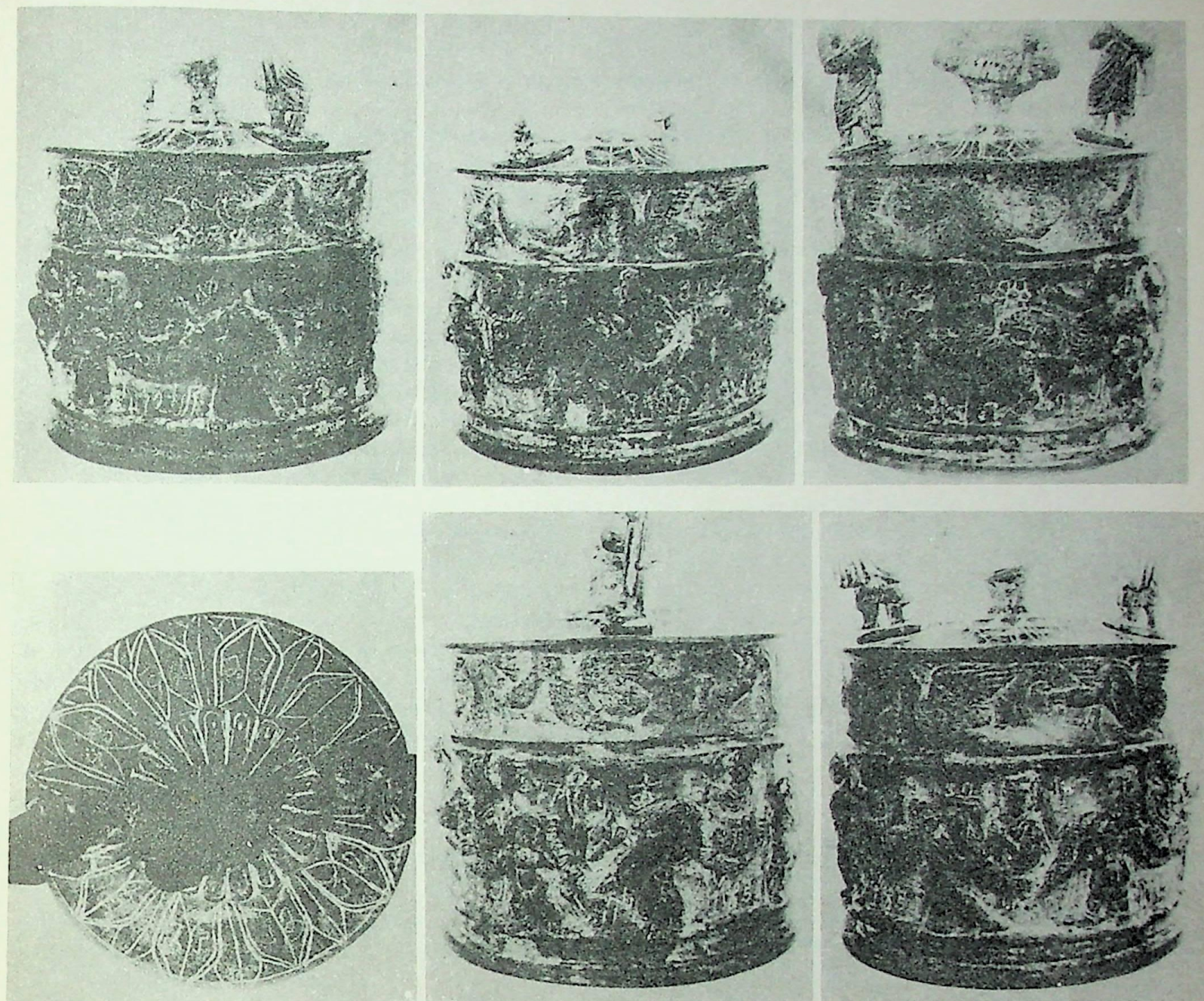
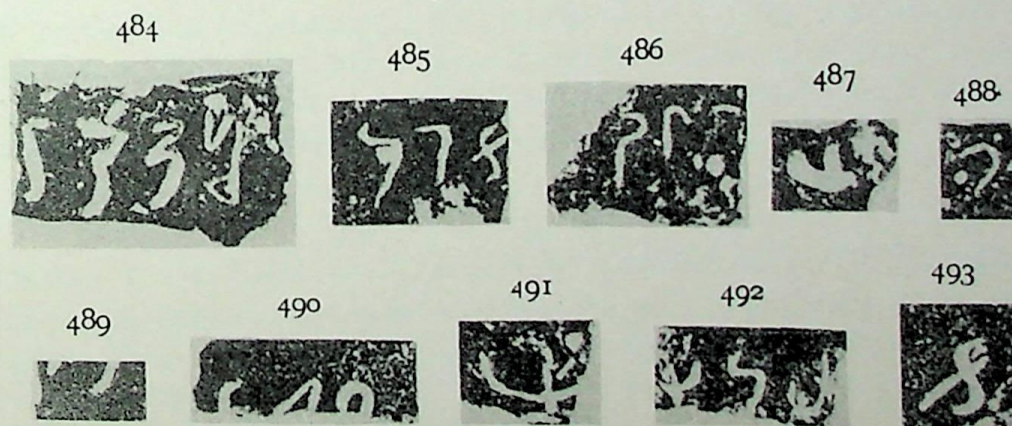
After the corroded space following on *saṁ* comes a goose, and then an interval where nothing can be seen, another goose, and, in the ensuing interval, an indistinct akshara, which seems to be *sa*, followed by *kani*, where the dental *n* perhaps denotes the cerebral nasal. I think that we can restore the text as *saṁ 1 maharajasa Kani*(*ṇi*)*shkasa*. After the two aksharas which I restore as *shkasa* there is room for one or perhaps two letters. What can be seen is a vertical, which is evidently an *i*-stroke and which seems to be crossed by a horizontal. The whole might be *vi* or *śi*, but I do not venture to attempt a restoration. Then comes another goose; three fairly distinct letters *ma*, *ṇa*, and *gra*; another goose; a *ra* or *re*, a defaced letter, which seems to be *dha*, another akshara, which I cannot make out, a *gra*, a *rya*, and a *ka*. With great reserve I therefore restore *. imaṇagrar*[*e*] *dha . . . graryaka* and take *ṇagrar*[*e*] to stand for *nag*(*r*)*ar*[*e*], i.e. *nagare* with a fricative *g*, and *. . . graryaka* to be an adjective formed from a compound ending in *agāra*. We might think of *dhanāgāra* or *dharmāgāra*, but it is hardly possible to arrive at certainty.

III

A third line is found on the main body of the casket, between the heads of the figures of the principal frieze. It runs *deyadharme sarvasatvana*[*ṁ*] (*ṇaṁ*) *hidasuhartha*[*ṁ*] *bhavatu*. Dr. Spooner read *deyadharmo*, but the *e*-stroke is certain.

IV

A fourth line is incised between the feet of the figures in the main frieze. Dr. Spooner read *dasa Agiśala navakarmi* (*K*)*anishkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṁgharame*,

KANISHKA CASKET

2. SHĀH-JĪ-KI ḌHERĪ BRICKS

Scale 0·25

explaining *dasa* as Skr. *dāsa*, a slave, and *Agiśala* as representing the Greek name Agesilaos.

There is an interval between the two first aksharas *da* and *sa*, and some dots are visible below the ornamental streamers which depend from the frieze, but they are not part of the writing. The *g* of *Agiśala* is devoid of the otiose *r*-stroke and provided with a forward projection of the bottom of the vertical, which has not come out in the photograph. The *n* of *navakarmi* is the usual cerebral *ṇ*. I have already remarked that the significance of the two *n*-signs seems to be inverted in these inscriptions. The ensuing *a* I draw to this word and read *ṇavakarmia*, i.e. *navakarmia*. There can, however, be some doubt whether it is not possible to read *ṇavakarmie*.

The ensuing akshara is certainly *ne*, i.e. probably *ṇe*, and not *ni*, and it is clear that we must supply *Ka* before it. The intention has evidently been to arrange the word *Kaṇeshkasa* so that two aksharas stood on either side of the king's figure. It is possible that the letter *ne* was engraved before the remaining aksharas in order to ensure this, and that the result was that the engraver had not enough room for entering *Ka*. But it is also possible that we have to do with a mere carelessness.

It seems probable that the whole forms one continuous record, beginning with II, which contained the date, and ending with I. The mention of the *navakarmika* may be due to Agiśala himself; cf. the Patika and Māṇikiāla inscriptions. The passage containing his name seems to interrupt the context and may be considered as a parenthetical addition. As remarked by M. Foucher,[1] the casket was not destined for public exhibition. It was to be deposited in the relic chamber and had only for a moment to pass through the hands of a king who was little qualified to judge about its merits. If M. Foucher is right in thinking that Agiśala had been paid for a gold casket and substituted a gilded one of bronze, he may have had the more reason for attempting to acquire merit by having his name associated with the gift.

Text

L. 1 saṁ [1 ma][haraja*]sa Kani(ṇi)[skhasa*] . imaṇa(na)g(r)ar[e] [dha] . . g(r)aryaka

2 deyadharme sarvasatvana[ṁ](ṇaṁ) hidasuhartha[ṁ] bhavatu

3 dasa Agiśala ṇa(na)vakarmia [Ka*]ne(ṇe)shkasa vihare Mahasena(ṇa)sa saṁgharame

4 acharyana(ṇa) sarvastivatina(ṇa) pratigrahe.

Translation

In the year 1 of (the mahārāja) Kanishka, in the town . ima, connected with the . . . mansion, this religious gift—may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings,—the slave Agiśala was the architect,—in Kanishka's Vihāra, in Mahāsena's Saṁghārāma, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teacher.

LXXIII. Plate XXV. 2: SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ ḌHERĪ INSCRIBED BRICKS

Among the debris on the western edge of the western projection of the main stūpa at Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī were several fragments of inscribed bricks.[2] They are now in the Peshāwar Museum, as nos. 484–93.

No. 484, four letters, on an average 2 in. high: *Budhaseṇa.*

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[1] l. c., p. 542.

[2] Cf. ASIFC, 1908–9, p. 21; ASIAR, 1908–9, pp. 55 f., with fig. 4; Majumdar, List, no. 59.

No. 485, three letters, averaging 1½ in. in height, read as *divasa* by Dr. Spooner. The third akshara is, however, plainly *ra* and not *sa*.

No. 486, three aksharas and traces of a fourth, 1¼ in. to 2 in. high. The first is uncertain, but may be *va*, and the ensuing ones are *ṇasa*.

No. 487, one incomplete *me*, 1 in. high, evidently the end of a word.

No. 488, one letter, *ma*, 1 in. high, but placed obliquely, so that it is evidently only a mason's mark.

No. 489, the lower part of two verticals.

No. 490, the upper portions of three aksharas, perhaps *ayad* . .

No. 491, the greater portion of a great *mi*.

No. 492, three letters, 1 in. to 1¼ in. high, *marami*, or, perhaps, *matami*.

No. 493, one letter, 1¼ in. high, *di*.

LXXIV. PLATE XXVI. 1: SUI VIHĀR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11

Sui Vihār is the name of a ruined stūpa about 16 miles south-west of Bahāwalpur, at 71° 34′ E. and 29° 18′ N., where a copper-plate, bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription, was found in 1869 by Rev. G. Yeates.

The stūpa has been described and illustrated by Major Stubbs [1] as a tower, about 45 ft. high, but 6 or 8 ft. were stated to have fallen down shortly before his visit. 'Half the exterior height is made up of a mound; and about 20 ft. above the place where the tower rises from the mound, there are the remains of a large square chamber, about 8 ft. square, its sides facing the cardinal points. Above the floor of this, the walls rise at present about 11 ft. high. In the centre of the floor there is a square hole of 16 in., opening into a shaft of the same size down to the top of the mound. This shaft is quite exposed from about 3 ft. of the floor down to the top of the mound, by the falling away of half the tower, whenever that occurred. The tower is built of very large sun-dried bricks, 17″ × 13″ × 3·5″. But in this chamber was formerly a flooring of burnt bricks of the same size as the sun-dried ones, laid in lime cement with the copper-plate bedded in the middle, while round the plate on the four sides, walls of the same kind of brick and mortar were raised, about 2 ft. high, forming a sort of chamber with the copper-plate at the bottom. In this the coins, mixed with some pieces of iron, a few beads, fragments of ornaments, all mixed up with ashes and earth, were found. The men charged with the clearing out of this, unfortunately pulled the whole of the masonry down.'

The plate is 30 in. square, with rounded corners, and the inscription is incised in four lines, along three of the sides and a quarter of the fourth side. It was forwarded by Major Stubbs to Sir E. C. Bayley and afterwards presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it is now preserved.

The inscription has been published by Messrs. Dowson,[2] Bayley,[3] Hoernle,[4] Bhagvānlāl Indrājī,[5] and N. G. Majumdar,[6] and the letters of the inscription, from Hoernle's plate, were made use of for cols. x–xii of Plate 1 in Bühler's Palaeography.

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[1] JASB, XXXIX, i, 1870, pp. 65 ff., with plate II.

[2] JRAS, N.S., iv, 1869, pp. 477 ff., with plate 4, copied by Major Stubbs, ibidem, vol. v, 1870, p. 196. [3] JASB, XXXIX, i, 1870, p. 65, with plate.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, x, 1881, pp. 324 ff., with plates; cf. PASB, 1881, p. 139.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, xi, 1882, pp. 128 f.

[6] *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, i, 1922, pp. 459 ff., with plates; cf. also R. D. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 47, 55; JRAS, 1920, pp. 203, 205; Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 136; Majumdar, List, no. 64.

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of a cursive type, and they originally consisted of punctured dots, and were subsequently engraved in full, though some portions still show traces of the old dots. The size of individual letters varies from ⅜ in. to 1 in. The preservation is generally good, but a few letters are partially obliterated by the effects of occidation. Most of them occur in the third line, which is, on the whole, executed with less care than the other ones.

There is an evident effort to separate the spoken words or word-groups by means of small intervals, just as is the case in the oldest Indian manuscript, which is of about the same date as our inscription.[1] The language is a Sanskritized Prākrit.

With regard to the shape of the letters, we may note the frequent use of a short bottom-stroke, protruding towards the left. In consequence of the manner in which the inscription has been executed, the length of this bottom-stroke varies. Dr. Hoernle thought that it was sometimes intended to mark a long vowel. There does not, however, seem to be any valid reason for assuming that such was the case. In a few cases this stroke has become a curve, which looks like an anusvāra; cf. *se* in *divase*, l. 1; *ṇi* in *viharasvamiṇi*, l. 3. In such cases I shall transliterate (*ṁ*). A genuine anusvāra occurs in several places; thus, *saṁva[t]śare*, l. 1; *yaṭhiṁ*, l. 2, &c.

With regard to individual letters, we may note the *a* with a subscript *ya* in the beginning of l. 2; the rare cerebral *ṭa* in *kuṭiṁbini*, l. 3; the *de* of *devaputrasya*, l. 1; the line across the right side of the initial *ma*; the irregular shape of the compounds *tśa* in *saṁvatśare*, l. 1, and *rma* in *dharmakathisya*, l. 2, and the cursive *sva* in *viharasvamiṇi(ṁ)*, l. 3.

L. 1. The cross-bar of the initial *ma* was taken by Dr. Hoernle to denote the long *ā*. It seems more likely that it marks the beginning of the inscription, as the similar bar over the left termination of *ma* in the Mount Banj, and the identical cross-bar at the beginning of the Ārā inscription. The reading does not present much difficulty: *maharajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya Kaṇ[i]shkasya saṁva[t]śare ekadaśe saṁ* 10 1 *Daïsi(ṁ)kasya masas[y]a divase(ṁ) aṭhaviśe di* 10 4 4. The compound *tśa* in *saṁvatśare* is slightly misdrawn and looks like *chśa*, and was read as such by Professor Franke.[2] Mr. Majumdar suggests to read *chchha*, but the shape of *chh* is quite different. The apparent anusvāra in *Daïsiṁkasya* and *divaseṁ* has already been mentioned. The *sya* of *masasya* looks like *saṁ* and does not seem to have been properly executed. The termination of the genitive of masculine vowel bases is throughout *sya*, no doubt under the influence of Sanskrit.

L. 2. The only real difficulty is the first word, which was read *atre* by Bayley, *antra* by Dowson, *atra* by Bhagvānlāl, *vyatra* by Hoernle and Majumdar, and *uta* by Bühler[3] and Johansson.[4] As already mentioned, the first letter is evidently an ordinary *a* with a *ya*-hook, and so far as I can see, there are two possibilities. Either *ᵃya* is meant to signify *e* or a sound approaching *e*, or else *ᵃya* is, as Professor Lüders has proposed, a shortened writing instead of *aya*. This latter explanation is the most likely one, because we should not expect *etra* in such a Sanskritized record, and because *ayatra* is supported by Prākrit forms such as *aaṁmi*, *ayaṁsi*,[5] which show that the element *aya* was felt as a pronominal base, from which *ayatra* might be formed just as *tatra* from the base *ta*.

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[1] Cf. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 15 ff.

[2] *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 97.

[3] ZDMG, 43, p. 133.

[4] *Actes du huitième congrès des orientalistes*, III, ii, p. 128[1].

[5] Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik des Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 429.

The whole line then runs: *ayatra divase bhikshusya Nagadatasya dha[rma]kathisya acharya-Damatrataśishyasya acharya-Bhave(va)praśishyasya yaṭhiṁ aropayata iha Damane.* The compound *rma* in *dharmakathisya* has usually been read as *kha*, and the bottom-stroke of the preceding *dha* has been taken to be an anusvāra. The reading is, however, absolutely certain. The only difference between our akshara and the *rma* of the Jauliã inscription No. 6 is that the *r* curve has been continued backwards and cursively connected with the top of *ma.* The *e* of *Bhave* is, according to Dr. Hoernle, only a flaw in the plate. The same scholar took the bottom-stroke of *ta* in *aropayata* to be an *o*-stroke. We have, however, exactly the same shape of *ta* in *hita*, l. 4. There is a short horizontal below the *ma* of *Damane.* It cannot well signify the anusvāra, which we find in *imaṁ*, l. 3, as a distinct hook. We might think of reading *mā*, though we find a different akshara *mā*, with a curved vertical below, in plate XXIV of Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, in a Sanskrit verse where the reading is, consequently, absolutely certain. It is, finally, possible that the horizontal is meant for the subscript *r*, which is used in the termination *amri* in the Wardak Vase inscription, where the sound intended is evidently an aspirated *m.* In that case we should have to transliterate *Damhane.* I prefer, however, to write *Da[ma]ne*, leaving the question about the significance of the stroke open.

With regard to the construction of the line it seems necessary to explain *aropayata* as the genitive of the present participle and to take *Nagadatasya aropayata* as a double genitive.

The staff, *yaṭhi*, which is mentioned, was evidently put up in the shaft just below the place where the copper-plate was found, as surmised by Dr. Hoernle, who goes on to say: 'The word (*yaṭhi*), in the modern form *lāṭh*, is applied to monumental pillars, like the well-known stone pillars of Allahābād, Delhi, Banāras, and other places, but that can hardly be the meaning of the word here. The word is also applied to a monk's staff. This, at first sight, would seem to be a much more likely meaning. The *āropaṇa* "setting up" or "assuming" of a staff might be a ceremony indicating the assumption of a high clerical office (as in the case of the Bishop's staff or crook). Or "putting up (= putting aside) the staff" might be a euphemism for "death"; the monk having died, his *yaṭhi* may have been enshrined by the two pious ladies'. Mr. Majumdar, who reads *aropayati* for *aropayata*, refers us to the Andhau inscriptions[1] of the Śaka year 52, i. e. of about the same date, where the raising of staffs (*lashṭi uthāpita*) by two persons is mentioned, and where the 'staffs' are evidently the long slabs of stone on which the inscriptions have been incised and which have been explained as memorial stones. He thinks that we have a reference to a relic-pillar of Nāgadatta, i. e. a pillar containing the corporeal relics of Nāgadatta, referring us to the Kārle inscription, No. 9,[2] where we read about a pillar (*thabha*) with relics (*sasarira*), and where 'there is a hole or receptacle cut for the purpose of holding the relic mentioned in the inscription in the centre of a lotus carved on the front of the pillar just where the inscription ends'.

So far as I can see, the *yaṭhi* was raised by Nāgadatta himself and was not a memorial raised over him. Why it was put up, I am not able to say, but it may have been in order to support the chamber above, which was evidently meant as a relic chamber.

L. 3. The first words are clear, viz. *viharasvamiṇi(ṁ) upasika Balanaṁdi.* Only the *ba* of *Balanaṁdi* is damaged. The next word was read in different ways, till Bühler[3] read it as *kuṭubini.* The first akshara is damaged. Dr. Hoernle stated that

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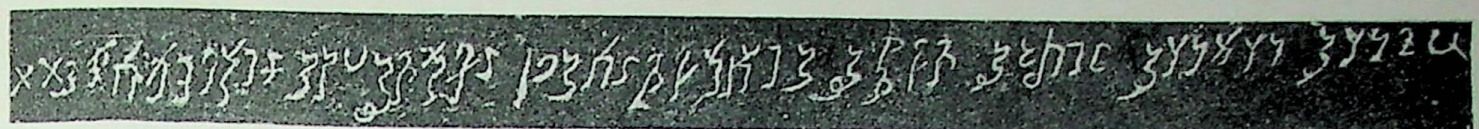
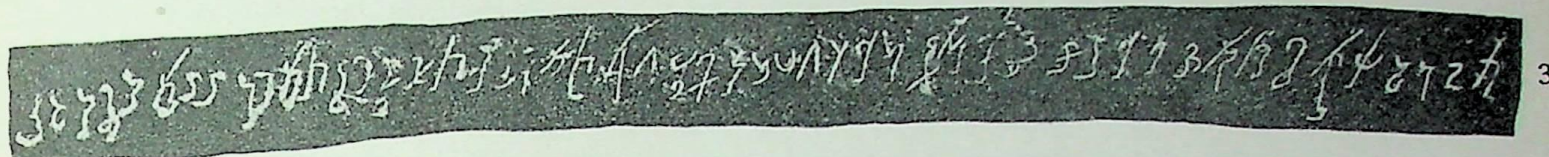

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, xvi, pp. 19 ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 55; Lüders, List, no. 1095.

[3] *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 28.

1. SUI VIHĀR. YEAR 11

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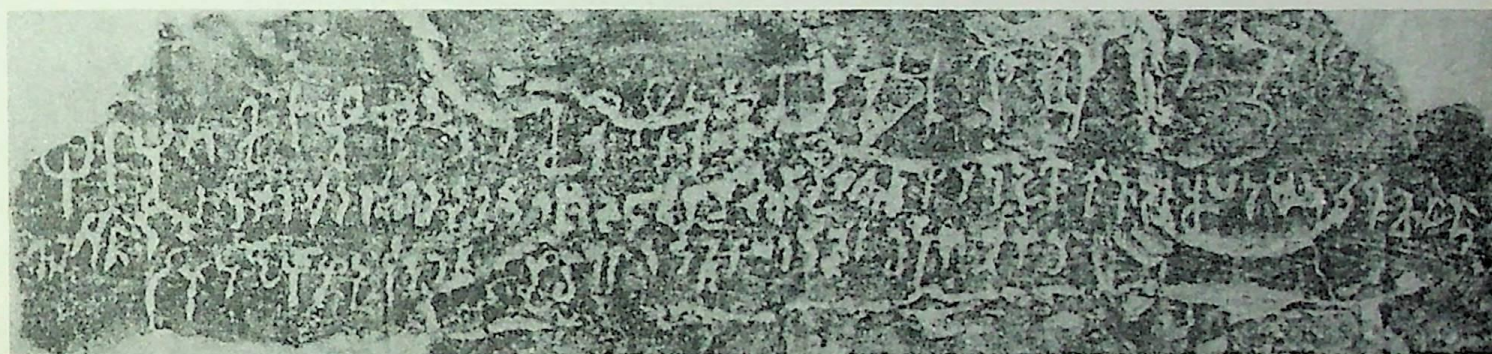
4

Scale 0·40

2. ZEDA. YEAR 11

1
2

Scale 0·15

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SAME

the outlines of *ka* are quite distinct on the plate and that he could recognize traces of a dotted line across the letter, wherefore he read *ki*. The latter are absolutely invisible to me, and the reading *ku* seems to be certain. Nor can there be much doubt that the next akshara is a cerebral *ṭa*. The upper hook is clearly visible. So far as I can see, the curve of the vertical is not an *u*-loop, but rather the anusvāra, and the sloping cross-bar does not seem to be the short bar to the right of the vertical, which we find in the Aśoka inscriptions and the Dharmarājikā record. That bar never crosses the vertical, and its slope is downwards from the left to the right, and, besides, it is sometimes missing. I therefore think that the cross-bar is the *i*-stroke and read *kuṭiṁbini*, cf. the Dharmarājikā inscription.

The ensuing words are again clear: *Balajaya mata cha imaṁ yaṭhipratiṭhanaṁ*. Only the final anusvāra is somewhat indistinct.

The following syllables were read as *apano cha* by Bhagvānlāl and as *kapajaṁ cha* by Hoernle and Majumdar. Professor Lüders has, however, pointed out to me that the first akshara is clearly *ṭha*, the third probably *i*, and the fourth certainly *chaṁ*. He proposes to read *ṭhapaïchaṁ*, corresponding to Skr. *sthāpayitvā*, and to translate 'setting aside', 'besides'. This explanation seems to me to be evidently right.

The next word is *anuparivaraṁ*, which cannot well mean 'accompanied by the (whole) household', as translated by Mr. Majumdar, but must be the object of the ensuing verb. Dr. Hoernle translated 'and the customary accessories'. It seems to me, however, that *anuparivara* must have a similar meaning as I have assigned to *parivara* in the Takht-i-Bāhī and Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions and refer to the chamber raised round the relics, after the *yaṭhi* had been put up. Or else *anu* may be explained as an adverb, 'subsequently', and *parivāra* may mean 'enclosure'.

The next word was read as *dadariṁ* by Dowson, while Hoernle read *dadatiṁ*, which he explained as a miswriting instead of *dadaṁti*. Dowson's reading is undoubtedly correct, and Professor Lüders compares the termination *riṁ* with Pāli *re*.

The remaining portion of the inscription does not present any difficulty.

The record is dated on the 28th Daisios of the year 11 of the Kanishka era, i.e., according to Dr. van Wijk, the 7th June, A.D. 139.

Text

L. 1 maharajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya Kan[i]shkasya saṁva[t]śare ekadaśe saṁ 10 1 Daïsi(ṁ)kasya masas[y]a divase(ṁ) aṭhaviśe di 10 4 4

2 [aya]tra divase bhikshusya Nagadatasya dha[rma]kathisya acharya-Damatrata-śishyasya acharya-Bhave(va)-praśishyasya yaṭhiṁ aropayata iha Da[ma]ne

3 viharasvamiṇi(ṁ) upasika [Ba]lanaṁdi [ku]ṭiṁbini Balajaya mata cha imaṁ yaṭhipratiṭhanaṁ ṭhapa[ï]chaṁ anu parivaraṁ dadariṁ Sarvasatvanaṁ

4 hitasukhaya bhavatu.

Translation

(during the reign) of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kanishka, in the eleventh year, anno 11, on the eighteenth day, d. 18., of the month Daisios, on this day, when the friar Nāgadatta, the preacher of the law, the disciple of the teacher Damatrāta, the disciple's disciple of the teacher Bhava, raised the staff here in Damana, the mistress of the Vihāra, the lay votary Balānandī, and her mother, the matron, the wife of Bala (or, Balajayā), in addition to this foundation of the staff, subsequently give the enclosure. May it be conducive to welfare and happiness for all beings.

LXXV. PLATE XXVI. 2: ZEDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11

Zeda is a village near Uṇḍ, situated in 34° 3′ N. and 72° 32′ E. Here I. Loewenthal noticed 'an unshapen piece of rock lying at the entrance of the village', on which there was an inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters.[1]

The stone, which is now in the Lahore Museum, as No. I. 2, is, according to Cunningham, a rough block of quartz, 4 feet long and 1 foot broad. The inscription has been edited by Cunningham,[2] Senart,[3] Boyer,[4] and Konow,[5] and some remarks on the dating and interpretation have been published by E. Thomas,[6] Bühler,[7] Banerji,[8] Lüders,[9] and Majumdar.[10]

The stone is very rough, and damaged in some places, with the result that the reading is beset with considerable difficulty.

The inscription consists of three lines and covers a space two feet long and about 8 inches broad. The size of individual letters varies from almost 4 in. in the beginning to 1 in. to 1½ in. towards the end. M. Senart thought that ll. 1 and 2 are perhaps incomplete.

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of a similar kind as in the Sui Vihār plate, but there is comparatively great variation in the shape of individual letters. The *u*-mātrā is e.g. rounded in *kshuṇami*, l. 1, but angular is *kue*, l. 2; the *kha* of *khade*, l. 2, has the same shape as in Jauliã, but is more rounded in *daṇamukha*, l. 2; *cha* has the cursive shape which we already find on the Lion Capital; *tra* in *kshatrapasa*, l. 3, has a shape which reminds us of A 1 of the Lion Capital, but is regular in *Saghamitra*, l. 3; *de* has the same shape as in Sui Vihār; *ya* has the same angular shape as in Sui Vihār; the compound *shka* shows the verticals of both letters as one continuous line, but I see no reason for following Mr. Majumdar, who reads *shpa*; *sa* has several different forms, as will be seen from the plate. Two aksharas, viz. *ja* in *pujaṇe*, l. 2, and the final *sa* have been twisted in order to avoid their running into the letters standing above them.

L. 1, which contains the date, does not present any difficulty: *saṁ 10 1 ashaḍasa masasa di 20 utaraphaguṇe iśe kshuṇami*. M. Senart read the day as 10, but M. Boyer is certainly right in reading 20. The *e* of *ṇe* in *utaraphaguṇe* is written above the top as a vertical. The coupling of the date with a nakshatra has enabled Dr. van Wijk to calculate it as corresponding to the 19th June, A.D. 139.[11]

L. 2. The first aksharas were read as *chanaṁ uspa* by Cunningham, as *bhanaṁ uka* by M. Senart, as *khanaṁ uspha* by M. Boyer, as *khaṇe kue* by Professor Lüders, and as *khade kue* by myself. A comparison of the *de* of the Zeda and Ārā records will show that the second letter is certainly *de*. *Khade kue* corresponds to Skr. *khātaḥ kūpaḥ*.

The next word was read as *kharaḍasa* by Cunningham, ... *chasa* by M. Senart, *mu* . . *chasa* by M. Boyer, *vera*(or, *ro*)*ḍasa* by Professor Lüders, and *vemaḍasa* by Mr. Majumdar. The first akshara is evidently *mu*. It is placed high up, protruding above the line, and a long flaw in the stone runs into the *u*-curve, giving the whole the appearance of a *ve*. The photograph reproduced in the plate, however, clearly

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[1] Cf. his remarks JASB, xxxii, 1863, p. 5.
[2] ASI, v, 1875, pp. 57 f., with plate XVI, 1.
[3] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135 ff., with plate.
[4] JA, x, iii, 1904, pp. 465 ff.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, xix, pp. 1 ff.; cf. SBAW, 1916, p. 801; *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, p. 230.
[6] JRAS, N.S., ix, 1877, p. 9¹.
[7] JRAS, 1894, p. 535.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 46, 72.
[9] SBAW, 1912, p. 826.
[10] List, no. 95.
[11] *Acta Orientalia*, v, pp. 168 ff.

shows that the akshara is *mu*. The next letter is almost certainly *ro*. The stone has peeled off in consequence of the engraving of the *o*-stroke, but the latter is clearly visible on the stone. *Muroḍa* can hardly be anything else than the Saka word *muruṇḍa*, master, lord, i.e. it stands for *muroṁḍa*.

The next word was read as *marḍukasa* by Cunningham, and as *marḍakasa* by Messrs. Boyer and Lüders. The head of the second letter, however, clearly shows the forward bend which distinguishes *jha* from *ḍa*. *Marjhaka* seems to be an older form of the Khotanī Saka word *malysaki*, i.e. *malzaki*, which is used in the Maitreya-samiti [1] to render the *gṛihapati*, the sixth ratna of a chakravartin, who is characterized by the divine eye, through which he discerns hidden treasures and secures them for his master. This designation is probably meant to characterize the ruler in question as rich in treasure, a characterization which is sometimes used about the Roman emperor.[2] The title *marjhaka* is here given to Kanishka. We know that the Roman power in Asia was waning during the rule of Hadrianus (A.D. 117–138), when the Parthians occupied Mesopotamia. Kanishka is further reported to have defeated the Parthians,[3] and it is conceivable that the assumption of the title *marjhaka* is connected with some such events.

Then follows *Kaṇishkasa rajami*. I have already stated that I cannot accept Mr. Majumdar's reading *Kanishpasa*. A compound *shpa* does not seem to be ever used in Kharoshṭhī.

The ensuing passage is the most difficult part of the whole record. Cunningham read *dharya dadabhasa Idamukhastrape a de asa* . . . ., M. Senart . . *dadabhai da*[*na*]-*mukha* . [*pe adhia*]*sa* [*daadaasa*] *ti*[*dha*] . ., and M. Boyer [*to*]*yadalabhai danamukha sapeadhia sasaśushe sati vudhe*.

The first word is evidently the same as we have found in the Dewai inscription. I accept M. Boyer's *to*, though I do not feel quite confident about the reading. The next letter is certainly *ya*, but the right leg is bent and continued in a curve, so that we must apparently read *yaṁ*. Then follows *da*, and *toyaṁda* may mean 'a water-giver', i.e. some appliance for drawing water from the well or some place for serving it to visitors, as suggested above in connexion with the Dewai inscription.

The ensuing akhshara seems to me to be a distinct *cha*. There is an apparent cross-bar running into the next letter. The photograph, however, shows that it does not belong to the letter. Then comes *bhui*, and not *bhai*. *Bhui* I have explained as corresponding to Skr. *bhūyaḥ*, and *toyaṁda cha bhui* as a parenthetical sentence,[4] meaning 'and moreover a water-giver', to be connected with the preceding *khade kue*.

The next word is certainly *daṇamukha*, which probably stands for *daṇamukhe*.

The ensuing akshara, which was read *stra* by Cunningham and *sa* by M. Boyer, seems to me to be a distinct *hi*, and in the following I accept the reading *peadhiasa*, suggested by Messrs. Senart and Boyer. The impressions show several bars and lines in *pea*, but an inspection of the original has convinced me that they are due to the roughness of the stone. The ensuing *dhi* seems to be certain. The following *a* seems in the plate to rest on a line bent downwards at both ends. In the original I can only see a hook to the left, of the same kind as we find in the Māṇikiāla inscription.

It seems necessary to see in *Hipeadhiasa* the name of the donor, and it is tempting to compare Greek names such as Hippeos, Hippias.

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[1] Ed. Leumann, Strassburg, 1919, p. 67. [2] Cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1923, pp. 97 ff.

[3] Cf. Lévi, JA, IX, viii, pp. 444 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, 1903, pp. 381 ff.

[4] Cf. Lüders, JRAS, 1909, p. 650; SBAW, 1919, p. 763[1].

The ensuing akshara seems to be *sa*, though the bottom is damaged. What follows has not come out well in M. Senart's plate. The first letter seems to be *rva* and the second *sti*, but the stone has peeled off so that the outlines are indistinct. Then comes a certain *va*, a letter which can be *da* (cf. *di* of l. 1), *ta* or even *sa*; a distinct *ti*; a *va*, where I cannot see the *u*-mātrā read by M. Boyer; an akshara which may be *dha* or *dhe*, and a letter which looks like the initial *sa* of l. 3, but which may be *se*. I therefore think it possible to read *sarvastivadativadhase*, for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, or *sarvastivasativadhasa*, the elder in the settlement of the Sarvāstis.

Then comes a distinct *pu*, followed by some strokes which Messrs. Senart and Boyer read as *tra*. To me they seem too short to be part of an akshara, and I take them to represent damage to the stone caused by the engraving of the *u*-loop of *khshu* in l. 1. On the other side of this *u*-loop stands an akshara, which has been bent forward in order to avoid its running into the *u*-loop. M. Boyer took it to be *ba*, but it seems to me that it must be *ja*. Then comes an akshara which M. Senart read as *na*, M. Boyer as *npa*, but which seems to me to be *ṇe*, with the same downward curve of the *e*-stroke as in some of the *e*-signs of the Māṇikiāla inscription. I therefore read *pujaṇe*, Skr. *pūjane*. If the lines read as *tra* by the French scholars really represent *tra*, we might think of reading *putrajaṇe*.

The last aksharas of l. 2 are certainly *liaka*, as read by M. Senart, and they must be taken together with the first akshara of

L. 3, which cannot, therefore, be anything else than *sa*.

The next word was read as *kshaharasa* by M. Senart and as *kshalapasa* by M. Boyer. The second akshara is, however, evidently the same which occurs in *mahaksha*[*tra*]*vasa* in A. 1 of the Mathurā Lion Capital. Only the small vertical above the head is placed more to the right. I therefore write [*tra*], assuming the sign to denote a modification of *tra*, perhaps with a fricative *t*. The next akshara can hardly be anything else than *pa*, though the head is damaged.

The kshatrapa Liaka must be different from the kshatrapa of Chukhsa Liaka Kusuluka, but may have been a descendant of his and have held sway in Chukhsa, which must then have included Zeda.

The ensuing portion was read by M. Senart as . *pa* . . *a*. *da* . *ta dana*, and by M. Boyer *ṭhupa dhola unamita dana*. So far as I can see, the first akshara is *u*, the third *ka* or *ku*, the fourth and fifth certainly *cha* and *a*. I therefore read *upakachaa* and explain this as the dative of *upakacha*, i.e. *upakachcha*, with the same meaning as Skr. *upakāra*; cf. Prākrit *kachcha*. The next words I cannot read otherwise than as *mad*[*u*] *kata daṇa*, though the *u*-loop of *madu* is indistinct. The *ka* of *kata* seems to be quite certain.

The next three aksharas were read as *anuga* by M. Boyer, who thought that the backward curve at the bottom of *ga* is due to damage of the stone, but such does not seem to be the case, wherefore I read *gra*. M. Boyer read the remaining portion of the record as *punavardhase Saghamitrasa dana*, gift of Saṁghamitra, in order to increase his merit. What he read as *pu*, however, seems to me to be *he*, and *ṇa* could hardly represent Skr. *ṇya*. The *ṇa* seems to be certain, though there is a wedge-like peeling off above the head. I, accordingly, read *aṇugraheṇa*.

In my edition of the record I accepted M. Boyer's *vardhase*. On the stone, however, I could not see the *r*-hook, and the supposed *rdha* looked more like *da*. It may, however, be a misshaped *dha*. The third letter may be *se*, but also a *sa* of the same kind as the last akshara of the inscription. The first has, finally, a distinct curve at the bottom, which may be part of an *u*-mātrā. *Vudhasa* or *vadhasa* might be Pāli *vuddhassa*, *vaddhassa*, of the old, of the learned.

What follows after *Saghamitra* can, so far as I can see, not be *sa dana*, but must be read as *raiasa*.

TEXT

L. 1 Saṁ 10 1 Ashaḍasa masasa di 20 Utaraphaguṇe iśe kshuṇami
2 khade kue [mu]r[o]ḍasa marjhakasa Kaṇishkasa rajami [toyaṁ]da cha bhui daṇamukha Hipeadhiasa sa[rvasti]vadativadhase pujaṇe Liaka-
3 sa ksha[tra]pasa upa[ka]chaa mad[u] kata daṇa anugra[heṇa] v[udha]sa Saghamitrarajasa.

TRANSLATION

Anno 11, on the 20. d. of the month Āshāḍha, in Uttaraphalguna, at this term, a well was dug, during the reign of the Lord, the Marjhaka Kanishka, and further a water-giver, the gift of Hipea Dhia, for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, in honouring of the kshatrapa Liaka, for the benefit of his mother. Made is the gift through the favour of the elder Saṁghamitrarāja.

LXXVI. PLATE XXVII. 1: MĀṆIKIĀLA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 18

Māṇikiāla is a village and group of ruins in the Rāwalpiṇḍī District, situated in 33° 27′ N. and 73° 17′ E., midway between Hassan Abdal and Jhelum. The remains consist of a great stūpa, south of the modern village, which was excavated by General Ventura in 1830, and fourteen smaller buildings of the same kind, fifteen monasteries, and many isolated massive stone walls.

One of the smaller stūpas was excavated by General Court in 1834.[1] He found, at ten feet from the level of the ground, a cell in the form of a parallelogram, with the four sides corresponding with the four cardinal points, and covered by a massive stone, which proved to contain a Kharoshṭhī inscription on the lower side. In the cell was found a copper urn, enclosing a silver urn, which again enclosed a gold urn, within which were found some coins, two precious stones, and four pearls.

Prinsep contributed a note on the interpretation of the inscription,[2] and was apparently engaged on a study of the record shortly before his final departure from India. It was published by his brother, H. T. Prinsep.[3]

A new plate was published in E. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's Essays,[4] with a transcript of the inscription.

Prinsep had read the name of the king as *Kaneshsha* and the year as cxx, which he took to mean 120. Cunningham[5] read the king's name as Maharaja Kanishka of the Gushang tribe[6] and the year as 446, and stated that the inscription mentions the erection of a stūpa by the Satrap Gandaphuka. Further editions have been published by

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[1] Cf. his note published by James Prinsep, JASB, iii, 1834, pp. 557 f., with plate XXXII, no. 5, reprinted in E. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, London, 1858, vol. i, pp. 138 ff.

[2] l. c., p. 563.

[3] *Note on the historical results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan.* London, 1844, with plate 'Arian inscription from Manikiala Tope'. Not accessible to me.

[4] l. c., plate IX, opp. p. 145.

[5] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 129.

[6] JASB, xxiii, 1854, pp. 703 ff.; with plate XXXV, fig. 26, opp. p. 668.

Dowson,[1] Cunningham,[2] Senart,[3] Lüders,[4] and Pargiter,[5] and some contributions to the interpretation by Banerji,[6] Fleet,[7] Staël-Holstein,[8] Konow,[9] and Majumdar.[10]

The stone itself was sent by General Court to Paris, where it was deposited in the Cabinet of Medals in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It has since then been transferred to the Louvre. The stone is liable to peel off, and it has not been deemed advisable to have estampages prepared, wherefore also the new plate has been prepared from photographs, which the authorities of the Louvre have courteously placed at the disposal of the India Office.

The stone is 35 in. long and 19½ in. high, and the inscription consists of seven lines written parallel to the long sides of the stone; three lines written transversely at the left side, with the heads of the letters turned towards the central inscription, and continued along the upper edge, with the heads turned towards the heads of the uppermost line of the central portion; and, finally, of two lines, written transversely in front of the beginning of the central inscription. The size of individual letters varies from 1½ to 2 in.

The characters are boldly cut, but not well designed, and there is some difference in the shape of individual letters. Thus Lüders has recognized that the *e*-stroke of *e* sometimes takes the shape of a curved hook, of the same kind as the *e*-mātrā in (*puja*)*ṇe* in the Zeda inscription, so that the akshara has sometimes been read as *śpa*. Dr. Hoernle and Dr. Fleet had anticipated this discovery in two instances, but not drawn the consequences of the reading. Some letters are provided with a bottom hook, which has sometimes being taken to be the anusvāra curve; cf. the *sa* of *Kaṇeshkasa*, the *sha* and *ṇa* of *gushaṇa*, the *śa* of *vaśa*, l. 2. In *sa* of *sadha*, l. 1 of the right side, we have a bottom stroke instead, and in *sa* of *Kartiyasa* a curve. The akshara *tra* has different shapes in ll. 1 and 5. *Ya* has a broadened head. The curve of *sha* is separated into two curves, one on each side of the vertical. *Sa* occurs in various forms and is sometimes provided with a short continuation of the vertical towards the head.

Such features only show that the draftsman was not very skilled, and they are found all over the inscription. There is, so far as I can see, no reason for Mr. Pargiter's suggestion that there are three different handwritings on the stone.

Lüders has seen that l. 2 of the central portion is the beginning of the record. It then runs on till l. 7 and continues in ll. 1–3 on the left side. The last line there is continued in the inverted line on the top, and, further, in the top line. The two lines on the right side have been added subsequently, having been omitted through oversight when the bulk of the inscription was written. That seems at all events to be the case with the lower one. We shall see below that the case is perhaps different with the upper line. I shall number the lines in accordance with this arrangement, which only differs from that of Professor Lüders with regard to the inverted line at the top, which he took to follow after the uppermost line of the central portion.

L. 1–2, the second and third of the central portion, have been correctly read and interpreted by Professor Lüders as *saṁ 10 4 4 etra purvae maharajasa Kaṇeshkasa Gushaṇavaśasaṁvardhaka Lala*. The *e* of *etra* and *purvae* were formerly read as *sp*, and Mr. Pargiter read the two words as *kshaθra purvaspa*, but it is hardly necessary to discuss these readings after Professor Lüders' statement of the facts. There are two verticals below *tra* of *etra*, one on each side, which do not seem to form part of

[1] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 250 ff., with plate IX.
[2] ASI, ii, 1871, pp. 161 ff., with plate LXIII.
[3] JA, IX, vii, 1896, pp. 1 ff., with plates.
[4] JRAS, 1909, pp. 645 ff.; cf. SBAW, 1913, pp. 421 ff.
[5] JRAS, 1914, pp. 641 ff.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 46 f.
[7] JRAS, 1914, pp. 373 f., 1003 f.
[8] JRAS, 1914, pp. 757, 759.
[9] SBAW, 1916, pp. 795, 798[4].
[10] J&PASB, xviii, 1922, p. 67; List, no. 36.

the letter. I have already mentioned the hook at the bottom of some of the letters. In the *sa* of *Kaṇeshkasa* it has never been taken to have any significance. The ensuing *gushaṇa* was read *gushāṇa* or *gushāṇu* by Baron Staël-Holstein, who explained the form as the genitive plural of *gushi*, corresponding to *koshano*, i. e. *kushānu* on the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors, and Mr. Pargiter read *gushaṇo*, but I agree with Dr. Fleet that 'the turn to the left at the bottom of the vertical stroke (of *-ṇa*) is nothing but a slight exaggeration of the slope to the left with which the Kharoshṭhī *ṇ* often ends, and is quite in agreement with the general sloping character of the writing of this record'. The case is evidently not different where this turn has become a hook as in (*Kaṇeshka*)*sa*, (*gu*)*sha*(*ṇa*), (*va*)*śa*, and I cannot accept Mr. Pargiter's reading *vaśaṁ*.

The words *etra purvae* cannot well refer to the year, *saṁ 18*, but must indicate the day (*tithi*). It is perhaps probable that the two verticals below the *tra* of *etra* are meant to indicate that something is missing, and I follow Professor Lüders in assuming that the second line on the right side of the stone should be inserted after *saṁ 10 4 4*. This line has been read as *Kartiyasa masa divase 20* by Messrs. Senart and Lüders. M. Senart took *masa* to be a clerical mistake for *masasa*, while Professor Lüders explained it as a contraction of *māhasa*. Mr. Pargiter read *maña*, 'which may be a mistake for *māsasa*; or it may be the nearest way or writing *māəṅhō*, the Iranian genitive of *māh*, a month; or the word may (as Dr. Fleet suggests) be *mājha*, read with the following *divase*'.

So far as I can see the reading *majha* is certain. The only question is whether the slight backward turn of the vertical, which is quite distinct in the original, should not be read as an *e*. At all events *majhe* is no doubt intended. Now *jh* is often written to denote a voiced *s* in Kharoshṭhī documents from Central Asia, and we have found the same to be the case in *marjhaka* in the Zeda inscription. *Majhe* therefore means *māze*, where we find a voiced pronunciation of intervocalic *s* of the same kind as e. g. in *dajha*, Skr. *dāsa* in Kharoshṭhī documents from Niya, so that *majhe* represents Skr. *māse*, in the month. Instead of *jh* we find *sy* in this very word in the box-lid, the Hidda and the Wardak inscriptions, where *sy* may likewise be meant to denote the voiced *s*, in which case we should become inclined to think that the Brāhmī compound *ys* in Khotanī Saka and in some Western Kshatrapa records has been coined in imitation of this *sy*.

The date is accordingly the 20th Kārttika of the year 18, i.e., according to Dr. van Wijk, the 9th October, A.D. 145.

Professor Lüders, followed by Mr. Pargiter, thought that the words *maharajasa Kaṇeskasa* cannot, standing as they do after *etra purvae*, be taken together with the date. An exactly corresponding arrangement is, however, found in a document from Eastern Turkestan, where we read *savatśare 10 masye 3 ddhivajha 10 4 4 ij*(*r*)*a kshunami Khotana maharaya rayatiraya Hinajhasya Avij*(*r*)*idasiṁhasya*.[1] I cannot, therefore, accept Dr. Fleet's opinion that our inscription bears witness to a later revival of the line of Kanishka.

The word *gushaṇavaśasaṁvardhaka* cannot be connected with *Kaṇeshkasa* but must be taken together with the following name *Lala*. Lala was, accordingly, a scion of the Kushāṇa race.

L. 3. The first two aksharas were read *doḍa* by M. Senart and *ṇoja* by Mr. Pargiter. Professor Lüders saw that they are *daḍa*, i.e. *daṁḍa*, and must be connected with the ensuing aksharas to *daḍaṇayago*, Skr. *daṇḍanāyakaḥ*. There is, it is true, a line protruding from the lower part of *da*, but it seems to be a flaw in the stone.

Then follows, as already read by Dowson, *Veśpaśisa kshatrapasa*. It is true, as

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[1] Cf. *Khar. Inscr.* 661.

pointed out by Lüders, that the second akshara looks like the *e* of *etra purvae*, but it is still more like the *śpa* of older records, and the exceptional shape of *e* in some words of our record, where it looks like *śpa*, does not justify us in reading every akshara of a similar shape as *e* no more than in reading the usual *e* otherwise than *e*.

Veśpaśi or *Veśpaśia*, as the word is written in l. 6, is evidently a name. We may compare *Piśpas(r)i* on the Lion Capital and *Viśvāśika*, *Viśvāsika* in some Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā,[1] which may be a title.

L. 4. The first word was correctly read by M. Senart as *horamurta*, or rather *horamurto*, and it has been explained by Professor Lüders[2] as a Scythian word with the same meaning as Skr. *dānapati*. We find it in the form *horamurṇḍaga* in the Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā containing the name *Viśvāśika*, and the word *muroḍa* in the Zeda inscription favours this latter form. *Horamurta* is therefore either a slightly different word or else an unsuccessful attempt at writing the foreign word. The ensuing words, *sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto*, have been explained by Professor Lüders as a parenthetical sentence : he is his alms-lord in his own monastery, and this explanation is evidently right.[3] M. Senart took *apanaga* to represent Skr. *alpanāga*, in (the Vihāra of) the small Nāga, and Mr. Pargiter thought of Skr. *āpaṇake*, in the market-place. I am convinced that Lüders was right in agreeing with Dowson who saw in *apanaga* an old form of the modern *āpnā*, own. It cannot be objected that *ātman* occurs as *atva* in the Taxila silver scroll and *atma* in the Ārā inscription. The latter record shows that *tva* can become *pa* in the dialect, cf. *ekachapariśa*, Skr. *ekachatvāriṁśa*, and, besides, Māṇikiāla is not far removed from the Saurasenī country, where *ātman* becomes *appa*. Our inscription therefore is the oldest known instance of the use of the word which has become Hindī *āpnā*, as a possessive pronoun.

Then follows an akshara which Messrs. Senart and Pargiter read *a*, but which Lüders is certainly right in reading as *e*. The *e*-stroke is attached to the lower part of the vertical and then bends down and runs into the *ya* in the line below. Mr. Pargiter read the next three aksharas as *svaṇaṇa* and thus arrived at his *asvaṇaṇa*, Skr. *āsvananā*, through ringing. There cannot, however, be any doubt that Messrs. Senart and Lüders were right in reading *tra ṇaṇa*, and Lüders has rightly explained *ṇaṇa* as corresponding to Skr. *nānā*.

Then follows, as already Dowson saw, *Baghava Budha*,[4] which must evidently be connected with the ensuing word, which was read as *thuva* by M. Senart, *ṭhuva* by Professor Lüders, and *ñava* by Mr. Pargiter. The first akshara cannot, so far as I can see, be anything else than *jha*. The bottom is curved, but not enough to allow us to read *jhu* or *jhaṁ*. A word *jhava* is not known to me, but it must be derived from the base which occurs in Pāli *jhāpeti*, which is used *inter alia* about the cremation of the Buddha's body. It must accordingly mean something produced by burning and is evidently a synonym with *śarīra*, *dhātu*, used in other records. With this explanation also the word *ṇaṇa* becomes intelligible.

L. 6 *p[r]atistavayati saha taena Veśpaśieṇa Khu[da]chie[na]*. The *r* of *pra* is not certain, but probable. The *na* of *taena* seems to be certain, that of *Khudachiena* to be probable. The word *taena* was explained by M. Senart as Skr. *trayeṇa*, with a triad,

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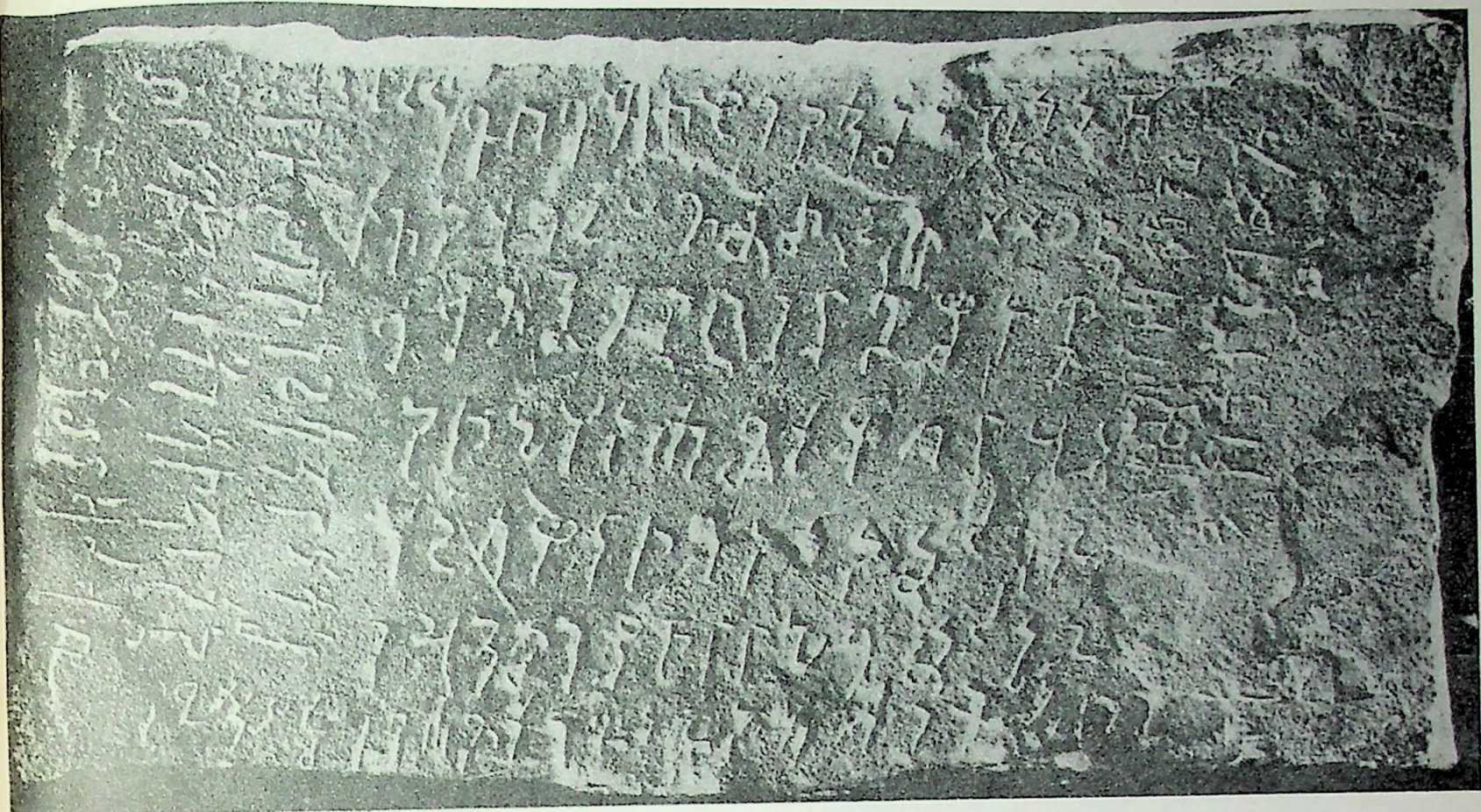
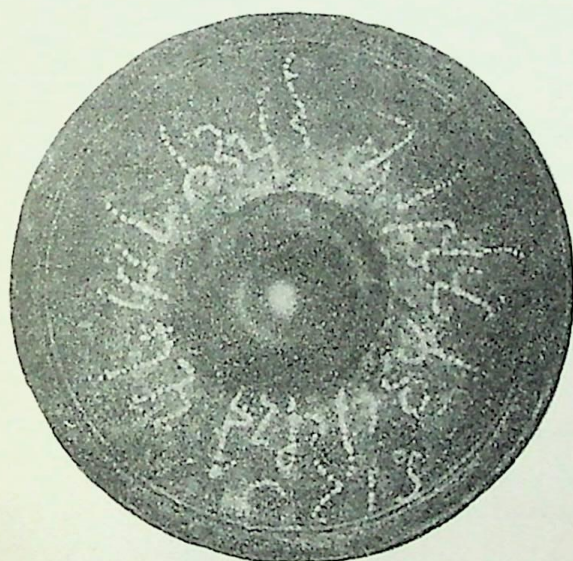
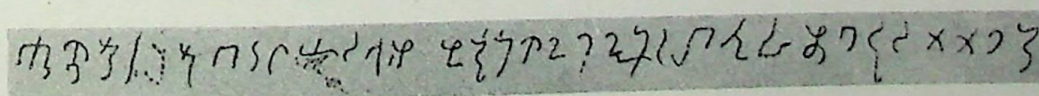
[1] Cf. R. D. Bandyopādhyāya, J&PASB, v, 1909, pp. 242 f.

[2] SBAW, 1913, pp. 420 ff. Mr. Pargiter takes it to be a compound of the Greek ὥρα, an hour, and *muhūrta*, corrupted to *murta*.

[3] M. Senart took *horamurtasatasa* as one word, Skr. *horamūrtisattvasya*, an incarnate image of Ahura, and Mr. Pargiter as Skr. *horāmūrtāsaktasya*, attached to *horas*, i. e. *muhūrtas*.

[4] Mr. Pargiter reads *bhaṇa va śudha*.

1. MĀṆIKIĀLA. YEAR 18

2. MĀṆIKIALA BRONZE CASKET

3. MĀṆIKIĀLA SILVER DISK

4. BOX-LID. YEAR 18. DOWSON

while Mr. Pargiter took *taena* to be equivalent with Skr. *tena*. The last word was read *Khuḍachiena* by M. Senart, *Khujachiena* by Professor Lüders, and *khudeṇṭiena* by Mr. Pargiter. The second akshara is evidently the same as the *da* in *daḍaṇayago*, and the apparent *e*-stroke is probably a flaw in the stone. We have already found the word *Khudachia* in the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168, where it is evidently derived from the name of a locality. Here it must be taken to characterize *Veśpaśia*, apparently as hailing from *Khudacha*, or *Khudachi*.

We must then turn to the first line on the left side, where I accept Lüders' reading *Buriteṇa cha viharakaravhaeṇa*. The last word has been explained by Lüders; it corresponds to Skr. **vihārakārāpakeṇa*. M. Senart suggested to read *viharasparafaena* and to see in this a synonym of *vihārasvāmin*, and Mr. Pargiter saw in *karavhaeṇa* the Iranian *karapan*, *karafan*, 'the name applied to teachers and priests hostile to the Zoroastrian religion'.

L. 8, the second of the left-hand portion, begins *saṁveṇa cha parivareṇa sadha*. *Saṁveṇa* is evidently a mistake for *saveṇa* or *sarveṇa*.

It will be seen that we actually have a 'triad': Veśpaśia of Khudacha, Burita, the Vihāra architect, and the whole *parivāra*, i. e. probably as in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions, the *horakaparivāra*, the chapter of donators. We understand the use of the term *taena*, which would be less appropriate if only three persons were mentioned, Veśpaśia, Khudachia, and Burita, as has usually been assumed.

Then follows as read by Lüders *eteṇa kuśalamulena budhehi cha shavaehi cha*. For *shavaehi* M. Senart read *spavaspahi*, Mr. Pargiter *spantakahi*, and Mr. Majumdar *aṭhakahi*. *Shavaehi* has been explained by Professor Lüders: it corresponds to Skr. *śrāvakaiḥ*.

I then take the inverted line at the top. Here M. Senart read *sacha sada bhavatu*, Mr. Pargiter *sachasana bhavatu*, and Dowson and Lüders *sachhasana bhavatu*. I agree with Mr. Majumdar that the second akshara can only be *ma*, and I take the hook below *ma* to be the anusvāra. The next word seems to be *sada*, which also occurs in the corresponding passage of the Wardak inscription.

As l. 11 I then take the uppermost line of the central portion: *bhratara Svarabudhisa agrapaḍiaśae*. The only doubt is about the *ḍi* of the last word, which may be *ti*.

The last line of the record is the first line of the right-end inscription. Messrs. Senart and Pargiter read *Saṁdhabudhilena savakarmigena*, but there cannot be much doubt that Lüders was right in reading *saṁdha Budhilena navakarmigeṇa*. Only I think that the bottom-line in *sa*(*dha*) is not the anusvāra, but the otiose line which is often met with in old records and in coin-legends. I therefore read *sadha*.

It is a curious coincidence that the name of the *navakarmika* has been subsequently added here as in the Patika plate. This addition is probably due to the *navakarmika* himself.

TEXT

L. 1 Saṁ 10 4 4 (Kartiyasa majh[e] divase 20) e[tra] purvae maharajasa Kaṇe-
2 shkasa Gushaṇavaśasaṁvardhaka Lala
3 daḍaṇayago Veśpaśisa kshatrapasa
4 horamurt[o] sa tasa apanage vihare
5 horamurto etra ṇaṇa bhagavaBuddhajh[a]va
6 p[r]atistavayati saha tae[na] Veśpaśieṇa Khudachie[na]
7 Buriteṇa cha viharakara[vha]eṇa
8 sa(ṁ)veṇa cha parivareṇa sadha eteṇa ku-

L. 9 śalamulena budhehi cha sha[va]ehi [cha]
10 samaṁ sada bhavatu
11 bhratara Svarabudhisa agrapa[ḍi]aśae
12 sadha Budhilena navakaṛmigeṇa.

TRANSLATION

Anno 18, on the 20. day in the month of Kārttika, on this first (*tithi*) during the reign of the mahārāja Kaṇeshka, the general Lala, the scion of the Gushāṇa race, the donation master of the kshatrapa Veśpasi—he is his donation master in his own Vihāra—establishes several relics of the Lord Buddha, together with a triad: Veśpaśia the Khudachian, Burita the Vihāra architect, and with the whole chapter. Through this root of bliss, together with the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, may it for ever be for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi. (He was also associated) with Burita, the repairing architect.

LXXVII. PLATE XXVII. 2: MĀṆIKIĀLA BRONZE CASKET INSCRIPTION

During the excavation of the great stūpa at Māṇikiāla in 1830, General Ventura found a small chamber, one foot in breadth and depth, covered by a great stone slab. It contained a box, enclosing a cylindrical bronze casket, on the lid of which a Kharoshṭhī inscription was discovered, with letters consisting of dots punched into the surface. The casket contained a gold cylindrical box, 4 inches long by 1½ inch in diameter, 'filled with a thick brown liquid mixed with a multitude of fragments of what Mr. Ventura supposed to be broken amber'. Within the box were, further, a gold coin of Huvishka, another minute gold coin, and a plain disc of silver, inscribed with Kharoshṭhī letters.[1]

The bronze casket inscription was published by Cunningham,[2] Dowson,[3] and Pargiter,[4] and it has been mentioned and commented on by Messrs. Senart,[5] Konow,[6] and Majumdar.[7]

The casket, which is now in the British Museum, is 5·3 in. high and 3·5 in. in diameter, with a pinnacle, 3·5 inches high, on the lid.

The inscription runs round the lid, the last word being incised below the preceding one, with the result that the last akshara crosses a double line running along the rim.

The first word is *Kaviśiakshatrapasa*. Cunningham read *svatiśiri* and later *svatiśiva*, E. Thomas and Dowson *Kaviśiva*, Senart *Sparaśiva*, and Pargiter *Kavośia* or *Kaviśia*, but the reading *Kaviśia* is certain. It can hardly be anything else than Skr. *Kāpiśika*, of Kapiśā. The use of the name of a country to denote the ruler is well known in India.

The ensuing two aksharas are certainly *graṇa*, where *gr* probably denotes a modified, presumably fricative *g*. *G(r)ana* may be an Iranian noun formed from the base *han* and meaning 'killing', 'fight'.

The next letters were read *phuka* by Cunningham, *phkaka* by Dowson, and *kpvaka*,

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[1] Cf. James Prinsep, JASB, iii, 1834, plate XXII, opp. p. 318, and a letter from Masson, p. 331; E. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, i, pp. 96 ff., and plate VI; H. T. Prinsep, *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan*, London, 1844, plate XV.

[2] JASB, XIV, i, 1845, p. 432; xxiii, 1854, p. 699, with plate XXXV, fig. 24; ASI, II, 1873, pp. 160 f., with plate LXIII, no. 1.

[3] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 244 ff., with plate IV, fig. 4.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, xii, pp. 299 f., with plate.

[5] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 134; IX, vii, 1896, pp. 21 f.

[6] SBAW, 1916, p. 798[3]; *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 287[3].

[7] List, no. 37.

i. e. *kpuaka*, by Pargiter. The first akshara consists of a *vha*, with a rounded bar across the long upright, and an angular addition at the bottom. The cross-bar is similar to the ante-consonantic *r* of *rma* in the Kanishka casket, Kurram and Jauliã inscriptions, and the subscribed hook seems to be *ya*. I therefore read *rvhyaka*, or perhaps rather *vhryaka*, which would be an Iranian adjective formed from the base *prī*.

The remaining aksharas are unmistakable. The final *o* of *daṇamukho* has not come out in the photograph, but is plainly visible in Mr. Pargiter's plate.

TEXT

Kaviśiakshatrapasa G(r)aṇavhryakakshatrapaputrasa daṇamukho.

TRANSLATION

Gift of the Kapiśā kshatrapa, the son of the kshatrapa G(r)anavhryaka.

LXXVIII. PLATE XXVII. 3: MAṆIKIĀLA SILVER DISK INSCRIPTION

The silver disk mentioned above is likewise in the British Museum. It is 0·9 in. in diameter and carries an inscription in two lines, which has been illustrated and edited by the same scholars as the bronze casket inscription.[1]

The reading given by Mr. Pargiter, *Gomaṇasa karavakasa*, is quite certain, though the last *ka* of the latter word is distorted. *Karavaka* is the same word which we have found in the form *karavhaa* on the Māṇikiāla stone.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
L. 1 Gomaṇasa	(Gift) of Gomaṇa, the architect.
2 karavakasa.	

LXXIX. PLATE XXVII. 4: BOX-LID INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 18

Among the antiquities sent home by Mr. Masson from Afghanistan was a brass casket, which came too late to be included in the Ariana Antiqua. We do not know where it was found or what has become of it.

The lid contained a Kharoshṭhī inscription, with a date, which was discussed by Cunningham.[2] A reproduction was published by E. Thomas[3] and again by Dowson,[4] with remarks on the reading and interpretation of the record.

The plate gives the impression that the inscription was incised in two lines. Professor Dowson's remarks make it, however, clear that such was not the case, for he informs us of the fact that, after the date, which ends in the apparent l. 2, there is a small blank, and then the inscription goes on with the apparent beginning of l. 1.

Nor can there be any doubt that Dowson was right in making the inscription begin with the eighth akshara from the end of what looks like l. 1. We there read, as seen by Dowson, *saṁ 10 4 4*, i. e. the year is the same as on the Māṇikiāla stone.

After the year Cunningham suggested to read *māsa attamisiyasa vrehi 1*. Dowson did not accept this, but could only propose another reading for the last aksharas, which he took to be *stehi 10*. He was certainly right in his correction, but in other respects Cunningham's reading was not far off the mark.

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[1] Cf. Majumdar, List, no. 38.

[2] JASB, xxxi, 1862, p. 303.

[3] In James Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, i, p. 161, with plate IX, fig. 3.

[4] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 232, 254 f., with plate IX, fig. 3; cf. Majumdar, List, Addenda (i).

The first letter looks like *mu*, but has evidently been a *ma* with a long right-hand stroke, of the same kind as in the Khalatse inscription. The second seems to be *sye*, with an incomplete *y*-loop and the *e*-stroke apparently joining the head. The form *masye* has already been mentioned in connexion with *majh*[*e*] in the Māṇikiāla inscription and seems to correspond to Skr. *māse*, with a voiced *s*.

Then follow a misdrawn *a*, where the head has become square; a *rtha* of the same kind as in the Wardak inscription, which has been distorted so as to look like a *rga*; further, in the apparent l. 2, three aksharas which I follow Cunningham in reading as *misiya*, though they are badly misdrawn. *Arthamisiya* seems to be the genitive or locative of *Arthamisi*, Greek Artemisios.

The ensuing letters must evidently be read as *sastehi 10*, though the *i* of *sastehi* cannot be seen in the plate. *Sastehi* is the instrumental plural of *sasta*, and is used with the meaning 'day' in the Hidda and Wardak inscriptions and in some Kharoshṭhī documents from Central Asia.[1] It is not an Indian word, but seems to be identical with Khotanī Saka *sasta*, the past participle of the base *sad*, to shine, to appear, which is used about the sun. It seems to be used in the same way as the Iranian base *sak*, which is used about the passing of time.[2] *Sastehi 10* accordingly means 'when 10 had appeared', and the inscription is dated on the 10th Artemisios of the year 18, i. e. according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, on the 20th April, A. D. 146.

Then follows the inscription proper, which Dowson read as *Hasharesya ga*(or *go* or *gi*)*la*(or *vi*)*mu*[*na na*] *śarir parishkaśti* (or *parishpaśti*).

I take the first words to be misread for *iśa* (or *iśe*) *kshunaṁmri*, with the same *mri* for a modified, probably aspirated, *mi*, which we shall find in the Wardak inscription.

Then follows *Gola*, the akshara which I read as *ma* in *masye*, and an akshara which seems to be long enough to contain two letters, a *ṇa* and a *sa*. The reproduction is evidently quite unreliable, and I suppose that the original had *Gotamaśamaṇasa* or *Gotamashamaṇasa* or *Gotamamuṇisa*.

The next word is clearly *śarira*, and the last I take to be *paristavida*, though it looks more like *parishṭhavida*.

With every reserve I therefore read as follows:

TEXT

Saṁ 10 4 4 masye Arthamisiya sastehi 10 iś[e] kshunaṁm(r)i Gotamashamaṇasa śarira paristavida.

TRANSLATION

Anno 18, in the month Artemisios, when 10 (days) had appeared, at this term the Śramaṇa Gotama's relic was enshrined.

LXXX. PLATES XXVIII, XXIX: KURRAM CASKET INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 20

This inscription is incised on the four sides of a copper stūpa, with harmikā and umbrellas, belonging to Arbab Muhammed Abas Khan, younger brother of the Nawāb of Landi, near Peshāwar, to whom it was presented when his father was Tahsīldār in Kurram. We do not know where it has originally been found.

There is a hole at the right-hand corner where the third line of the inscription begins. In other respects the casket is fairly well preserved.

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[1] Cf. Konow, SBAW, 1916, p. 809; *Acta Orientalia*, ii, p. 124.
[2] Cf. Gauthiot, JRAS, 1912, p. 346.

The inscription, which runs round the square base of the stūpa, was brought to the notice of the late Pandit V. Natesa Aiyar in 1917 by Khan Sahib Mian Wasi Uddin,[1] and published by him, with corrections by Professor Thomas.[2]

When I was in Peshāwar in February, 1925, the owner kindly lent me the original, and I was even allowed to take it to Taxila, where I was able to go through my transcript with Sir John Marshall, who accepted my readings and allowed me to publish a paper on the record. The accompanying plate has been prepared from photographs supplied by Mr. Hargreaves.

The edition in the Epigraphia appeared after my paper had been finished, and I shall therefore only draw attention to such cases where I differ from Professor Thomas, whose readings are everywhere to be preferred to those of the Pandit.

The letters consist of small dots punched into the copper and are distributed over four lines on the first and last sides and three on the others. I shall mark the four sides as A, B, C, D, respectively. The arrangement of the inscription is that the individual lines are continued through all four faces. After the end of l. 3 on face D, the text runs on in l. 4 on the same face and is finished in l. 4 of A. I here differ from my predecessors, who took A 4 to precede D 4.

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of a similar kind as in the Kanishka casket inscription and other records of the same period. We may note the frequent use of a bottom-stroke, the rounded *ḍa*, the peculiar *mu*, and the broad *ya*.

Intervocalic *ga* is written *gra*, and the same sign is occasionally used for old *-k-*; cf. *bhagravatasa*, *śogra*. What is meant is evidently a voiced guttural fricative. In *prachagra*, Skr. *pratyaya*; *uvagrasa*, Skr. *upāyāsa*, *gr* is written for old *-y-*. We have an exact parallel in the Kharoshṭhī manuscript of the Dhammapada, where we find e. g. *raka*, Skr. *rāga*; *urako*, Skr. *urago*; *udakavaya*, Skr. *udayavyaya*; *dhoreka*, Skr. *dhaureya*. Here *k* is written, in a similar way as *kr* on the Mathurā Lion Capital, but the sound intended is certainly the same in all these cases. I shall write *g*(*r*). In the same way we apparently have *ḍra* for intervocalic *ḍa*.

There are also other peculiarities which remind us of the manuscript. Thus *rś* becomes *sh* in *phasha*, Skr. *sparśa*, D 2; *sk* becomes *k* in *kaṁdha*, Skr. *skandha*, D 3; *saṁkara*, Skr. *saṁskāra*, B 2. The *ka* in such words differs, it is true, from the usual *ka*, in so far as the vertical is prolonged above the head, so that the sound must have become modified. We have found a similar sign in the Lahore Museum inscription on the Buddha's writing-board, which contains references to events dealt with in Buddhist literature. In the Dhammapada we find *kanhaṇa*, Skr. *skandhānām*, but *saghara*, Skr. *saṁskāra*. I shall write *k*'. In A 3 we find *tasha* for Skr. *trishṇā*, with a curve above the *sha*. The Dhammapada has *tasha*. I shall again write *tash'a*. In this case the Dhammapada manuscript comes to our assistance. It frequently uses this same curve above letters which we must assume to have been aspirated; thus above *n* in *ganu*, Skr. *gandha*, C^ro 3; *ana*, Skr. *andha*, C^ro 4; *kana*, Skr. *skandha*, B 13. There can be no doubt that an aspirated *n* is intended. Similarly we find the curve above *ja* in *jaṇa*, Skr. *dhyāna*, *ajayado*, Skr. *adhyāyataḥ*, B 16; *praüjadi*, Skr. *prabudhyante*, A[4] 5, &c. The curve is, however, sometimes omitted; cf. *jayadu*, A[1] 3; *praüjadi* A[4] 4, &c. Such writings seem to bear witness to a weakening of the aspiration.

Another peculiarity, which I cannot explain, is the apparent substitution of *st* for *sy*

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[1] Cf. ASIAR, 1917–18, pp. 31 ff.; ASIFC, 1917–18, p. 2; Majumdar, List, no. 26.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, xviii, p. 16 ff., with reproductions of the stūpa and of a photograph and an eye-copy of the inscription.

in *dormanasta*, Skr. *daurmanasya*, C 3. It seems as if we have before us a barbaric *daurmanastā*.

All these peculiarities, with the exception of the writing *gr* for intervocalic *g*, are found outside the proper record and in a passage which is described as a saying of the Lord, and which is, in fact, the well-known *pratītyasamutpāda* formula. The passage looks like a quotation, and seems to have been taken from a canonical text. Now we know from the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada that there existed canonical texts in a somewhat standardized form of the vernacular used in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Our record, and apparently also the writing-board epigraph mentioned above, show that the Dhammapada was not the only work of this kind.

We cannot say to which sect this Prākrit canon belonged. Our inscription mentions the Sarvāstivādins, and it seems natural to infer that the Sarvāstivādins had a Prākrit canon in the north-western language of, say Taxila, before Sanskrit was introduced, probably in connexion with Kanishka's Council.

I now turn to the inscription itself.

A 1. The beginning is damaged, but can be made out to be *Saṁ 20 masasa*. It has been subsequently changed to *Saṁ 20 1 masa*, but the figure 1 and the *ma* which has been engraved over the old *sa* have not been executed in the usual way, as punched dots, but engraved in deep-cut lines. It therefore seems probable that the correction has been made at a later time, when the beginning had become so much damaged as to be almost illegible.

Then follows *Avadunakasa di 20 iś[e] kshunaṁmi*. *Avadunaka* is the Greek *Αὐδυναῖος*, and according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, the 20th Audunaios of the year 20 corresponds to the 2 January, A.D. 148.

B 1 was read by Professor Thomas as *Tśutra-Varmayaśaputrasa navakaṁmiasa saṁgha*. So far as I can see, however, the first akshara can only be *śve* and the second is identical with the *ḍra* of C D 2. It is possible that the engraver's draft had *śvetra*, cf. the Skr. metronymic *śvaitreya*, but we can only read *śveḍra*. I connect this *śveḍra* with the ensuing *varma*, and read *Śveḍ(r)avarma Yaśaputra*.

The ensuing akshara is not *sa* but *ta*, and we must read *tanuakaṁmi* or, perhaps, *tanuvakaṁmi*, cf. *taṇuvaa*, own, in the Taxila silver scroll.

The next word was invisible in the plates which Professor Thomas had at his disposal, but is clearly *raṁñaṁmi*, Skr. *araṇye*, a word which we have already met with in the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359.

C 1 opens with a hole, with room enough for four letters, followed by an almost complete *raṁ* and a *mi*. There are traces left of the first akshara, which seems to have been *na*. I therefore think that we may restore *navaviharaṁmi*. The next words were read as *acharyana sarvastivadana* by Professor Thomas, whose plates did not show the last two aksharas of the line, *pari*.

D 1. The first aksharas are defaced but clearly visible in the original, being *grahaṁmi*. Then follows *thubaṁmi bhag(r)avatasa Śakyamunisa*.

A 2. *śarira pradiṭhavedi yatha uta bhag(r)avada*. Professor Thomas read *yaṭha* and *utaṁ*, but I feel confident that my reading is correct.

B 2–D 3 do not call for any remark after what has been said about the peculiar signs used in this part of the record. Professor Thomas read *śoya* for *śogra*, and *domanavi(si)uvega saṁbhavati* for *dormanastaüvagrasa evam asa*, because his materials were too defective to make it possible to see the actual reading.

Then we must go on with D 4, as already stated, where the only doubtful akshara

A

B

2

C

2.

D

2

is the last one, which seems to me to be clearly *te* and not *de*. L. 4 forms the continuation of the inscription proper, which was interrupted by the quotation.

The concluding line, A 4, was illegible in Professor Thomas's plate, but is quite certain. The name *Mahiphatia* is not known from other sources.

Text

L. 1 (A). [Saṁ 20 masa]sa Avadunakasa di 20 iś[e] kshunaṁmi (B) Śveḍ(r)avarma Yaśaputra tanu[v]akaṁmi raṁñaṁmi (C) [navaviha*]raṁmi acharyana sarvastivadana pari(D)[grahaṁ]mi thubaṁmi bhag(r)avatasa Śakyamunisa

L. 2 (A). śarira pradiṭhavedi yatha uta bhag(r)avada (B) avijaprachag(r)a saṁk'ara(ṁ) saṁk'araprachag(r)a viñana (C) [vi]ñanaprachag(r)a namaruva namaruvaprachag(r)a shaḍ(r)a[ya](D)[dana] shaḍ(r)ayadanaprachag(r)a phasha p[h*]ashaprachag(r)a

L. 3 (A). vedana vedanaprachag(r)a tash'a tash'aprachag(r)a uvadana (B) uvadanaprachag(r)a bhava bhavaprachag(r)a jadi jadipracha[g(r)a] (C) jaramara[na]śog(r)aparidevadukhadormanastaüvag(r)asa (D) [evam asa] kevalasa dukhak'aṁdhasa saṁmudae bhavadi

L. 4 (D). sarvasatvana puyae aya cha pratichasaṁmupate (A) likhida Mahiphatiena sarvasatvana puyae.

Translation

Anno 20, on the 20. d. of the month Avadunaka, at this instant Śveḍavarma, the son of Yaśa, establishes a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in his own grove, in the new Vihāra, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teachers, in a stūpa. As it has been said by the Lord: in interconnexion with delusion the saṁskāras, with the saṁskāras consciousness, with consciousness name and form, with name and form the six organs, with the six organs touch, with touch sensation, with sensation thirst, with thirst grasping, with grasping life, with life birth, with birth decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair. Thus is the origin of this whole aggregate of suffering—for the honouring of all beings. And this pratītyasamutpāda has been written down by Mahiphatia for the honouring of all beings.

LXXXI. Plate XXX. 1: PESHĀWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION, No. 21

Inscription No. 21 of the Peshāwar Museum is found on a stone measuring 16 in. × 9 in. × 6 in., which was presented to the Museum by Sir Aurel Stein on the 4th July, 1916.[1] We have no information as to the place where it has been found. Sir Aurel has kindly let me know that it was presented to him by Sir Harold Deane.

The inscribed portion measures twelve inches by five, and the average size of letters is 1 in.

There are altogether four lines of writing; of the first one, however, only a few aksharas remain.

The characters are roughly drawn and remind us of the Zeda and Ārā inscriptions; cf. the forms of *kha*, *de*, and *sa*, and note the compound *pt* in l. 4.

L. 1. Only some fragments of the writing remain. We have a complete *ma*, the lower portion of a *ha*, traces of two aksharas with long verticals, and the greater part of a *sa*. The first word must, accordingly, have been *maharajasa*.

Then there are remnants of a letter which seems to be *va*, and further what looks

[1] Cf. V. Natesa Aiyar, ASIFC, 1916–17, pp. 6, 27; Majumdar, List, no. 55.

is the last one, which seems to me to be clearly *te* and not *de*. L. 4 forms the continuation of the inscription proper, which was interrupted by the quotation.

The concluding line, A 4, was illegible in Professor Thomas's plate, but is quite certain. The name *Mahiphatia* is not known from other sources.

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L. 2 (A). śarira pradiṭhavedi yatha uta bhag(r)avada (B) avijaprachag(r)a saṁk'ara(ṁ) saṁk'araprachag(r)a viñana (C) [vi]ñanaprachag(r)a namaruva namaruvaprachag(r)a shaḍ(r)a[ya](D)[dana] shaḍ(r)ayadanaprachag(r)a phasha p[h*]ashaprachag(r)a

L. 3 (A). vedana vedanaprachag(r)a tash'a tash'aprachag(r)a uvadana (B) uvadanaprachag(r)a bhava bhavaprachag(r)a jadi jadipracha[g(r)a] (C) jaramara[na]śog(r)aparidevadukhadormanastaüvag(r)asa (D) [evam asa] kevalasa dukhak'aṁdhasa saṁmudae bhavadi

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There are altogether four lines of writing; of the first one, however, only a few aksharas remain.

The characters are roughly drawn and remind us of the Zeda and Ārā inscriptions; cf. the forms of *kha*, *de*, and *sa*, and note the compound *pt* in l. 4.

L. 1. Only some fragments of the writing remain. We have a complete *ma*, the lower portion of a *ha*, traces of two aksharas with long verticals, and the greater part of a *sa*. The first word must, accordingly, have been *maharajasa*.

Then there are remnants of a letter which seems to be *va*, and further what looks

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[1] Cf. V. Natesa Aiyar, ASIFC, 1916–17, pp. 6, 27; Majumdar, List, no. 55.

like the *u*-mātrā of an akshara. It would be possible to read the name as *Vajhushkasa*, but the existing traces are too faint to allow us to judge.

The remainder of the first line is hopeless, and the difficulty is increased through the apparent distribution over two lines. If the two or three blurred groups of strokes which seem to stand in the lower line are flaws in the stone of the same kind as what we can observe below l. 4, it would be possible to read the end of the line as *20 4 jeṭhasa*, though the apparent *4* is a straight and not a sloping cross. We might then tentatively restore the whole line as *maharajasa Vajhushkasa saṁbatśare* 20 *4 Jeṭhasa*. But the only certain word is *maharajasa*.

L. 2 begins with *masasa* followed by an akshara which looks like the *di* of the Ārā inscription, though it might also be *ti*. Then there is an open space, with room for one or two numerical figures, which cannot be made out.

The remaining portion of the record can be read without much difficulty. L. 2 runs on *iśe kshuṇaṁmi khaṇavide* [*kuve*]. There seems to be an akshara standing below the *ṇa* of *khaṇavide*, but it is evidently only a flaw in the stone. The last word of the line might be *kupe*, but I think that *kuve* is more likely.

L. 3. The beginning is quite clear, viz. *Vasudeveṇa Idradevaputreṇa*, where the *dra* or *Idra* might also be read as *tra*. The last word of the line was read as *Khemadeveṇa* by Mr. Majumdar, but I have little doubt that we must read *bramaṇeṇa* or, rather, *bramhaṇena*, for there seems to be a curve below the *ma*, of the same kind as in the Dhammapada manuscript.

L. 4. The first akshara looks more like *o* than *sta*, and the apparent continuation of the *o*-stroke to the right of the vertical seems to represent a peeling off of the stone. The second is *bha*, and I take the strokes running upwards towards the *su* of l. 3 and backwards from the bottom to be flaws in the stone. Then comes *ra*, surmounted by a sloping line, which may also represent an unevenness in the stone itself.

The next word is clearly *vastaveṇa*, and then follows *daṇas*[*y*]*a avaptir astu*, where the only doubtful point is whether we should take the backward bottom-stroke of *sa* in *daṇasya* as a mutilated *ya*-loop or read *sa*.

The last sentence is accordingly Sanskrit, *dānasya avāptir astu*, may there be obtainment (of the meritorious results) of the donation. This is the only known case where we find Sanskrit in Indian Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. We know from the documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia, which can be roughly dated in the second half of the second century A.D.,[1] that Kharoshṭhī was then occasionally used for writing Sanskrit,[2] and our inscription shows that such was also the case in north-western India, apparently in the second half of the second century.

The introduction of Sanskrit was no doubt subsequent to the Kanishka Council, and we know that Sanskrit became later on the church language of the Sarvāstivādins. The use of Sanskrit in our record may be due to a belief in the greater efficacy of Sanskrit in such blessings, which are more or less of the nature of charms. Or the explanation may be found in the fact that the donor was a Brahman.

At all events the sentence is, through the use of Sanskrit, separated from the bulk of the record, and adds strength to my explanation of the final sentence in the Taxila silver scroll, *ṇivaṇae hotu aya de samaparichago*, as standing outside the context.

The writing *daṇas*[*y*]*a* for *dānasya* further shows that no difference was heard

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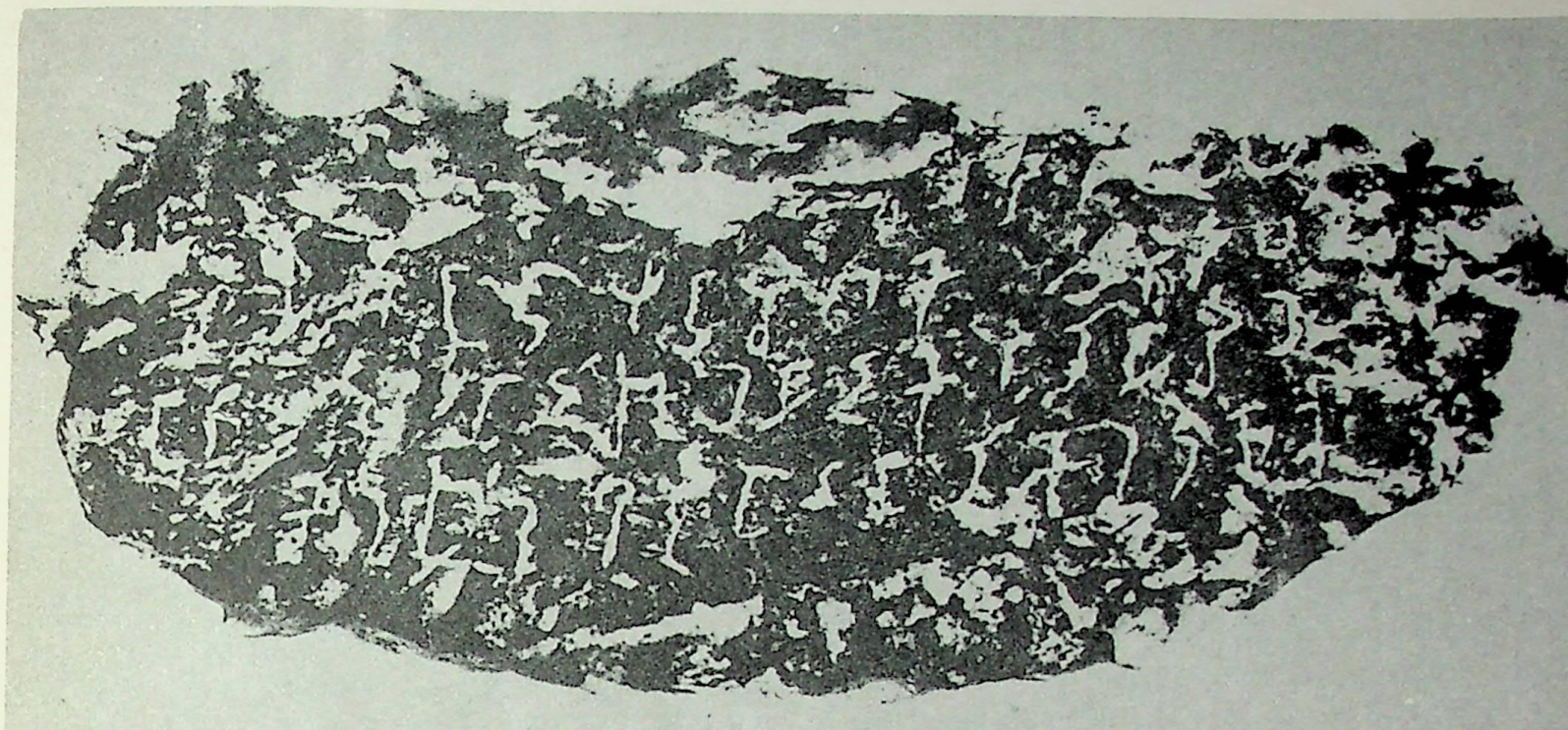
[1] Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, ii, pp. 113 ff.

[2] Cf. e.g. Boyer, Rapson, Senart, JA, XI, xiii, 1918, pp. 319 ff.

1. PESHĀWAR MUSEUM, 21

Scale 0 50

2. HIDDA. YEAR 28

A

L. 1

L. 2

B

L. 1a

L. 1b

L. 2a

L. 2b

between a dental and a cerebral *n*. In the Sanskrit texts from Central Asia mentioned above, we similarly find *maṇushyä*, *vartamānä*, *dhaṇāṇi*, &c.

TEXT

L. 1 maha[raja]sa . . .
2 masasa di . . . iśe kshuṇaṁmi khaṇavide [kuve]
3 Vasudeveṇa Idradevaputreṇa [bra]m[h]aṇeṇa
4 Obha[ra]vastaveṇa Daṇas[y]a avaptir astu.

TRANSLATION

Of the Mahārāja . . . on the . . day of the month . . ., at this term this well was caused to be dug by the Brahman Vāsudeva, the son of Indradeva, a resident of Obhara. May there be obtainment of (the meritorious results of) the gift.

LXXXII. PLATE XXX. 2: HIDDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28

The small village of Hidda is situated on a line of conglomerate elevations, about five miles to the south of Jalālābād. It was there that the Chinese pilgrims found the stūpa said to contain the Lord's *ushṇīshā*. The site was examined by Masson, who in one of the stūpas found a jar, with a Kharoshṭhī inscription, 'written with a pen, but very carelessly'.[1]

Some of Masson's papers have been deposited in the India Office, and among them Professor Thomas found some other copies of the Hidda inscription, with an attempt at a transliteration, and from a comparison of these materials he published a new reading of the record,[2] with reproductions of the old plate and of Masson's copy. The plate now published in the Corpus is simply a recast reproduction of Professor Thomas's plates, in the arrangement which he has established.

The inscription contains two lines of Kharoshṭhī letters. Though the hand-copies from which the plates are reproduced are rather faulty, it has proved possible for Professor Thomas to read the whole record.

The first word is *saṁbatśarae*, but the first letter looks like *se-* or *seṁ*. The next seems to be *aṭhaviṁśatihi*, as read by Professor Thomas. We should expect *aṭhaviṁśe* or *aṭhaviṁśami*, or else *saṁbatśarehi* for *saṁbatśare*.

Then follow the numerical figures 10 4 4 and evidently *masye*. Professor Thomas reads *mase* and corrects to *masa*. The next words are *Apelae sastehi daśahi*, for which Professor Thomas reads *Ape*(or *pi*)*laesa stehi daśahiṁ*. The only question is, I think, whether we must not read *sasthehi*, for there is evidently a vertical rising from the cross-bar, as sometimes in the Kharoshṭhī documents from Central Asia, where it has been customary, in such cases, to transliterate *sth*.

Then comes the figure 10, and further *iśa*, or *iśe* as read by Professor Thomas, *kshunaṁmi pratistapita śarira*. The two copies read *phraristapita* and [*phra*]*taja-stapita*, respectively, and it is, as already stated, uncertain whether we should read *stha* or *sta*.

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[1] Cf. H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 1841, pp. 60, 105 ff., 258 f., and plate opposite p. 262; Cunningham, JASB, xxxii, 1863, p. 144; Rajendralal Mitra, ibidem, pp. 152 f.; Dowson, JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 230 f. The Hidda inscription mentioned by É. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1844, p. 348; Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, ii, 1852, p. 1178[3] (2. ed. 1192[3]), is in reality the Bīmarān inscription, which was wrongly stated to have come from Hidda in *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 259.

[2] JRAS, 1915, pp. 91 ff., with plates.

The next word was read *rajavaṁtimi* by Professor Thomas. The two copies read [*ja*]*taṁña*(or *pa*)*mi* and *rajataṁñami*, respectively. Also other copies in the India Office have a *ra* after the *ra* of *śarira*. I have little doubt that we must read either *rajaraṁña*[*ṁ*]*mi* or simply *raṁña*[*ṁ*]*mi*, in the royal wood, or, in the wood. Cf. the Kurram casket inscription.

Then follows, as read by Professor Thomas, *thubami* (or, perhaps *thubaṁmi*) *Saṁghamitrena navakarmi*[*e*]*na*. I shall not make any attempt at distinguishing the cerebral and the dental *n*, because the two copies differ from each other.

L. 2. The beginning is certainly *edena k*[*u*]*śalamulena*, though the *u* of *ku* is not to be seen and the *śa* seems to be written twice, the second time in a distorted form, and though the final *na* of *mulena* looks like *e*. Professor Thomas supplied a *na* after *mule* and took *e* to the next word, which is certainly *tesha*. Then I accept Professor Thomas's *dharmana*, but read *abhibhuti* for his *lokika vija*. He states that the different copies of these words in the India Office diverge considerably. As to the reading *ti*, we may compare the *ti* of *pratistapita*, l. 1, where the termination of *ti* has likewise been made into an apparent *ja*. The next word looks like *yasha*, which Professor Thomas takes to be a misreading for *yaśo*. The preceding *tesha* makes me inclined to read *yesha*. Then follows *dharmakhae*, which I take to represent Skr. *dharmakshayaḥ*, and not *-kshaye*. I accordingly translate: 'with suppression of those dharmas where there is a decay of dharma'.

Then I follow Professor Thomas in thinking that the next word is misread for *bodhisatvaśarira*, though the first four aksharas are badly misdrawn.

The following words have been restored by Professor Thomas as *sarvasatvana nirvanasambharae bhavatu rajasa agraprachaṁya*. He takes the apparent *prachaṁya* to be either misread for *prachaṁśa* or to represent Skr. *agrapratyāya*, in which the second member had the rare sense of 'tribute', 'share'. I take the final *ya* to be misread for *śa*, and as Mr. Masson's copies immediately go on with *edena*, I suppose that an *e* has been overlooked before the *e*, so that we should read *prachaṁśae* or, perhaps, *pratyaṁśae*.

It will be seen that the inscription cannot be properly read. With some confidence it can, however, be restored as follows:

Text

L. 1. saṁbatśarae aṭhaviṁśatihi 20 4 4 masye Apelae sastehi daśahi 10 iś[e] kshunaṁmi pratistapita śarira rajaraṁñaṁmi thuba[ṁ]mi Saṁghamitrena navakarmiena

L. 2. edena k[u]śalamulena tesha dharmana abhibuti y[e]sha dharmakhae bodhisatvaśarira sarvasatvana nirvanasaṁbharae bhavatu rajasa agraprachaṁśae.

Translation

In the twenty-eighth—28.—year, in the month Apellaios, when ten—10—had appeared, at this term a relic was deposited in the king's grove, in a stūpa, by the architect Saṁghamitra. Through this root of bliss may the Bodhisattva relic, with suppression of those dharmas where there is a decay of dharma, be for the equipment for Nirvāṇa for all beings, and for a principal share for the king.

LXXXIII. Plate XXXI. 1: SHAKARDARRA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40

Shakardarra is situated near Campbellpore in the North-West Frontier Province. In an old well at that place a Kharoshṭhī inscription was discovered and presented to the Lahore Museum by Mr. F. S. Talbot. It bears the Museum number I. 142.

The inscription has been read by Messrs. Bühler,[1] Banerji,[2] Konow,[3] and Majumdar.[4]

The inscription is incised on a slab 1 ft. 6 in. high, with a polished surface measuring 1 ft. by 9¾ in. It covers a space 10 in. long and 7½ in. high. The size of individual letters varies from ½ in. to 2 in. At the end of the record is a rough drawing of an animal facing a jar with a branch of a tree.

The characters are similar to those of the Ārā inscription, but the execution is still more rough. Two of the aksharas, viz. the *ka* and *ḍa* of l. 3, show a sloping bottom-line, which is well known from the Aśoka inscriptions and old coins. The vertical of *ka* in *kale*, l. 2, is provided with a backwards curve, which reminds us of the curve marking long vowels in a Kharoshṭhī Sanskrit document from Eastern Turkestan.[5] I shall therefore write *kā*. The akshara *da* is almost indistinguishable from *ta* in *Proṭhavadasa*, *divasa* . ., l. 1, *di*, *divasa*, l. 2, *droṇi*, l. 3, and *daṇamukho*, l. 4, but has a more regular shape in *khadao*, l. 3.

L. 1 contains the beginning of the date. The *o*-stroke of *pro* has caused a slight peeling off of the stone, the result being an apparent curve. The *r*-stroke is not certain. It has an unusually sharp angle against the vertical and looks, on the stone itself, more like a flaw than a vowel-stroke. Finally the horizontal protrudes to the left of the vertical, and seems to join the ensuing *ṭha*, which is, in its turn, damaged, while the *sa* shows the prolongation of the vertical known from old records. These features will prove to be of importance for our understanding of the Rāwal inscription.

Then follows *di*[*vasa*], but the corner of the stone has been knocked off in this place, and there seems to have stood an akshara after *sa*. I therefore read *divasa*[*mi**] We may note that the fracture is responsible for an apparent stroke above *va*.

L. 2 gives the continuation of the date, which is the 20th Praushṭhapada of the year 40, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk, to the 27th July, A.D. 168.

The next two words are *atra divasakāle*, where we may note the shape of *tra* and the akshara which I have already stated that I take to represent *kā*.

Then follows an akshara which I follow Bühler in reading as *śa* and a mutilated letter, which he took to be *ka*, connecting *śaka* with the three first aksharas of l. 3, which he read as *nikame*, and explaining *Śakanikama* as the old name of Shakardarra. The existing traces of the last akshara seem to me to be more in favour of *la* than of *ka*, and I shall provisionally read *śala*.

L. 3. The first akshara, which Bühler read as *ni*, was taken to be an *e* by Banerji, while Majumdar followed Bühler. It seems to me that we have certainly to do with a dental *n*, but I do not think that the vowel stroke is an *i*, because the *i* of *ni* is elsewhere written across the lower vertical. I think that we must read *no*. The next aksara, *ka*,

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[1] *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, xxxv, 1898, pp. 14 ff., with plate.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 66, with plate I.

[3] SBAW, 1916, p. 795[1]. A new edition will appear in the Ep. Ind.

[4] J&PASB, xviii, 1922, pp. 61 ff., with plate III; cf. List, no. 61.

[5] See Stein, *Serindia*, pl. XXIV, N. XXIV, viii, 9, reverse.

is, as already remarked, provided with a sloping bottom-stroke. It is possible that it is without significance, but I think it more probable that it is an *r*-stroke, continued to the left of the vertical in the same way as we have found it to be the case with the horizontal of *pa* in *proṭhavada*. I therefore read *nokrame*, corresponding to Skr. *naukrama*, bridge of boats. I take *Śalanaukrama* to be the old name of Shakardarra, characterizing it as the eastern starting-point for the crossing of the Indus, and it is of interest to note that we find *Śalātura*, the present Lahor, on the other side of the river.

The next word is evidently *kuvo*. The *u* is defaced and looks almost like *o*, but the original shows that this appearance is simply due to the careless engraving.

Then follows *khadao*, Skr. *khātakaḥ*, dug, and not, as suggested by Majumdar, *kshatakaḥ*.

The remaining aksharas of the line were read as *tranivajanasa* by Bühler, *troniva . . nasa* by Banerji, and *traṇivadreṇa saṁ . .* by Majumdar. The first is different from the *tra* in *atra*, but reminds us of the *d* in *divasakāle*. The projection to the left may be an *o*-mātrā, and I would therefore read *droṇi*. Then comes a clear *va* and an akshara which seems to me to be *ḍa*, with the same backward bend of the head which we often find in the Dhammapada manuscript. Below is the same sloping bottom-stroke which I read as *r* in *nokrame*. I therefore read *droṇivaḍra* and take this together with the ensuing *ṇa* as one word, the genitive plural of a word which seems to contain *droṇi*, and *vaḍra*. *Droṇī* can mean ' a canoe ', but is also stated to be the name of a country, and *vaḍra* seems to be Skr. *padra*, a village. The *droṇivaḍras* might accordingly be the Droṇī villagers, or the canoe villagers, but I prefer to leave the word untranslated.

The reading *saṁ* of the last akshara of the line was originally suggested by myself. It seems, however, as if Bühler was right in reading *sa*. It will be seen that the leg of the akshara is shorter than usual with *sa*, and I think that the bottom has been bent in order to avoid its running into the figures standing below.

L. 4 The first word was read as *jarani* by Bühler, who explained it as representing Skr. *jharaṇī*, a well. Majumdar read *gurave*. The first akshara runs into the letter standing above it in l. 3 and is badly drawn, but can hardly be anything else than *ha*. The second is certainly *ra*, and the third seems to be *na* or *ṇa*. I take these aksharas together with the last one in l. 3 and read *saharaṇa*, the genitive plural of *sahara*, i. e. *sahāra*, which may represent a *sahakāra* or a *sahachara*.[1]

The last word being certainly *daṇamukho*, I read the whole as follows :

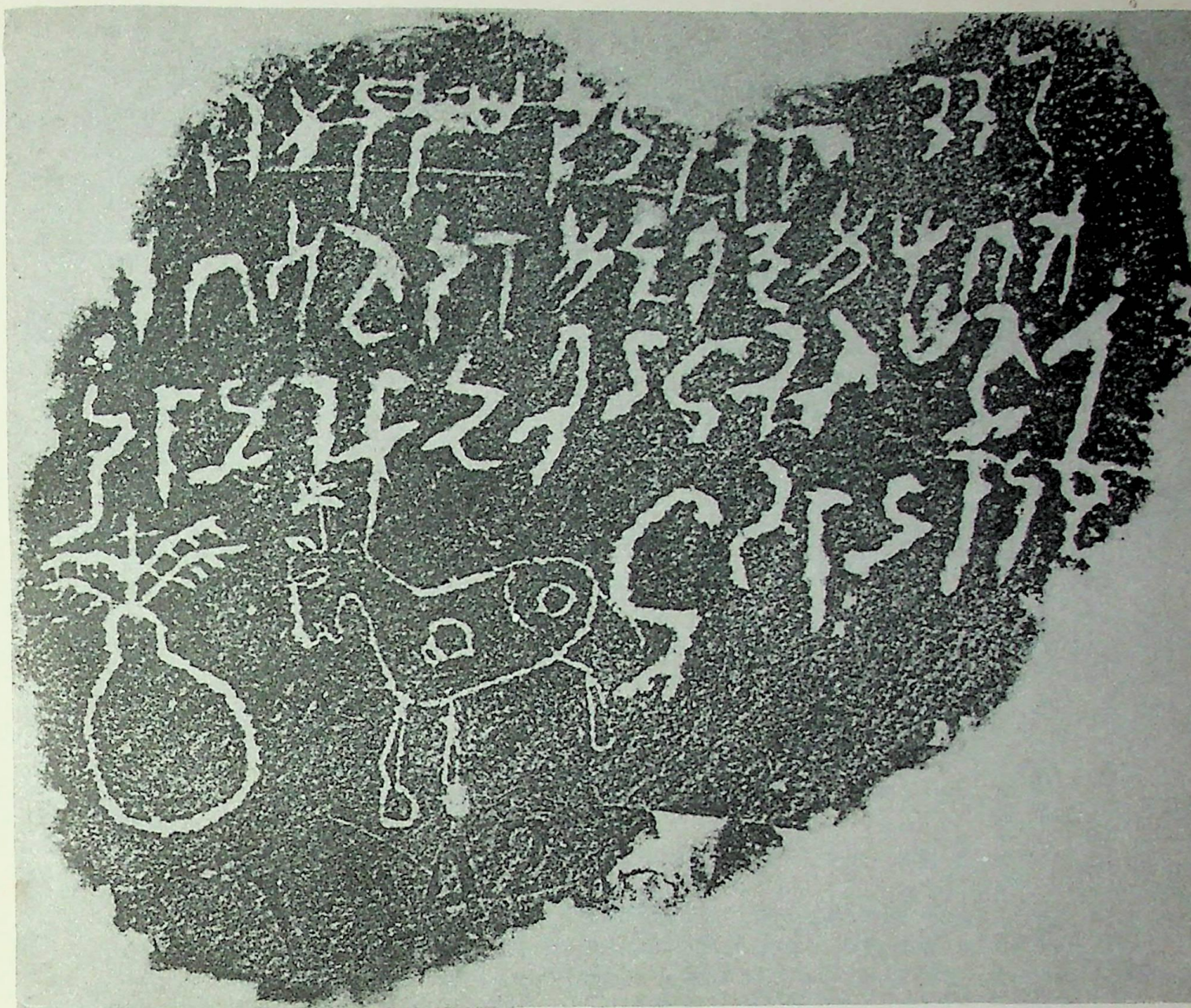
Text

L. 1 saṁ 20 20 [Pro]ṭhavadasa masasa di[vasa][mi*]
2 viśami di 20 atra divasakāle Śa[la]-
3 nokrame k[u]vo khadao Droṇivaḍraṇa sa-
4 haraṇa daṇamukho.

Translation

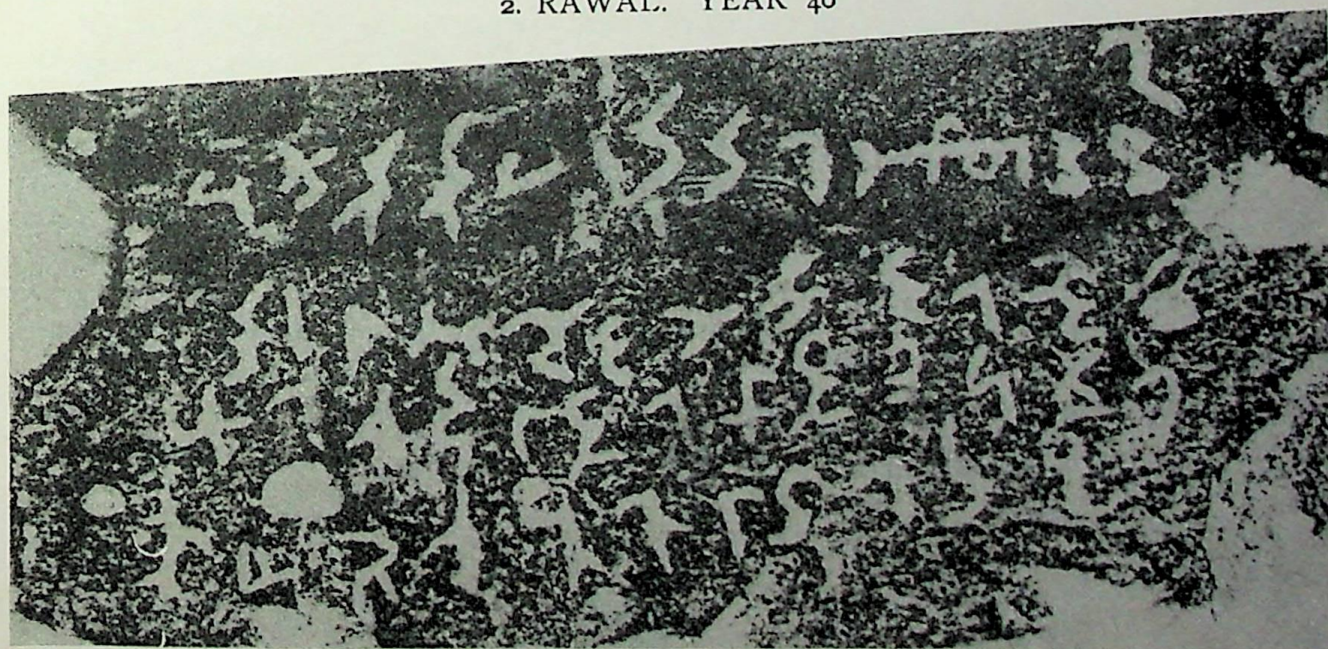
Anno 40, on the twentieth day—d. 20—of the month Praushṭhapada, at this day time this well was dug at the Śalā ferry as the gift of the Droṇīpadra companions.

[1] Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 167.

1. SHAKARDARRA. YEAR 40

2

4

Scale 0·70

2. RĀWAL. YEAR 40

Scale 0·60

LXXXIV. Plate XXXI. 2: RĀWAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40

Rāwal is a village near Mathurā, situated on the eastern side of the Jamna. It belongs to the localities which are included in the regular progression of pilgrims and is considered to represent the place where Rādhā's mother lived.

There is a fairly high and extensive mound at Rāwal, and there the Honorary Curator of the Mathurā Museum, Paṇḍit Radha Krishna, found a stone, 1 ft. long and about 4 in. high, bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription. The stone is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The inscription consists of four lines, one on the upper surface, the other ones on the front side. The size of individual letters varies between ½ in. and 1¼ in.

As will be seen from the plate, the characters have a peculiar appearance, and I should not have been able to make anything out of the inscription, if I had not recognized some groups which I remembered from the Shakardarra record. A detailed comparison further showed that the Rāwal epigraph is a clumsy copy of the latter, made by a person who did not understand the text he tried to imitate.

L. 1. The initial *saṁ* is quite misdrawn, while the numerical figures 20+20 are fairly well executed. In *Proṭhavadasa* the copyist has not seen any *r*-stroke in *pro*, and he has reproduced the blurred *o*-stroke as a semicircle and taken an apparent bend of the vertical of *pa* to be intended. The prolongation of the horizontal has been continued into the ensuing *ṭha*, which has been too indistinct. The *va* and the *da* are fairly well copied, but the prolongation of the vertical of *sa* has led the copyist astray, and, on the whole, his *sa*'s can only be recognized with the help of the original; cf. the ensuing *masasa*.

The edge of the stone was damaged as it is now, and the copyist has only been able to see *diva*, taking the apparent bar above the *va* as intended.

L. 2. The four first aksharas are represented by one sign, which seems to be a clumsy imitation of *śa*. The ensuing *20 atra divasakāle* can be recognized when we compare the original. The following *śa* has been misdrawn and looks like *ṇa*, and the concluding akshara of the line is only of interest in so far as it makes it likely that the left limb of the supposed *la* was less damaged than now, when the copy was made.

L. 3. The first akshara has been drawn as an *o*, with a sloping top-stroke instead of the upper curve of *na*. The second can still be recognized as *kra*, but the *me* has been misunderstood and looks like *ra*. The ensuing *kuvo khada* has been omitted, evidently through oversight, and in the following we can recognize *odroṇivaḍraṇa*, where the aksharas which I have read as *dro* and *ḍra*, respectively, have been taken to be identical. Also the ensuing *sa* can be made out.

Then three aksharas have been added, which have nothing to correspond to them in the original. The first is repeated in l. 4, below the *sa* of l. 3, and the last looks like an attempt at reproducing the top of the picture shown in the Shakardarra inscription.

L. 4. The first letter has been comparatively well copied, almost as an ordinary *ha*; the second and third ones, which look like *dava*, can only be understood by comparing the original.

The ensuing *daṇa* has come out fairly well. Now the copyist seems to have discovered his omission in l. 3 and wanted to add *kuvo*. He has omitted the blurred *u* of *ku*, made the *va* into a *ra*, and added the *o*-stroke on the wrong side. Or else the two aksharas may be an attempt at reproducing *mukho*, with an inverted *mu*.

The remaining aksharas are too deformed to make it possible to find out what they are meant to render. The first has already been mentioned in connexion with l. 3, and the rest may represent an attempt at reproducing parts of the picture of the original.

It will be seen that the Rawal stone does not contain a genuine inscription, but is simply a forgery, or rather an attempt at imitating an older original. It is impossible to say when this attempt was made, but it is probably old. On the other hand, we can infer with certainty that the stone does not originally hail from Mathurā, but has been brought from Shakardarra by some pilgrim. And it is comparatively easy to see why he did so. His intention was certainly not to deceive. He knew the Shakardarra well and its inscription, and the latter was, in his eyes, nothing more than a magic spell, which had shown its power in securing good water in the Shakardarra well. And he wanted to engage the same mystic power for the benefit of a well or some other pious establishment in Mathurā. The inscription is, in this way, of importance as throwing light on the popular conception of lithic records as a kind of magic or spell, and there cannot be any doubt that this conception goes back into a remote past.

LXXXV. Plate XXXII. 1: ĀRĀ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 41

Ārā is a nala two miles from Bāgnilāb. According to information supplied by Dr. Spooner to Dr. Fleet, Bāgnilāb, 'the Chah Bagh Nilab of maps, is about ten miles south-south-west from Attock, and apparently on the south bank of the Indus, at a point where the river, having made a sharp bend about eight miles below Attock, runs to the west for some ten miles: the latitude and longitude appear to be 33° 46′ and 72° 12′.'

At Ārā a stone, measuring 2 ft. 8 in. by 9 in. and bearing a Kharoshṭhī inscription, has come to light, and it was presented to the Lahore Museum by Sir Aurel Stein, and bears the Museum number I. 133.

The inscription has been edited by Messrs. Banerji,[1] Lüders,[2] and Konow,[3] and contributions to the interpretation were made by Dr. Fleet.[4]

The inscription consists of six lines, and the size of individual letters varies between ¾ in. and 1¾ in.

The characters are Kharoshṭhī of the later Kushāṇa period. We may note the *kha*, which is almost identical with the *kha* of Shakardarra, the *jha* of *Vajheshka*, l. 2; the shape of *de* and *ba*; the prolongation of the left leg of the square *ya*; the separation of the *i*-stroke from the *la* in *li*, l. 6; the circle shape of *r* in *rtha*, and the two forms of *shka* in *Vajheshka* and *Kanishka*.

L. 1. The initial *ma* shows a bar across the right upright as in the Sui Vihār inscription. I have stated in the discussion of that record that I take the bar to mark the beginning. The first words *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa* are quite clear, though the last aksharas, *-trasa*, are damaged. Nor can there be much doubt about the concluding word of l. 1, which Mr. Banerji read as *pathadharasa*, but which Professor Lüders recognized as *kaïsarasa*, i. e. the Roman title Caesar.

Professor Lüders has drawn attention to the fact that the titles used in the inscription find a kind of commentary in the ancient notion about four emperors, the 'sons

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 58 ff., with plate.

[2] SBAW, 1912, pp. 824 ff., translated *Ind. Ant.*, xlii, 1913, pp. 132 ff.; cf. JRAS, 1909, p. 652.

[3] SBAW, 1916, pp. 805 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 130 ff., with plate; cf. JBoBrRAS, New Series, i, pp. 1 ff.

[4] JRAS, 1913, pp. 97 ff., p. 967; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 1

of heaven' of China, India, the Roman empire and the Yüe-chï, as they are styled in Chinese translations of Buddhist works. The tradition about the four 'sons of heaven' has been examined by Professor Pelliot,[1] who shows that it was known over a large area at an early date. If it is of Indian origin, we should expect the arrangement of the four kingdoms to be India, Iran, China, and the Roman empire, and such an arrangement is clearly reflected in the titles of our inscription, where *mahārāja* is the Indian, *rājātirāja* the Iranian, *devaputra* the Chinese, and *kaïsara* the Roman title.

No chronological inference can be drawn from the use of the Roman title in this record, as has sometimes been done. For the title Caesar was used by the Roman emperors down to a late date.[2]

L. 2. The first word was read as *Vasishpaputrasa* by Mr. Banerji, *Vajheshkaputrasa* by Professor Lüders, and Mr. Majumdar took the second akshara to be perhaps 'a conjunct with *d* as the second member' and read the third as *shpa*.

It will be seen that the second letter is clearly the old form of *jha* which we find in the Aśoka inscriptions. It is also almost certain that there is an *e*-stroke. The third one is identical with the *shka* of the Zeda inscription, and though *shka* has a different shape in the ensuing *Kanishkasa*, I have no doubt that we must read *shka*, the more so because a compound *shpa* is never used in Kharoshṭhī records.

After *Kanishkasa* follows *saṁbatśarae ekachapariśai* as read by Lüders. We may note this certain instance of *p*, i. e. *pp*, for old *tv*. The *śa* of the last word, which stands at the beginning of l. 3, is defaced but certain.

Nor can there be any doubt about the reading of the words following after the ensuing *saṁ 20 20 1* as *Jeṭhasa masasa di 20 4 1*. Mr. Banerji's *Chetasa* is out of the question, and what he took to be *va* is certainly the figure 20, after which there is a short interval, occasioned by damage to the stone. The date, the 25th Jyaishṭha of the year 41, has been calculated by Dr. van Wijk to correspond to the 24th April, A.D. 169.

As was recognized by Professor Lüders, the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription cannot be the founder of the Kanishka era, whose last known date is from the year 23, and who had already been succeeded by Vāsishka in the year 24. He is designated as son of Vajheshka, and there can hardly be much doubt about the identity of this Vajheshka and Vāsishka, the Kushāṇa who had succeeded Kanishka I in the year 24. This Vāsishka is further identical with Kalhaṇa's Jushka, and we have already seen that a name beginning with *Va* and apparently containing an *u* in the second syllable, i.e. perhaps Vajhushka, occurs in a defaced Kharoshṭhī inscription in the Peshāwar Museum. The writings *i*, *e*, and *u* point to an indefinite vowel with a timbre which could not be exactly rendered in Indian script. The writings *j*, *jh* and *s*, on the other hand, are as many attempts at rendering the voiced *s*. Cf. the forms *Kusuluka*, *Kujula*, and κοζουλο; *Jhoila* and Zoilos, &c.

We do not know anything about the length of the reign of Vajheshka-Vāsishka or of his son Kanishka II. The dates of Vāsishka range between the years 24 and 28, and for Huvishka, who was perhaps a brother of Vāsishka, we have dates ranging between 33 and 60, i. e. the reigns of Kanishka II and Huvishka overlap. As pointed out in the Historical Introduction, the most natural assumption is that Kanishka I was succeeded by Vāsishka, who is throughout in Brāhmī records designated as *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Shāhī*, in the year 23 or 24, and he again, on his demise in an undefined year, by his son Kanishka II. At some time between 23 and 33 Huvishka became installed as king in the eastern provinces. He is usually styled *mahārāja devaputra*, and the imperial title *rājātirāja* is only added in an inscription of the year 40, i. e. about one

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[1] *T'oung Pao*, 1923, pp. 97 ff.

[2] Cf. JBoBrRAS, New Series, i, pp. 1 ff.

year before the date of the Ārā inscription. It would be tempting to infer that Vāsishka died about that time and that Huvishka and Kanishka II both claimed the succession. But it is just as possible that Huvishka for some time acknowledged Kanishka II as suzerain, and only extended his power to the north-west after the latter's death.

After the date follows *iś[e]*, where *e* is uncertain but probable; *divasakshuṇami*, and *kha*, which Professor Lüders supplied to *khaṇe*, but where the existing traces favour the reading *khade*.

L. 4. The first word was recognized by Professor Lüders as *kupe*, for the second he read *Dashaveraṇa*, while I suggested to read *Dashavhoteṇa*, cf. Scythic names such as Spargaphotas.[1] I have since then been able to examine the stone itself, and I found that the apparent *o*-mātrā in *vho* seems to be a flaw, and that the ensuing letter is rather *re* than *te*. I therefore read *Dashavhareṇa*, a name which is evidently Iranian. Then follows, as read by Lüders, *Poshapuriaputraṇa*, which he translated 'of the Poshapuria, i. e. Purushapurika, sons', taking *putra* to mean 'scion', 'one belonging to a group'. I now accept this reading, because the corresponding passage in the Taxila silver scroll also has *-putraṇa* and not *-putreṇa*. I also agree in considering *Poshapuria* as derived from *Poshapura*, Peshāwar, but I do not think that the *posha* of this word is Prākrit *poso*, Skr. *purusha*, but take it to correspond to Skr. *paushpa*, from *pushpa*, which in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada is represented by *pusha*. The form *Purushapura* is evidently a paṇḍit's etymology.

Then follows *matarapitaraṇa puya*, with traces of an akshara which I restore as *e*.

L. 5. The first akshara was read as *e* by Lüders, but I follow Banerji in reading *a*, because the *e*-stroke of *e* is added at the bottom of the vertical in the certain *e* in *aṇugraharthae* of the same line, where the *a*, moreover, has the same curved outline as our akshara, and because there are also other traces of damage to the stone in this place.

The ensuing aksharas are, as far as I can see, clearly *tmaṇasa* and not *naṁdasa* as read by Lüders In face of *atvaṇo* in the silver scroll, *atvaṇasa* in a Dharmarājikā inscription, and *apaṇage* on the Māṇikiāla stone, *atmaṇasa* seems to be a Sanskritized form, in accordance with the increasing importance of Sanskrit in the north-west after Kanishka I.

The remaining part of the line can be read with absolute certainty, though some of the letters are defaced: *sabharya[sa] saputrasa aṇugra[ha]rthae sarva[sapa]ṇa*. We may note the blurred *ha* in *aṇugraha*, where the bottom-stroke seems to be missing. After the final *ṇa* of *-sapaṇa* the stone is very rough, and nothing seems to have followed.

L. 6. The first aksharas were read as *jatisha* by Professor Lüders, but I think that I can see distinct traces of an *u* below the *sha*, and I read *shu*. The next akshara looks like the *ha* of *aṇugraha*, but is longer, and there is a distinct curve across the vertical, wherefore I read *hitae*.

After this Mr. Banerji read *hima* and Professor Lüders *ima*, but it seems to me that the stroke projecting from the *ma* must be the *o*-mātrā, and I read *imo*, which I take to be the neuter form *imaṁ*, which we know from Māgadhī and Paiśāchī. The curious curve below *i* may be the anusvāra, but is probably a flaw.

Then follows *cha*, with a curved bottom, *la* and a stroke, which Professor Lüders took to be the usual stop, while I tried to explain it as the numerical symbol 1. It is, however, written so near to the preceding *la* that I think it must be a misplaced *i*-stroke. The next letter is *khi*, and the ensuing one looks like both the *pa* in *posha-* and the *ya* in *puya*. I take it to be *ya* and explain *likhiya* as the gerund of *likh*, to write.

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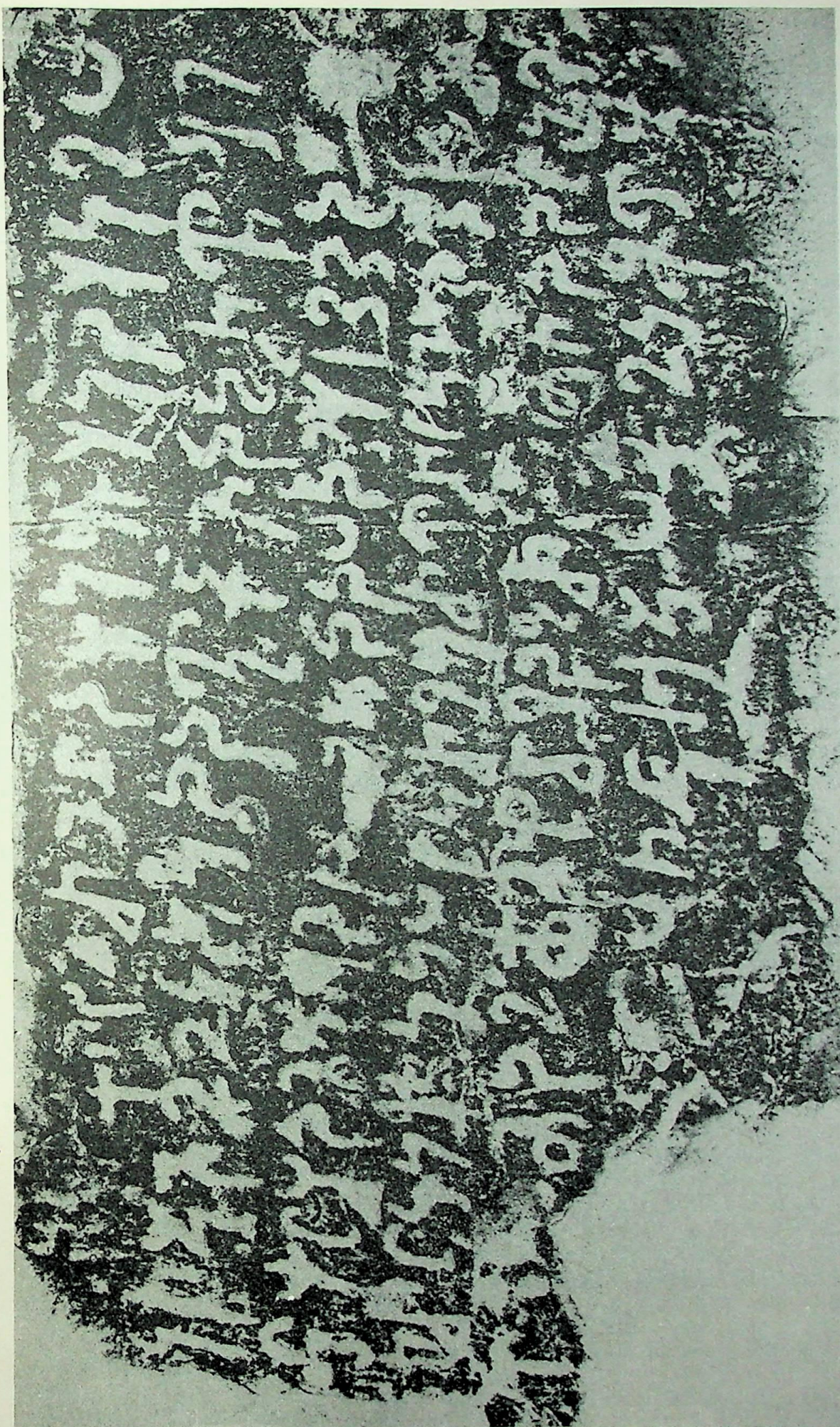
[1] See Thomas, JRAS, 1906, p. 206.

1. ĀRĀ. YEAR 41

2 4 6

2 4 6

Scale 0·50

2. UND. YEAR 61. CUNNINGHAM

Then follows *ma*, with a dot at the bottom, which seems to represent an unevenness in the stone, and a stroke within the curve, which seems to be rather an *e* than an *i*. I therefore read *me*.

The ensuing aksharas are badly defaced. The first might be *dha*, the second *ma*, and the third seems to be *da*, *sa* or *sya*. If we compare the final blessing of the Peshāwar Museum inscription no. 21, we might think of *dharmasya* (or *danasya*) *avaptir astu*, but it is impossible to arrive at satisfactory results. It may only be of interest to note that the result hoped for seems to have been partly connected with the engraving of the record, in which case we should have to state the same belief in the mystic power of the written aksharas which we found reflected in the Rāwal inscription.

My reading and translation are, then, as follows:

Text

L. 1 maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa [ka]i[sa]rasa
2 Vajheshkaputrasa Kanishkasa saṁbatśarae ekachapar[i]-
3 [śa]i saṁ 20 20 1 Jeṭhasa masasa di 20 4 1 iś[e] divasakshuṇami kha[de]
4 kupe [Da]shavhareṇa Poshapuriaputraṇa matarapitaraṇa puya[e]
5 atmaṇasa sabharya[sa] saputrasa aṇugra[ha]rthae sarva[sapa]ṇa
6 [ja]tish[u] [hi]tae [i]mo cha [li]khiya m[e] [dhama] . . .

Translation

(during the reign) of the Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra, Kaïsara Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka, in the forty-first year—anno 41, on the 25. day of the month Jyaishṭha, on this day-term this well was dug by Dashavhara, of the Peshāwarian scions, in honour of his mother and father, for the benefit of himself with his wife and son, for the welfare of all beings in the (various) births. And, having written this (might there) for me . . .

LXXXVI. Plate XXXIII: WARDAK VASE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 51

Wardak has become known to archaeologists as the site of some stūpas, which were partly opened under the directions of Mr. Masson, who found that some of them had already been dug into before his time. The place is situated about thirty miles to the west of Kābul.[1]

The name of the place is given as Khawat on maps, and Mr. Pargiter has shown that this name is already found in the inscription now under discussion, which is found on a bronze vase, 9·9 inches high and 6·6 inches broad, which was brought back by Masson and is now in the British Museum.

The inscription has been edited by Messrs. E. Thomas,[2] Rajendralala Mitra,[3] Dowson,[4] Pargiter,[5] Senart,[6] and Konow,[7] and contributions to its interpretation have

[1] See Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, pp. 117 f.

[2] In James Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, London, 1858, i, pp. 161 ff., with plate x.

[3] JASB, xxx, 1861, pp. 337 ff., with plate and remarks by Mr. Bayley on pp. 347 ff.; cf. xxxii, 1863, pp. 156 ff.

[4] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 255 ff., with plate x; cf. JASB, xxxii, 1863, p. 428.

[5] JRAS, 1912, pp. 1060 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, xi, pp. 202 ff., with plates and notes by Professor F. W. Thomas; cf. JRAS, 1914, pp. 126 ff.

[6] JA, XI, iv, 1914, pp. 569 ff.; cf. VIII, xv, 1890, p. 121; IX, iv, 1894, p. 515[1]; IX, vii, 1896, p. 10.

[7] SBAW, 1916, pp. 807 ff.

been published by Messrs. Cunningham,[1] Fleet,[2] Thomas,[3] Lüders,[4] Banerji,[5] Grierson,[6] Hultzsch,[7] and Majumdar.[8]

The letters consist of dots and vary in size from $\frac{1}{8}$ in. to $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in ll. 1–3 and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in l. 4. They are arranged in four lines, the three first ones encircling the shoulder of the vase, and the fourth, separated by three lines, covering about half of the broadest circumference.

The alphabet belongs to the later Kushāṇa type and presents some peculiar features. In *Hashthuṇä*, l. 2, there are, as first seen by M. Senart, two dots above the final *ṇa*, which are without any parallel in Indian Kharoshṭhī records. They are, on the other hand, found in a Sanskrit Kharoshṭhī document from Endere in Eastern Turkestan,[9] where they are used in such cases where we should expect a visarga, e. g. *manushyä pathi vartamānä*, but also in *jīvitä*, i. e. *jīvitaṁ*. Professor Rapson transliterates *aḥ* and, consequently in our inscription, *Hashthuṇaḥ*. To me it seems more probable that the sound intended is the vowel which is noted in the same way in the Brāhmī Saka texts from Eastern Turkestan and which was the regular termination in the nominative and genitive singular of Saka *a*-bases. I shall, however, only retain the two dots and write *ä*, leaving the question about the meaning of the two dots open.

The letter *e* usually shows the *e*-stroke at the bottom of the ordinary *a*-sign. In *paḍ(r)iyaṁśae*, ll. 2, 3, however, the head of the akshara is omitted. Mr. Pargiter takes this defective *e* to be the sign of the anusvāra, but is himself aware of the obvious objection that the anusvāra is never written as a separate sign.

Some letters are provided with an apparently otiose *r*-stroke. Such is commonly the case with intervocalic *g*, the only exceptions being *Kamagulya*, l. 1, which is a name, and *jalayuga*, *yetiga*, *avashaḍ(r)igaṇa*, *mithyagas(r)a* and *agrabhaga*, l. 3, where we may assume carelessness of the engraver. The *r*-stroke in such cases has an angular shape, while it is a curve where also Sanskrit has *gr*. It seems probable that the angular *gr*, which usually corresponds to Skr. *-k-*, marks a voiced guttural fricative. I shall write *g(r)*.

In *ḍa* such a *r*-stroke is used throughout, except in the word *aṁḍajo*, where *ḍa* is preceded by an anusvāra. I shall write *ḍ(r)*.

The termination *ami* of the locative singular is throughout written *amri*, and I shall transliterate *am(r)i*, supposing an aspirated *m* to be meant.

Also *sa* occasionally occurs as an apparent *sra*, viz. in *Vagramareg(r)a sra*, l. 1. M. Senart compares the apparent *sra* which is often used in the genitive termination *asa*, but also in numerous other cases, e. g. sometimes in the pronoun *sa*, in the Kharoshṭhī documents from Central Asia. He thinks that no special value should be attached to the apparent *r*-stroke. He may be right, but it is also possible that we have to do with a modification, perhaps towards a voiced *z*.[10]

The apparent *sr* is sometimes used where we should expect *sy*; cf. *Hoveshkasra*, l. 2, *Mareg(r)asra*, l. 2, *mithyagasra*, l. 3. The sign which I transliterate *sy* in *masy[e]*, l. 1, is distinctly more curvilinear. It is, however, not excluded that *sy* was also pronounced with a voiced *s*, for we have, as has been mentioned above under the discussion of the Māṇikiāla inscription, the orthographs *sy* and *jh* for old intervocalic *s*.

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[1] JASB, xxxii, 1863, pp. 146 ff.; cf. xxxiii, 1864, p. 37. [2] JRAS, 1905, p. 647.
[3] JRAS, 1906, p. 214. [4] JRAS, 1909, pp. 661, 665; SBAW, 1913, p. 418[2]; 1919, pp. 763[1], 765 f. [5] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 30 f., 60, 67.
[6] JRAS, 1913, p. 141. [7] ZDMG, 73, pp. 224 ff. [8] J&PASB, xviii, 1922, p. 64; List, no. 93.
[9] Ed. Boyer, Rapson, Senart, JA, XI, xii, 1918, pp. 319 ff.
[10] Cf. Turner, JRAS, 1927, pp. 232 f.

Some other *y*-compounds exist in addition to *sy*; cf. *śakya*, l. 1, *arupyata* and *mithyaga*, l. 3.

With regard to other letters I shall only mention the use of the cerebral *ṇ* even where we elsewhere find *ña*, as in *ṇatig(r)a*, l. 2; the broad *ya*, which cannot easily be distinguished from *śa*, the compounds *rth*, *rv*, *shth*, and *st*.

L. 1. The reading of the date is certain, viz. *saṁ 20 20 10 1 masy[e] Arthamisiya sastehi 10 4 1*, corresponding, according to Dr. van Wijk's calculations, to the 25th April, A. D. 179. The *e* of *masye* has usually been read as *a*. It seems however that the backward bend of the head of *sya* is much more pronounced than elsewhere. The form *Arthamisiya* is evidently the locative or genitive of *Arthamisi*, adapted from Greek Artemisios. The word *sasta* has already been dealt with. I may only add that M. Senart proposes to connect it with Skr. *saṁsthā*, to which he assigns an elsewhere unknown meaning, *ahorātra*.

Then comes *imeṇa gaḍ(r)ig(r)eṇa*, which, as the analogy of other inscriptions shows, must mean 'at this instant' or some such thing. Professor Lüders is no doubt right in bringing *gaḍr(i)g(r)a*, i. e. older *ghaṭika* in connexion with Skr. *ghaṭikā*.

The ensuing portion runs *Kamagulyapu[tr]a Vagramareg(r)a s(r)a iśa Khavadam(r)i kadalayig(r)a*. The *tra* of *putra* looks like *dra*, but we have no means for judging about the actual sound. The sentence *s(r)a—kadalayig(r)a* has been recognized as parenthetical by Professor Lüders, while Mr. Pargiter has given the right explanation of the last word as corresponding to Skr. *kṛitālaya*, having fixed his residence, and seen that *Khavada* is the name of the place, the present Khawat.

Then comes *Vagramarig(r)aviharam(r)i thu[ba]mri*, where the *ba* of the latter word has an extraordinary appearance, looking like *sti* but being less angular than the *ste* of *sastehi*. I take the state of things to have been as follows: the engraver had before himself a *ba* of the same shape as in the Kurram, Loriyān Tangai, and other inscriptions, with a vertical left-hand termination bent backwards and upwards and then continued downwards in a long leg. His draft seems to have been indistinct, and he has made the sloping stroke connecting the front vertical with the leg into two short unconnected strokes and by mistake continued the lower one beyond the leg vertical, the result being an apparent cross-bar. It is, however, noticeable that the part of this bar which protrudes to the right of the vertical only consists of one dot.

The last words of l. 1 are *bhag(r)avada Śakyamuṇe śarira pariṭhaveti*, where we may note the Sanskritized genitive *muṇe*.

L. 2 opens with *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshkas(r)a agrabhag(r)ae bhavatu*. The only doubtful akshara is the *ho* of *Hoveshkas(r)a*, where the *o*-stroke has aslight upwards bend, so that M. Senart is perhaps right in reading *hu*.

Then follows *madapidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me Hashthunä Mareg(r)as(r)a puyae bhavatu*. The names *Hashthunä* and *Vagra Mareg(r)a* are evidently Iranian, and there are no *a priori* reasons for not explaining the form *Hashthunä* as the Saka nominative or genitive. The forms *madapidara* and *bhradara* are genitives of the singular; with regard to the former we may compare *matapitaraṁ* in the Patika and *matapitu* in the silver scroll inscriptions.

The ensuing passage runs *yo cha me bhuya ṇatig(r)amitrasaṁbhatig(r)aṇa puyae bhavatu*. Mr. Pargiter originally read *śocha* for *yo cha*, but has[1] accepted my reading. Professor Thomas was inclined to take *śo cha* as an error for *so cha*, Skr. *tach cha*, but *s* never becomes *ś*. *Yo* is the regular neuter pronoun, corresponding to Skr. *yad*, and

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[1] JRAS, 1914, p. 128.

yo bhuya represents Skr. *yad bhūyaḥ*. The form *ṇatig*(*r*)*a*, where we should expect *ñatig*(*r*)*a*, points to a vernacular somewhat farther to the east than the common dialect of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

The last words of l. 2, *mahiya cha Vag*(*r*)*amareg*(*r*)*as*(*r*)*a agrabhag*(*r*)*apaḍ*(*r*)*iyaṁśae*, are continued in the first word of l. 3, *bhavatu*. *Mahiya*, for which Mr. Pargiter read *mahīśa*, Skr. *mahīśa*, has been explained by Professor Lüders as corresponding to Skr. *mahyaṁ*, Prākrit *majjhaṁ*, which is a common genitive in Māhārāshṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī. The *gr* of *Vagra* in this place has the angular *r*-stroke which seems to denote a fricative *g*. The name being of unknown origin, I cannot do anything more than to reproduce the written form.

L. 3. After *bhavatu* comes *sarvasatvaṇa arogadakshiṇae bhavatu*, where we may note the absence of the otiose *r*-stroke in the *ga* of *aroga*. This *g* is derived from *gy* and probably stands for *gg*, with a non-fricative pronunciation.

Then follows *avi ya ṇarag*(*r*)*aparyata yava bhavagra yo a*[*tra*] *aṁtara a*[*ṁ*]*ḍajo jalayuga ya yetiga arupyata sarviṇa puyae bhavatu*. Mr. Pargiter corrected *aviya* to *ariya*, Skr. *ārya*, and M. Senart took *aviya* as one word, corresponding to Skr. *avīchi*. What stands in the text is, however, *aviya*, and I do not think that this can be anything else than Skr. *api cha*. We have already had two examples of *cha* in the record, viz. *yo cha* and *mahiya cha*. In both cases the preceding word originally ends in a consonant. In *sa parivara cha* and *mithyagas*(*r*)*a cha*, l. 3, on the other hand, a vowel precedes. In these last instances, however, *cha* seems to have a somewhat fuller meaning 'and also', 'and even', which may explain the retention of the initial. In the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada the general rule is that *cha* becomes *ya* after vowels, but remains as *cha* or is softened to *ja* after consonants. Thus we find *diva ya radi cha*, Skr. *divā cha rātriṁ cha*.[1] There are exceptions to the rule, but the rule itself is quite clear, and we have no reason for doubting that it also made itself felt in the dialect of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, especially in passages which have a more or less literary turn.

For *ṇarag*(*r*)*a* Mr. Pargiter read *ṇabag*(*r*)*a*, which he explained as Skr. *nṛipaka*, king, but *ṇarag*(*r*)*a* is, I think, certain, and can only be Skr. *naraka*, hell. *Paryata* has been recognized by Professor Thomas as representing Skr. *paryanta*, and *yava bhavagra*, which Mr. Pargiter read as *śava bhavag*(*r*)*a*, Skr. *śrāva-bhāvaka*, is evidently *yāvad bhavāgraṁ*.

The ensuing *yo atra aṁtara* was explained by Professor Thomas as *yad atrāntare*, and this explanation is evidently essentially right. I should only prefer to explain *antara* as *antaraṁ* : from hell to the culminating point of existence, what there is here between.

Then follows the enumeration. *A*[*ṁ*]*ḍajo* is Skr. *aṇḍaja*. The *o*-form of the nominative is of interest, because Wardak belongs to the territory where this form ends in *e*. In my opinion the form, as also the *ṇa* for old *jña* in *ṇatig*(*r*)*a* and the genitive *mahiya*, tends to show that the monks of Wardak were immigrants from a more eastern district in India. And, as a matter of fact, the Indian population of Afghanistan does not seem to have extended as far as Wardak. In other words, the Wardak inscription was drafted by foreign immigrants and not by old settlers in the country.

The ensuing *jalayuga* is evidently a careless writing instead of *jalayug*(*r*)*a*. It means the same thing as Skr. *jarāyuja*, as recognized by Mr. Pargiter, but is not the identical word.[2]

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[1] Cf. my remarks *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 91.

[2] Mr. Majumdar has failed to understand my old translation of the word 'Lebendiggeboren', i. e. viviparous, taking the German word to mean 'living beings'.

For *ya yetiga* Mr. Pargiter read *śaphatiga*, Skr. *śashpāttṛika*, graminivorous; Professors Thomas and Hultzsch *śaśetiga* and M. Senart *śaśvetiga*, explaining this as *saṁsvedika*, corresponding to Skr. *saṁsvedaja*. But the dental *s* cannot become *ś* in the dialect.

As is well known, we often find an enumeration of four kinds of beings: *aṇḍaja*, *jarāyuja*, *svedaja*, and *udbhijja*, and as two of them are clearly referred to in our passage, we might expect to find the remaining ones as well. The fourth term is, however, certainly missing, and this fact is apt to make us suspicious. Now Professor Hultzsch quotes the Vaiśeshikasūtra and its commentary, according to which there are two kinds of bodies, such as are born from a *yoni*, and such as are not. The former are of two kinds, *jarāyuja* and *aṇḍaja*. Here there is no question of the *svedajas*, and the same is evidently the case in our passage: it only enumerates the *yonijas*.

Now it is hardly possible to distinguish *ś* and *y* in our inscription, and as it does not seem possible to find a word such as *śaśetiga* or *śaśvetiga*, the *e* making it impossible to think of *śaśvatika*, and since *ya yetiga*, Skr. *cha yāvat* (cf. Prākrit *jettia*) suits the context in every respect, I see no reason for abandoning my old reading and explanation. *Yetiga* then stands for *yetig(r)a*.

The next word *arupyata* was explained as *arūpyātmā*, incorporeal soul, by Mr. Pargiter and Professor Hultzsch, *arūpyāṁta*, including the invisible, by Professor Thomas and M. Senart, while I took it to be a verb. It now seems to me that the quotation from Childers given by M. Senart, according to which the *bhavagga* is the highest of the *arūpa* worlds, makes it probable that *arupyata* is *arūpyatā*, i. e. essentially the same thing as *arūpyadhātu*. I therefore take the enumeration to mean: what is born from an egg (*aṇḍajaṁ*) and the viviparous ones (*jarāyujās*), as far as the formless existence.

The ensuing passage runs: *mahiya cha rohaṇa sada sarviṇa avashaḍ(r)igaṇa sa parivara cha agrabhagapaḍ(r)iyaṁśae bhavatu*. *Mahiya cha* must be explained as above. M. Senart thought that nothing could be made out of *rohaṇa* and suggested to read *bohaṇa*, Skr. *bodhana*, instruction, teaching, though he agreed in considering *rohaṇa* as the more likely reading. I have formerly translated it with 'structure', and I still think that this translation is possible. It is also conceivable that the term bears reference to the preceding *kuśalamula* and means about the same thing as Pāli *kusalamūlaropanā*. It should be borne in mind that a *kuśalamūla* is not an act, but *alobha*, *advesha*, or *amoha*. The act which arises from such a base is good, and may lead to further merit, so that we understand that it may have been mentioned separately. It is, however, probably more likely that Professor Thomas is right in proposing to consider *rohaṇa* as the genitive plural of *roha*. He thinks that *roha* may represent Skr. *rodha* and mean 'opponents' (persons or things). I should be more inclined to think of *roha*, a shoot, sprout, here used about the donor's descendants.

The reading *avashaḍ(r)igaṇa* is due to M. Senart, who explains it as *ā-pāshaṇḍikānām*. The *ḍ(r)* looks like *tr*, and that has prevented other scholars from finding the true explanation. I should, however, prefer to identify the word with *apāshaṇḍikānām*. *Saparivara* cannot be a genitive, and I see no other way of explaining it than to take it as two words beginning a new clause: and may also this surrounding structure be for the sharing of the principal lot.

The end of l. 3, *mithyagas(r)a cha agrabhaga bhavatu*, is quite clear. We may note the absence of the otiose *r*-stroke after *g*. The range of persons to share in the benefit is here enlarged so as to comprise the heretics, who had just apparently been excluded.

L 4 does not present any difficulty. We may only note the irregular shape of the

forward bend of the legs of *ra* and *cha* in *vihara*, *acharyaṇa*, which look like *raṁ*, *chaṁ*, respectively. Our inscription is the only Kharoshṭhī record which speaks of the Mahāsāṁghikas as being in charge or possession of a vihāra. I have drawn attention to some linguistic details which seem to show that they were not old settlers in Wardak, speaking the local vernacular, but immigrants from a more eastern district. We have no means of deciding whence they had come to the Wardak country.

TEXT

L. 1 saṁ 20 20 10 1 masy[e] Arthamisiya sastehi 10 4 1 imeṇa gaḍ(r)ig(r)eṇa Kamagulyapu[tra] Vagramareg(r)a—s(r)a iśa Khavadam(r)i kadalayig(r)a—Vagramaṙig(r)aviharam(r)i thu[ba]m(r)i bhag(r)avada Śakyamuṇe śarira pariṭhaveti

L. 2 Imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa maharaja rajatiraja Ho(*or* Hu)veshkas(r)a agrabhag(r)ae bhavatu madapidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me Hashthunä Mareg(r)as(r)a puyae bhavatu yo cha me bhuya ṇatig(r)amitrasaṁbhatig(r)aṇa puyae bhavatu mahiya cha Vag(r)aMareg(r)as(r)a agrabhag(r)apaḍ(r)iyaṁśae

L. 3 bhavatu sarvasatvaṇa arogadakshiṇae bhavatu avi ya ṇarag(r)aparyata yava bhavagra yo atra aṁtara a[ṁ]ḍajo jalayuga ya yetiga arupyata sarviṇa puyae bhavatu mahiya cha rohaṇa sada sarviṇa avashaḍ(r)igaṇa sa parivara cha agrabhagapaḍ(r)iyaṁśae bhavatu mithyagas(r)a cha agrabhaga bhavatu

L. 4 esha vihara acharyaṇa mahasaṁghigaṇa parigraha.

TRANSLATION

Anno 51, in the month Artemisios, when 15 had appeared, at this hour the Kamagulya scion Vagramarega—he has made his abode here in Khawat—establishes the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagramarega vihāra, in a stūpa. Through this root of bliss, may it be for the principal lot of the mahārāja rājātirāja Huvishka, may it be for the honour of my mother and father, may it be for the honour of my brother Hashthunä Marega, and may it, generally, be for the honour of my relatives, friends and associates, may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself, Vagramarega, may it be for the benefit of health of all beings. And moreover, let it be for the honour of all, what there is here between, from hell up to the culminating point of existence: egg-born and the viviparous ones, as far as the formless existence, and for my descendants, always for all who are not heretics; and may also the surrounding structure be for the sharing of the principal lot, and may there also be a principal lot for the man of false belief. This vihāra is the acceptance of the Mahāsāṁghika teachers.

LXXXVII. PLATE XXXII. 2: UṆḌ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 61

Uṇḍ or Ohind is a village 15 miles above Attock, on the west bank of the Indus, in 34° 2′ N. and 72° 27′ E. An inscribed stone was found there by Cunningham in the year 1848 and deposited in the Lahore Residency, where it had already disappeared in 1853.

The inscription has been reproduced and published by Cunningham,[1] and explanatory remarks have been made by Messrs. Dowson,[2] Senart,[3] Lüders,[4] Banerji,[5] Konow,[6] and van Wijk.[7]

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[1] JASB, xxiii, 1854, p. 705, with plate, no. 5, reproduced in E. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, i, p. 164, with plate x, fig. 2; JASB, xxxii, 1863, p. 145; ASI, v, 1875, p. 58, with plate XVI, no. 2.

[2] JRAS, xx, 1863, pp. 233 and 265, with plate x, fig. 2.

[3] JA, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 130[1], 138.

[4] JRAS, 1909, pp. 665 f.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, pp. 46.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 137; *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 77 ff.

[7] *Acta Orientalia*, iii, pp. 83 ff.; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 92.

WARDAK. YEAR 51

The stone is stated to have been 26½ inches in length and carried two lines of writing, the first of which seems to have been incomplete.

It opens with the date *saṁ 20 20 20 1 Chetrasa mahaṣa divase aṭhami di 4 4 iśa kshunami*, as read by M. Senart, who is probably right in assuming that *mahasa* is a mistake for *masasa*.

Then follows in the old plate *sakharana* and in the second *savirana* [*kha*]. It seems probable that *savirana* or *sakharana* is the genitive plural of the designation of some association, and that *kha* should be filled up as *khade kue*.

L. 2 consists of four aksharas, the three last of which were read as *eshede* by Cunningham and *ashaḍe* by M. Senart. I have little doubt that the whole is meant for *purvashaḍe*, and this mention of the nakshatra has enabled Dr. van Wijk to identify the date with the 26th February, A.D. 189.

TEXT

L. 1 saṁ 20 20 20 1 Chetrasa maha(sa)sa divase aṭhami di 4 4 iśa kshunami sa[vi]rana kha . . .
2 purvashaḍe.

TRANSLATION

Anno 61, on the eighth day, d. 8., of the month Chaitra, at this term (was dug the well) of the Saviras, in Pūrvāshāḍha.

LXXXVIII. PLATE XXXIV. 1: MAMĀNE ḌHERĪ PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 89.

Mamāne Ḍherī is a small hamlet of about ten houses, built on the top of a small ancient mound in the Chārsadda Tahsīl of the Peshāwar District. The mound is stated to have been largely cut about for manure by the villagers during the last forty years, and various pieces of Gandhāra sculptures are said to have been found there, having subsequently been smashed by the villagers or disposed of by them as curios to those interested in them.

On the 26th June 1928 the Peshāwar Museum acquired a sculpture from Mamāne Ḍherī, which proved to contain a Kharoshṭhī inscription. The sculpture is 30 inches high and 29½ inches wide at the base, and, according to Mr. Dilawar Khan, the Curator of the Museum, it represents the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indraśaila Cave. To judge from a photograph it is similar to M. Foucher's Fig. 246.

On the pedestal, which is 29½ inches long and 1½ inches wide, there is a Kharoshṭhī inscription, 28 inches long. There is a defaced portion in the middle, where about eight aksharas have disappeared. In other respects the inscription is in a good state of preservation. It now bears the number 51 in the Peshāwar collection.

The size of individual letters varies between ½ and 1 inch. Their general character is of the same kind as in other records from the neighbourhood. We may note the forward curvature of most aksharas; the downward curve of the mātrā of the final *e*; the cursive *s*(*r*)*a* of *Margaśisas*(*r*)*a*, and especially the curious shape of ante-consonantic *r*, which reminds us of the usual symbol for 20 and of the akshara *a*.

The inscription is dated, on the fifth day of Mārgaśira, the year 89. The palaeography of the record makes it impossible to refer this date to the older Saka era. It must belong to the Kanishka era, and Dr. van Wijk has been good enough to calculate it as corresponding to the 1st November, A. D. 216.

This date is of interest in a double respect. In the first place it shows that the Kanishka era was used, side by side with the older reckoning, in the Chārsadda District. In the second it enables us to date a Gandhāra relief with comparative certainty in the third century A. D., and this fact strengthens the probability of the epoch proposed for the older Saka era, less than twenty years intervening between the Mamāne Ḍherī and Loriyān Tangai pedestals.

With regard to orthography and phonology we may note that the dental *n* is used throughout, with the exception of the word *samanuyayaṇa*; thus *niryaïde*, *kshunami*, *Dharmapriena*. In *upajaya*, Skr. *upādhyāya*, intervocalic *jh*, i. e. *jjh*, has apparently been deaspirated. The disappearance of intervocalic *t* in *niryaïde*, Skr. *niryatitaḥ*, has its parallels in *preṭhavetiye* in the Taxila gold-plate, *preṭhavide* in the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, and can perhaps be explained as a kind of dissimilation. In *Margaśirasra* we have the same genitive termination *asra*, i. e. perhaps *aza*, which we have found in Wardak and which also occurs in Tor Ḍherai. In other genitives we have the usual termination *asa*; thus *upajayasa Budhapriasa*.

The inscription opens with the date: *saṁ 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 Ma*[*rga*]*śirasra masi 4 1*. The last akshara in *masi* is defaced, but apparently certain. *Masi* is probably merely a slip instead of *mase*.

Then follows *iśe kshunami*, with a curious loop above the head-curve of *ksha*, which can hardly be anything else than a slip of the engraver's tool, and further *niryaïde ime deyadhar*[*me*] *Dharmapriena shama*[*nena*], where attention may be drawn to the different positions of the *e*-stroke in *niryaïde* and *deya-*, to the shape of the *r*-stroke in *-dharme* and *dharma-*, and to the irregular shape of the compound *rm* in the former word.

In the defaced portion which follows it is not possible to trace any lettering in the beginning. The last three aksharas may be *puyae*, perhaps preceded by *sa*.

After the gap comes an almost clear *upajayasa*, where the left stroke of *ya* is broken, so that it is possible to read *upajaasa*. There can hardly be any doubt that the word represents Skr. *upādhyāyasya*.

The final portion I read *Dharmapriasa puyae samanuyayaṇa arogadakshinae*, where I explain *samanuyaya* as representing Skr. *samanuyāyin*, a fellow disciple. The cerebral *ṇ* in this word points to a weakening of the difference between intervocalic *ṇ* and *n*.

TEXT

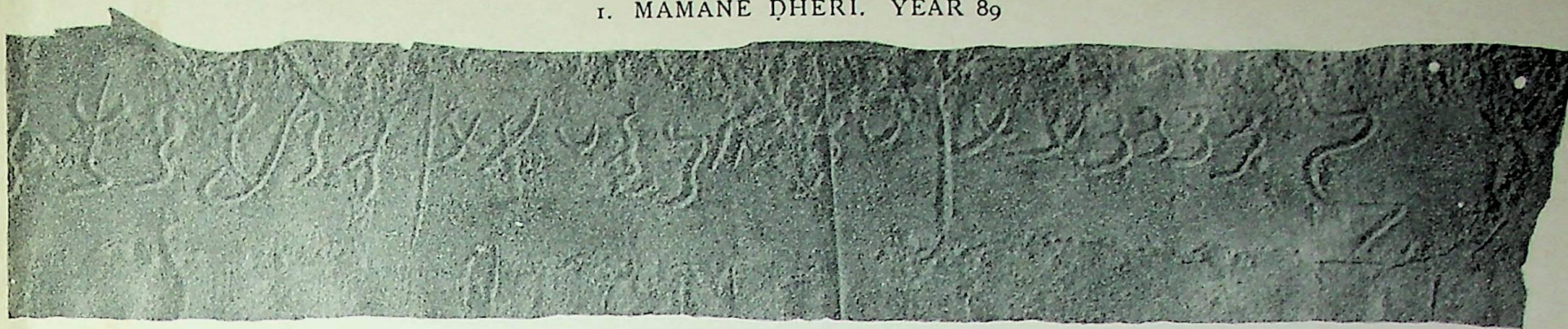
Saṁ 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 Ma[rgaśi]ras(r)a masi 4 1 iśe kshunami niryaïde ime deyadhar[me] Dharmapriena shamanena . . . [puyae] upajayasa Budhapriasa puyae samanuyayaṇa arogadakshinae.

TRANSLATION

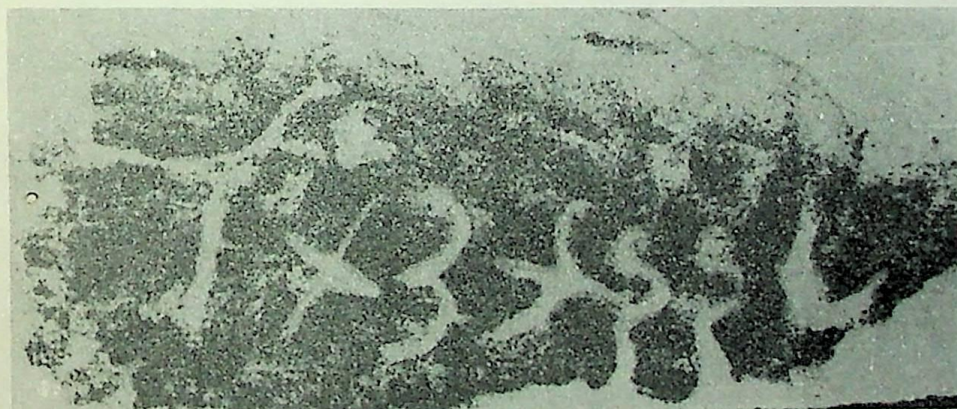
Anno 85, in the month of Mārgaśiras, the 5. (day), at this term was bestowed this religious gift by the śramaṇa Dharmapriya, in honour of . . ., in honour of his teacher Buddhapriya, for the bestowal of health on his fellow disciples.

LXXXIX. PLATE XXXIV. 2: KĀNIZA ḌHERĪ INSCRIPTION

Kāniza Ḍherī is an ancient mound near the village Umarzai in the Chārsadda Tahsīl of the Peshāwar District. While the mound was dug for manure by the villagers, a small fragment of stone, measuring 7½ inches by 6 inches, came to light and was purchased for the Peshāwar Museum on the 18 June, 1928.

1. MAMANE ḌHERĪ. YEAR 89

Scale 0·9

MAMĀNE ḌHERĪ IMAGE

2. KĀNIZA ḌHERĪ

Scale 0·66

The fragment is inscribed with seven Kharoshṭhī signs, 1 to 1¼ inches high, and it bears the number 50 in the collection of inscriptions in the Museum.

The characters are of about the same date as in the preceding inscription, and the reading is absolutely certain: *masasa di 20 4 1*, i.e. we have before us the last portion of a date.

TEXT

masasa di 20 4 1.

TRANSLATION

The 25. day of the month . . .

XC. TAJA INSCRIPTION

A Kharoshṭhī inscription is reported to exist at Taja in the Peshāwar District,[1] but the place is said to be inaccessible and I have not received any estampages or photographs.

XCI. MOHENJO DARO FRAGMENTS

At Mohenjo Daro in the Lārkāna District of Sindh extensive excavations have been carried on since 1921–1922. The latest remains date back to the Kushāṇa period, and in these strata were found some glazed fragments of pottery with Kharoshṭhī letters, which are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There are altogether three fragments, numbered B 15, D 29, and B 30, respectively. On the first we can read *bramha*, on the second *tha*, and on the third *maṇo*. The characters seem to belong to the time of or after Kanishka.

XCII. PLATE XXXV: TOR ḌHERAI INSCRIBED POTSHERDS

During the winter 1926–7 Sir Aurel Stein excavated a ruined Buddhist site at Tor Ḍherai, near Dabar-Koṭ and seven miles S.E. of Duki Tahsīl, in the Thal valley, District Loralai, Baluchistan. He there discovered about fifty pottery fragments with inked lettering, five in Brāhmī and the remainder in Kharoshṭhī.

The Loralai District some time formed the easternmost dependency of the province of Kandahār. The Buddhist settlements excavated by Sir Aurel, however, evidently bear witness to an extension of the Indian empire of the Kushāṇas towards the west, other stages being the settlements at Sui Vihār and Mohenjo Daro.

The Brāhmī fragments do not allow us to form an opinion about the contents of the inscriptions. They present so much difference that they cannot all belong to one and the same record. I have consulted Professor Lüders, who states that one fragment seems to belong to the Gupta period, while the others make an older impression. The only test letter which they contain is the akshara *ma*, which has a shape intermediary between those of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods, though it is also used, in addition to the usual Kushāṇa *ma*, in a Brāhmī record of the reign of Huvishka.[2]

One of the fragments contains the words [*v*]*i*[*hā*]*rasvāmisya Mīra*, another [*sa*]*r*[*vva*]-*satvāna hita*, a third [*chātu*]*rdiśe* [*a*]-.

The Kharoshṭhī fragments likewise belong to different jars and inscriptions. It is, however, possible to piece them together to one connected legend, which seems to have

[1] Cf. Aiyar, ASIFC, 1915–16, p. 36; Majumdar, List, Addenda, no. iii.
[2] Lüders, List, no. 38.

been repeated on several jars, only with slight variation in the wording and with a somewhat shortened text on some of them.

The characters remind us of those of the Wardak inscription, the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada, and the Niya documents, and may roughly be dated about or after 200 A.D.

There is, however, considerable variety in the shape of individual letters. Thus *de* has the curvilinear shape with the *e*-stroke sloping upwards from the middle in no. 5, while the *e*-stroke has a downward slope in no. 3, and a cursive form, with the top bent backwards and the *e*-mātrā at the bottom in no. 4. *Dha* has the usual form of later inscriptions in no. 34, where it is an initial, and in no. 6, where it is used between vowels. In nos. 4 and 8 intervocalic *dha* is provided with a bottom-loop, so that it looks like *dhya*, a form which is also found in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada. *Ya* has the old angular shape in nos. 2–4, 7, 22–4, while in nos. 1, 25, 26, 35 the left leg is bent in a broad angle. The *o*-stroke is added to the right leg in no. 2, to the left in nos. 3, 22–4, and in the middle in nos. 1 and 26. *Yaṁ* has the usual angular shape with the anusvāra at the bottom in no. 4, where it once stands for *ya*, while in no. 8 the right leg is curved forwards at the top and the left one rises above the point of jointure as in the Ārā inscription. In no. 33 the akshara is so cursive that we must perhaps read *aṁ*. All these varying forms are also found in the Kharoshṭhī Dhammapada.

There are several compound letters: *tya* in no. 30; an apparent *dhya* in nos. 4, 8; *rya* in nos. 11, 17; *sya* in nos. 3, 11, 14, 34; *gra* in nos. 19, [30,] 33; *tra* in no. 31; *pra* in nos. 4, [31,] 33; *sra* in nos. 2, 4, 32; *tva* in no. 33; *sva* in no. 3; [*r*]*gha* in no. 35; *rda* in no. 10; *rma* in no. 4, [6, 8], 34; *rya* in nos. 11, [17]; *rva* in nos. 14–17, and *sta* in nos. 14, 16, 17, everywhere with the upwards continuation of the horizontal which has been taken to mark the aspiration of the *t* of *sta* in the Niya documents.

Of orthographical peculiarities we may note, in addition to the varying shape of certain letters mentioned above, the use of *na* both for *ṇa* and *na*, e.g. in *acharyanaṁ sarvastivadinaṁ*; the occasional writing of *yaṁ* for *ya* in *deyaṁdhyarmo* no. 4, of *sa* for *saṁ* in no. 28, of *sya* for *sa* in nos. 11, 14, and of *sra* for *sa* in no. 32. In the genitive termination of vocalic bases we find *sya* in nos. 3, 34, and *sra* in nos. 2, 4. Similar doublets are also found in Wardak and the Niya documents and perhaps point to a voiced *s*.

The language is strongly Sanskritized. Thus we find *deya*(*ṁ*)*dh*(*y*)*armo yaṁ*, *parityagato*, [*ma**]*tapitrinaṁ*. Some features, however, seem to show that the writers spoke the North-western Prākrit of other Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Compare the confusion between *ṇa* and *na*; the *sya*-termination of the genitive of *i*-bases; the termination *sra* side by side with *sya*; the use of the plural in [*ma**]*tapitrinaṁ*; the *o* before voiceless sounds and *a* in *ito cha*, *parityagato agre*, [*pratiyaṁ**]*śo sarva*, and *ta* for Skr. *tma* in *taniya*, if this stands for *ātmanīya*. It will be seen that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *o* as in eastern Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. To judge from the state of things in modern Sindhī, such was the case in Sindh, and it is probable that the Buddhist settlers had come to Loralai from Sindh in connexion with an expansion of the Kushāṇa dominion, as suggested above.

The restoration of the legend contained in these fragments is naturally hypothetical. The beginning is apparently found in nos. 1–4, which run *shahi Yola* . . . , *Yola-Mirasra viharasva*, *Yola-Mirasya viharasvamisya deya* . . . , and [*sra*] *deyaṁdhyarmo yaṁ prapa saṁ*, respectively. We may restore this as follows: *shahi Yola-Mirasya* (or, *-sra*) *viharasvamisya* (or, *-sra*) *deya*(*ṁ*)*dh*(*y*)*armo yaṁ prapa saṁ* . . . ., cf. no. 5 *de*[*ya*], no. 6 *dha. m.*, no. 7 *ya*, no. 8 *dha. mo yaṁ*.

We accordingly hear about the dedication of a *prapa* by a certain *Yola Mira*, who bears the title *shahi*. *Prapa* is evidently Skr. *prapā*, a place or hall for providing water, and nothing could apparently be more appropriate in such an arid country. The fragments accordingly seem to be of water jars or drinking cups in the *prapā*.

The name *Yola-Mira* is not known to us. The Brāhmī fragment mentioned above shows that we must read *Mīra*, and this name is evidently the same which we find in *Mira Boyaṇa* in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription. *Yola* reminds me of *Ye-u-la*, the son of *Kustana*, the first king of Khotan according to Tibetan sources.[1] If this is not a mere coincidence, we should be inclined to infer that Yola Mīra's family hailed from the Khotan country and belonged to the little Yüe-chï. The name *Yolamoṇa*, which seems to occur on a Taxila seal,[2] may also be compared.

The title *shahi* was used by the old Sakas who founded an empire in the Indus country some time before the beginning of the Vikrama era. It was revived by Kanishka, who, however, used the Khotanī Saka form *shao*, i. e. *shau*, in his coin-legends, after his conquest of Eastern India. It is met with for the first time in Kanishka's Brāhmī inscription of the year 7, and it is used in the Brāhmī inscriptions of his successors. Though it is possible that the form *shāhi* was never discontinued in the old Saka province on the Indus, it is *a priori* likely that its use by Yola Mira points to a date after Kanishka. And the strong Sanskritization of the inscriptions points in the same direction. We find, it is true, a marked Sanskritization in the Sui Vihār inscription of the year 11, but the Tor Ḍherai record is much more Sanskritic. Now we learn from the Kurram record of the year 20 that the Prākrit Canon was then still in use, and it is only in the Peshāwar inscription no. 21, which seems to belong to the time of Vāsishka, that we for the first time find a Sanskrit sentence in a Kharoshṭhī inscription. It therefore seems probable that we have to do with an expansion of Kushāṇa power under Kanishka or one of his successors, and the palaeography of our inscriptions makes me inclined to think that Yola Mīra was a contemporary of Vāsudeva or even somewhat later. His title *shāhi* shows that he was not a private person but a local governor or chief, probably under Kushāṇa suzerainty. It is of some interest that he is not styled *kshatrapa* as the governor Liaka of the Zeda inscription. It is possible that the title *kshatrapa* was never introduced in Loralai.

I have already drawn attention to the different writing of the genitive termination, *sya* and *sra*. In the Grammatical Introduction I have dealt with these writings and accepted a suggestion of Professor Turner that they may perhaps be intended to denote a voiced *s*. I shall write *s(y)a*, *s(r)a*, respectively.

The final akshara of no. 4 is *saṁ*, which can be filled up by means of nos. 9–21 as *saṁghe chaturdiśe acharyanaṁ sarvastivadinaṁ pratigrahe*. We shall see later on that another version of the legend seems to insert a passage between the words *prapa* and *saṁghe*.

No. 9 shows traces of three aksharas which can be restored as [*ghe cha*]*tu*; no. 10 has .*e*[*cha*]*t*[*u*]*rdi*[*ś*]*e*; no. 11 apparently [*rti acha*]*ryaṇaṁ sya*; no. 12 *acha*; no. 13 *cha*; no. 14 [*sya*]*rvastivadinaṁ prati*; no. 15 *rva*; no. 16 *rvastiva*; no. 17 [*ryanaṁ*] *sarvastivadinaṁ*; no. 18 [*di*]; no. 19 [*dina*]*ṁ pratigra*; no. 20 [*prati*]; and no. 21 [*pratigra*].

There can hardly be any doubt about the restoration. The apparent *rti* of no. 11 may stand for *rdi*[*śe**], and the initial *sya* of nos. 11 and 14 apparently stands for *sa*. In a similar way initial *sa* is occasionally written *sra* in the Niya documents, as mentioned in the Grammatical Introduction.

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[1] Cf. Professor Thomas in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 581 ff.

[2] Above, p. 101.

I have mentioned above that another version, which may, however, belong to jars dedicated by different persons, seems to insert some words between *prapa* and *saṁghe*. This must be inferred from nos. 22–8. For in no. 22 we find after *pa*, i.e. *prapa*, the words *Yola-Mira-shahi-vihar.*, where the *ha* of *vihar.* is added below the line. No. 23 has [*pa Yo*]*la-mira-sha*[*hi*]. No. 24 begins with the head of a *sa*, followed by *ka* with traces of an *i*-mātrā, and *ya-Yo*[*la-Mi*], which I would restore as *svakiya-Yola-Mira-shahi-vihare.* No. 25 has *taniya* or perhaps *taniy*[*u*]. With every reserve I restore this as *ataniya*, Skr. *ātmanīya*, and take this as a variant of *svakiya*. Skr. *ātman* occurs as *atva-* in some Taxila records and *atma-* in the Ārā inscription. In a Sirkap seal legend, however, we find *ata-*.

No. 26 has [*Y*]*ola-Mira*, and no. 27 *vihare*. In no. 28 we have *ha*, followed by a defaced space, and then *saghe*. Though there seems to be room for more than one akshara between *ha* and *sa*, i.e. *saṁ*, I think we may restore *vihare sa*[*ṁ**]*ghe chaturdiśe acharyanaṁ sarvastivadinaṁ pratigrahe.*

The remaining fragments should probably be inserted after *pratigrahe*. No. 29 has *he ito cha* [*sra*], and no. 30 *rityagato a*[*gre*], i.e. *pratigrahe ito cha sra . . parityagato agre.* The doubtful *sra* in no. 29 may perhaps stand for *s*(*r*)*ama*, Skr. *samyak*.

The continuation of the legend seems to follow in nos. 31–3. No. 31 has traces of a *ta*, followed by *pitrinaṁ* and remnants of an akshara which may be *pa* or *pra*. I restore this as *matapitrinaṁ pratiyaṁśo* or *pratiaṁśo*. The form *-pitrinaṁ* is evidently meant to render Skr. *pitṝṇāṁ*. No. 32 runs *śo*[*sarvasra*], where only the bottom of the three last aksharas is preserved. The beginning of no. 33 is defaced. Then follows *sarva-satvanaṁ agre pratiyaṁśo*, where, however, the second akshara from the end may stand for *aṁ*. I therefore restore *pratiyaṁśo*, or *pratiaṁśo sarvasatvanaṁ agre pratiyaṁśo*, or *pratiaṁśo*, taking the *sra* of *sarvasra* in no. 33 to be of the same kind as the *sra* which sometimes occurs in the beginning of the word *satva* in the Niya documents.

No. 34 seems to run [*śo*] *dharmapati*[*sya*] and no. 35 has traces of what may be the *ya*-loop, followed by *cha di*[*r*]*ghayu*. There are some blurred lines below these aksharas, but they seem to be mere blottings. With every reserve I restore *pratiyaṁśo*, or *pratiaṁśo*, *dharmapatisya cha dirghayuta bhavatu*, taking *dharmapati* to be a designation of Yola Mīra himself. One of the Brāhmī fragments seems to contain the word *bhavatu*, with a dash above *tu*, which apparently marks the end of the record.

If we write such letters as seem to indicate a modification of the preceding sound within parentheses and the passage which is not found in all the inscriptions within brackets, we accordingly arrive at the following reading and interpretation :

Text

Shahi-Yola-Miras(y)a (*or*, -s(r)a) viharasvamis(y)a (*or*, -s(r)a) deyadharmo (*or*, deyaṁ-dh(y)armo) yaṁ prapa [svakiya (*or*, [a*]taniya)-Yola-Mira-shahi-vihare] saṁ(*or*, sa)ghe chaturdiśe acharyanaṁ sa(*or*, s(y)a)rvastivadinaṁ pratigrahe. Ito cha s(r)amaparityagato agre [ma*]tapitrinaṁ [pratiyaṁ*]śo sarvasa(*or*, s(r)a)tvanaṁ agre pratiyaṁśo (*or*, pra-tiaṁśo) dharmapatis(y)a cha dirghayu[ta bhavatu*].

Translation

Of the Shāhi Yola Mīra, the master of the vihāra, this water hall (is) the religious gift, in his own Yola-Mīra-shāhi-Vihāra, to the order of the four quarters, in the accept-ance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers. And from this right donation may there be in future a share for (his) mother and father, in future a share for all beings and long life for the master of the law.

TOR ḌHERAI

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D. INSCRIPTIONS OUTSIDE THE KHAROSHṬHĪ AREA

Some few Kharoshṭhī inscriptions have been found in localities where we have no reason for assuming that Kharoshṭhī was ever in common use. Those recovered at Mathurā have been dealt with above, because they can be referred to the rule of the Sakas in that place or to other datable records. There remain some few records of which it is more difficult to judge, and I therefore publish them in this place, in a roughly geographical arrangement.

XCIII. Plate XXXVI. 1: KUMRAHĀR TERRA COTTA PLAQUE INSCRIPTION

During the excavations at the terrace of Kumrahār, Patna, in the year 1914, a terra cotta plaque, measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{5}{8}$ in., was recovered, on which some Kharoshṭhī letters are visible.

The plaque was described by the late Dr. D. B. Spooner,[1] who thought that its 'central and principal device is a detailed representation of the famous temple at Bodh Gayā, unquestionably the oldest drawing of this temple in existence'. The late Mr. Vincent Smith objected to this identification and thought that the plaque may just as well represent one of the great temples at Pāṭaliputra,[2] while Dr. Spooner maintained his explanation.[3] The inscription has been published by Konow.[4]

The identity of the temple depicted on the plaque cannot, I think, be decided. The use of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, on the other hand, seems to show that the person who left the plaque in Pāṭaliputra was not an inhabitant of that place, but probably a pilgrim from the north-west. For we have no indication of Kharoshṭhī having ever been used in Bihar.

The characters are found to the left of the pillar depicted in front of the entrance to the temple, and they are not numerous enough to allow us to judge of the age of the inscription with anything approaching certainty. *Ka* has the rectilineal and square shape which we know from older inscriptions, and is perhaps most like the *ka* of the Mount Banj and Pājā inscriptions of the years 102 and 111. But similar forms also occur in later records, even in Jauliā. *Sa* has the straight-lined continuation of the leg which we also find on the Pājā stone, but the head is bent back as in some or the *sa*'s of the Lion Capital and of the late Loriyān Tangai records. It is impossible to draw any chronological inference from such a state of things.

The first akshara is *ka*. The leg has been bent forwards, and it is possible that we should read *ko*. Then follows a badly defaced passage, where I could not detect any traces of letters when I examined the original in Patna in the winter 1925. The photographs before me seem to make it possible to read *thuma . . saṁ*. Then comes an almost complete *gha* and a distinct *da*. The next akshara looks like *da*, but the top seems to be slightly turned towards the right and to run into the drawing above it, so that it is possible that we have before us a defective *sa*. The remaining aksharas are comparatively clear: *sa ki ti*. *Kiti* is evidently Sanskrit *kṛiti*, which is used in the Divyāvadāna with the meaning 'structure', 'house of relics', but may simply mean 'work'.[5]

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[1] JBORS, i, pp. 1 ff.
[2] Ibidem, ii, pp. 375 ff.
[3] Ibidem, pp. 378 ff.
[4] Ibidem, xii, pp. 179 ff.
[5] Cf. Pischel, ZDMG, lvi, pp. 157 f.

With the utmost reserve I therefore give the following reading and explanation:

TEXT

K[othumasa] Saṁghada[sa]sa kiti.

TRANSLATION

The work of Saṁghadāsa, the Kauthuma.

XCIV. PLATE XXXVI. 2: PĀṬHYĀR INSCRIPTION

Pāṭhyār is situated nine miles south of Kanhiāra, on the bank of the Baner rivulet, at a distance of about one mile from the Dādh Travellers' Bungalow in the Kāngrā District. At this place Professor Vogel discovered an inscription in two lines, cut into the rock. The upper line is written in ancient Brāhmī, the lower gives a somewhat fuller version in Kharoshṭhī. Both records have been published by Professor Vogel.[1]

The characters are of about the same type as in the Aśoka inscriptions and may belong to the second or the beginning of the first century B.C. We may note the use of a short stroke for the *u*-mātrā and the closed head of *sa*.

The first word, which is missing in the Brāhmī version, was read as *rathidarasa* by Professor Vogel, who thought it most likely that it is an old form corresponding to *rāṭhī*, an agricultural caste in Kāngrā. It seems to me, however, that this *rāṭhī* must be derived from an older *rāshṭrika* and cannot have anything to do with our word. With regard to the reading, it will be seen that the first akshara has a curious sloping bottom-stroke. It reminds me so much of the stroke used to mark a long vowel in some Kharoshṭhī Sanskrit verses from Eastern Turkestan[2] that I feel tempted to read *rā*. The third akshara I read as *ta* and not as *da*. In *Rāthitara* I see the Vedic *Rāthītara*, which is used as a patronymic by Satyavachas in the Taittirīya Upanishad, I, 9, 1.

The next word *Vayulasa* is the name of a person, representing Skr. *Vāyula*, which is a short name for *Vāyudatta* or some similar name.[3] The remaining word *pukariṇi* again shows a sloping bottom-stroke in the second akshara.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
Rāthitarasa Vayulasa pukariṇi.	The Rāthītara Vayula's pond.

XCV. PLATE XXXVI. 3: KANHIĀRA INSCRIPTION

Kanhiāra is situated three miles to the east of Lower Dharmsālā, on the bank of the Mānjī torrent in the Kāngrā District. Sir E. C. Bayley here discovered two inscriptions, one in Brāhmī, the other in Kharoshṭhī, cut on large granite boulders, in a field about half-way between the village and the station of Dharmsālā. As in the case of the Pāṭhyār records the two inscriptions are of the same contents. They have been published by Messrs. Bayley,[4] E. Thomas,[5] Dowson,[6] Cunningham,[7] and Vogel.[8] The Kharoshṭhī record consists of two lines.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vii, pp. 116 ff., with plate; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 48.

[2] Cf. Stein, *Serindia*, pl. XXV.

[3] Mr. Majumdar, J&PASB, xviii, 1922, p. 66, seems to consider *Vayula* as an un-Indian name.

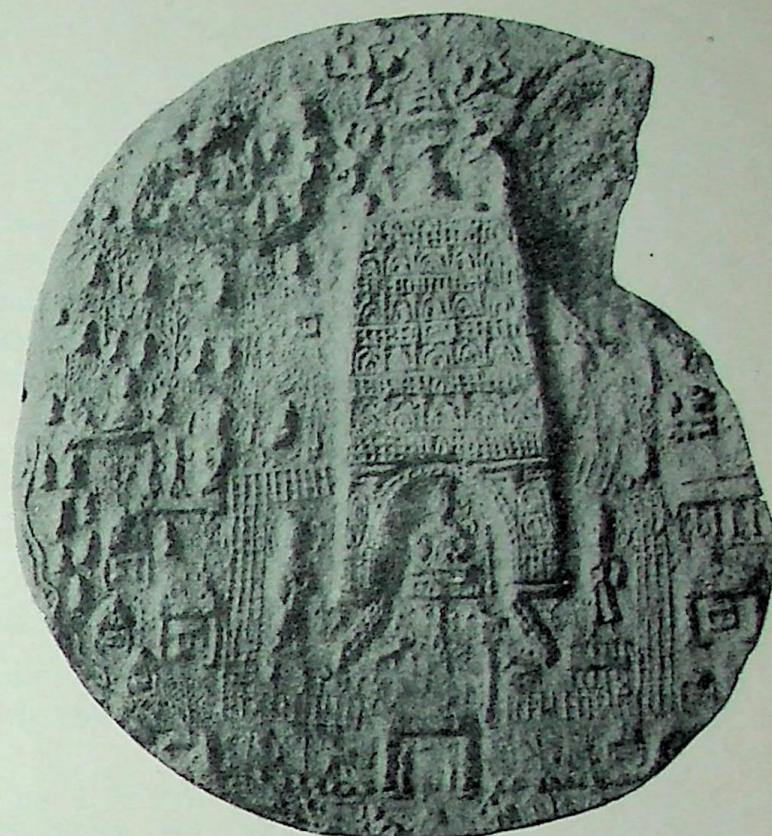
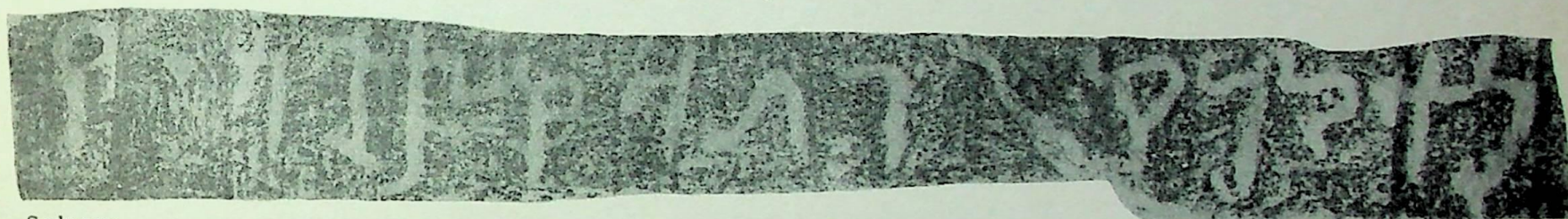
[4] JASB, xxiii, 1854, pp. 57 f., with plate I.

[5] Prinsep's *Essays*, i, pp. 159 ff., with plate IX, fig. 2.

[6] JRAS, xx, 1863, p. 254 and plate IX.

[7] ASI, v, 1875, p. 175 and plate XLII.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, vii, pp. 116 ff., with plate; cf. Majumdar, List, no. 23.

1. KUMRAHAR

2. PĀṬHYĀR

Scale 0·10

3. KANHIĀRA

Scale 0·10

4. KARNĀL

Scale 0·40

The characters are decidedly younger than those of the Pāṭhyār inscription and may be about contemporaneous with the Patika plate. In the first line they are all, with the exception of the first, which has an *r*-stroke, provided with an angular bottom. The height varies from 5 in. to 1 in. At the beginning of l. 2 we see traces of a svastika.

The first word of the Brāhmī version is *Kṛishṇayaśasya.* The first Kharoshṭhī akshara is *kri* and the second *sha* with a dot above, which Professor Vogel takes to be an anusvāra. In that case we should have to assume a direct imitation of the Brāhmī sign, and, besides, *krishaṁ* is not a likely development of *kṛishṇa.* In the Kurram inscription *tṛishṇa* becomes *tasha,* where the *sh* is provided with a curve above, which seems to mark an aspiration. I take the dot to mean the same thing in our inscription and transliterate *krish'ayaśasa*, of *Kṛishṇayaśas.*

Text	Translation
L. 1 Krish'ayaśasa	Kṛishṇayaśas' grove.
2 aramo.	

XCVI. Plate XXXVI. 4: KARNĀL INSCRIPTION

Karnāl is the head-quarters of the district and tahsīl of Karnāl, situated in 29° 41′ N. and 76° E., on the old bank of the Jamna, about seven miles from the present course of the river.

No. I. 89 of the Lahore Museum is a stone, 1 ft. 2 in. long and 5½ in. high, which is said to have come from Karnāl. It contains two incomplete lines and one akshara of a third one in Kharoshṭhī. The writing covers a space 10 in. long, and the size of individual letters varies from 1½ in. to 2½ in.[1]

The characters point to about the same age as the Kanhiāra inscription. We may note the *u*-mātrā in *pu*, l. 2, which consists of a short, straight line; the square *ka*, *pa*, and *la*, and the protruding leg of *sa.*

L. 1 opens with the word *sidhi*, Skr. *siddhi.* Then comes *kra* with indistinct traces of an *i*-stroke. The ensuing aksharas are all damaged, and there are several apparent cross-lines, which seem to be due to the roughness of the stone. The second akshara seems to be *śa*, and *kriśa* may be Skr. *Kṛiśa*, a well-known old name. Then comes the lower part of a *ka*, a *va* with traces of an *e* or *i*-stroke, and the lower part of a vertical. It is accordingly possible to read *Kriśakavina.* The last remaining akshara has consisted of a leg, provided with an *u*-stroke, but cannot be restored.

L. 2 is quite clear as far as it goes: *lapotreṇa ae puka*[*r*] . . . It is evident that l. 1 originally contained the name of the donor's father, followed by *putreṇa* and the beginning of the grandfather's name. L. 2 can be partly restored, *pukar* . . . as *pukaraṇi* or *pukariṇi*, and the remaining portion as *karavita* or *svakiye.*

L. 3 consists of the akshara *a* written below the *ka* of *pukar* . . . If we compare the Kanhiāra inscription, we may think of restoring *arame.*

In such circumstances the reading cannot be certain.

Text

L. 1 sidhi Kr[iśa]kav[ina] . u[. . . . putreṇa . . . *]
2 lapotreṇa ae puka[riṇi karavita*]
3 a[rame*]

Translation

Hail. By Kṛiśakavi, (the son of . . . .), the grandson of . . . la, this pond . . . .

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[1] See Majumdar, List, no. 24.

LIST OF WORDS OCCURRING IN KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

PERSONAL NAMES IN KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

CORRIGENDA

PAGE 9, line 11, *for* one of Bühler's reproductions *read* Bühler's reproduction
„ 9, „ 34, *for* Hsüan-tsang *read* Hüan-tsang
„ 17, „ 16, add: Or the beginning may be *Urasarajaṭhitasa cha*
„ 20, „ 5, for *siyati* read *siati*
„ 22, „ 27, for *matapitaraṇa* read *matarapitaraṇa*
„ 27, „ 25, delete inverted comma before To
„ 30, „ 25, *for* anenormous *read* an enormous
„ 47, „ 33, *for* Ayasi *read* Ayasia
„ 49, „ 22, *for* Rawal *read* Rāwal
„ 51, „ 12, 32, 34 ff., and 42. After the text had been printed I received a new plate prepared from a photograph taken by the Clarendon Press. It shows that the actual reading is *Muṁjavaṁda*, and that the *r*-stroke of *putrasa* actually joins the *ta* in a sharp angle.
„ 52, „ 28, *for* Mu[ṁ]javadaput[r]asa *read* Mu[ṁ]javaṁdaput[r]asa
„ 57, „ 6, *for* L. 3 *read* L. 2
„ 57, „ 7, *for* 2 *read* 3
„ 82, „ 19, *for* Cukhsa *read* Chukhsa
„ 88, „ 2, for *Iśvaraka* read *Īśvaraka*
„ 99, „ 12, *for* dha 2 *read* dha 1 1
„ 155, „ 19, *for* instant *read* term
„ 162, „ 4, *for* Rawal *read* Rāwal